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Illinois on the eve of the  
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FRENCH SERIES

VOLUME III

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ILLINOIS  
ON THE EVE OF THE  
SEVEN YEARS' WAR  
1747-1755





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VOLUME XXIX

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FRENCH SERIES, VOLUME III

ILLINOIS  
ON THE EVE OF THE  
SEVEN YEARS' WAR  
1747-1755

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY  
THEODORE CALVIN PEASE

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

AND

ERNESTINE JENISON

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## PREFACE

In this volume the authors undertake to document as elaborately as possible the period between the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War as it was reflected in the Illinois country. An earlier volume of the Collections has dealt with the period from the side of European diplomacy. The present volume chiefly represents the writings of the people who labored to maintain the cause of France in the West.

Throughout, the story is one of Indian disaffection, of the wiles which English traders exercised not merely over the French Indians, but over the French traders themselves, of the measures concerted at New Orleans and Quebec to uphold the name of France in the interior and of how these measures were carried out on the ground by post commandants, officers and Jesuits.

This story could not have been told one-tenth as well as it has been, were it not for the papers of the Marquis de Vaudreuil which are in the Loudoun Papers in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. Whether those papers fell into the hands of the first British commander in chief in America through the treachery of one of the Marquis' secretaries, or by the capture of the ship bearing the documents to him in Canada, they afford a most intimate view of the personal side of his administration of Louisiana between 1743 and 1752. A great light has been thrown on conditions in Illinois and in the West generally, where heretofore there was deep darkness. For the permission to reproduce these papers, grateful acknowledgment is made to the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

Necessarily, these documents have been supplemented by others from more familiar sources; from the correspondence of the English secretaries of state in the Public Record Office in London and from the precious files in the Archives Nationales at Paris, of correspondence of officials in Canada and Louisiana. To the Chicago Historical Society thanks is due for permission to reproduce two documents, one of which is especially valuable because it serves to inform us exactly which one of the numerous and ubiquitous De Villiers brothers was at a given place at a given time. Thanks also is due to the Library of Congress for generous

loans of photostats of French material with which our transcripts have been rechecked.

For the most part, the French documents in this volume are the product of men who composed in French with varying degrees of inaccuracy and who, in varying degrees, spelled it phonetically, dividing words into syllables in unconventional fashion and punctuating in complete defiance of the meaning. In part, the style of Macarty's dispatches, as well as the strictures of other people on his personal habits, makes it not unlikely that some of his long letters to Vaudreuil were composed when he was half-seas over; there is further some indication that these letters may have been dictated to a secretary who was even a poorer French scholar than Macarty himself.

Under these circumstances, the necessary rule of translation has been to try to find out what the man was trying to say and to say it for him in English. To this end, it has been necessary to remake and recast sentences completely and to repeat subjects in lieu of the pronouns that are always so indefinite in their number and reference. At the same time, some attempt has been made to suggest a very little of the quaintness and flavor of the French originals. Words that are clear but not quite idiomatic in English have sometimes been chosen to this end. The authors gladly submit their translation to the judgment of those who may consider themselves possessed of greater skill in fathoming the mental processes of illiterates.

Published as they are, the documents may very well serve as an antidote to the subconscious reaction of many historical students that while English documents may be illiterate, ambiguous, capable of various meanings and sometimes of no meaning at all, documents in a foreign language must always necessarily be clear and capable of having but a single interpretation put on them.

Once again the statement is made that in order to save the expense of having special mats made for abbreviations in the original, set with a dot above the line, the abbreviation has been run in as a part of the word. The authors have not felt themselves at liberty to expand these words simply because, while they can make a fair guess as to what word a particular writer intended to abbreviate, they cannot make themselves responsible for the

way in which he would have spelled it out, had it occurred to him to do so.

Finally, grateful acknowledgments are due to those who have assisted in the long and weary task of making manuscripts of the eighteenth century into a printed volume of the twentieth. This list includes two successive historical clerks, Miss Mildred Eversole and Miss Olive Lilly. For efficient typing and retyping of manuscript and index, grateful acknowledgments are due to Mrs. Leona Alexander and to Miss Marybel Eversole. Miss Natalia Belting, Miss Catherine Gregory and Mr. C. W. Paape have assisted in the various stages of proof reading. For any mistakes which the gentle reader may espy and emend with his pen, the responsibility rests only on the authors.

THEODORE CALVIN PEASE  
ERNESTINE JENISON

June 1, 1939



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ILLINOIS  
ON THE EVE OF THE  
SEVEN YEARS' WAR

SPECIAL INTRODUCTION





## INTRODUCTION

As the War of the Austrian Succession drew to its close in North America, the autumn of French power in the Old Northwest, apparent to the historical student through the perspective of the years, was present consciously or subconsciously to the men who ruled Louisiana and New France. Ever since the first quarter of the century, the French, save in the apparently fruitless enterprises of La Vérendrye, had seemed always on the defense. From 1748 to 1754 the rulers of Canada were striving to maintain a French ascendancy in which in their hearts they appear to have had no faith. Their card house of rule in the western country, built of the unstable materials of Indian diplomacy, trembled at a breath. To understand their final struggle to maintain the work of the Grand Monarque in the Northwest, we must see the situation as it stood in 1747, and as it had come to pass.

Let us start our tour of the western posts at the gateway of the West from Canada, Detroit. The glib tongue and ready pen of Cadillac had persuaded both the Sun King and his ministers of his ability to draw all the tribes of the lakes to Detroit, where, safe alike from the corruption of *coureur de bois* and Englishman, they would live harmoniously within the reach and direction of officialdom. A travesty on his promises, there remained a village of French and three or four villages of Indians gazing mistrustfully at each other over picketed stockades. Once and again a shift and unstable tribe broke under the strain of mutual distrust, and the outbreak of the Fox War of 1712, the revolt of the Hurons in 1747 ensued. Laboriously French officialdom tried to build up the post, by monopolies to its proprietor, by a permanently settled commandant, by the subsidizing of Canadian farmer

immigrants, results being in no wise commensurate. Commandants lowered themselves in the eyes of both Indian and Frenchman by keeping dramshops to eke out their pay. Farmers equipped with tools, seeds, provisions and cow preferred speculating in the fur trade to tilling the soil.

However costly and fruitless the attempts to build up the post, its strategic location, blocking the route to the upper lakes, guarding the precious portages that bound Canada to Louisiana, made its retention a necessity. Dependent on it were the posts of Miamis and Ouiatanon,<sup>1</sup> at which the commandants, half diplomatic agents, half military leaders to the Indian tribes, strove to hold the Miami and the Wea within the circle of French diplomacy. Farther down the Wabash was the post of the Piankashaw on which the rough untaught genius of the Sieur de Vincennes imposed his name. "The post of the late M. Vincennes," officialdom termed it a year after his death, and "Post Vincent" it remained in the mouths of American pioneers as late as the 1820's.

To the north was Mackinac, consecrated by the labors of great Jesuit missionaries, valuable for the two thousand packs of fur it could yearly assemble from the tribes of the Northwest. Feebly garrisoned as every French western post must be, it took a firm and adroit commandant to maintain his ascendancy with Chippewa and Ottawa. Sometimes he must sit in impotence and watch thirty *coureurs de bois* defiantly sweep past him on their unlicensed trade. Dependent on Mackinac was the post of Green Bay, "La Baye" par excellence with its memory of Nicolet and of long vanished tribes, with strange legends clinging to it of war and siege, of good Samaritanism and ingratitude. Closer and more distinct memories there were also, of Sauk and Fox instability, of war, surprise and massacre. St. Joseph, at the present Niles, Michigan, most easily reached by descending Lake Michigan, was likewise dependent on Mackinac. It was the post of the Potawatomi of St. Joseph.

Northward and westward from Mackinac were the posts on the north shore of Lake Superior, Kaministiquia and Michipico-

<sup>1</sup> Approximately at the present sites of Fort Wayne and Lafayette, Indiana.

ten. There also was the route of posts through Assiniboin and Cree by the Lake of the Woods and Lake Winnipeg, through which La Vérendrye vainly sought the will o' the wisp Sea of the West, destined if ever it were found to be the crown of Canada's achievement of a century and a half.

At the south end of Lake Michigan you passed by the Point of Oaks over the Chicago portage to the Desplaines; a portage often used even though the Fox wars had diverted the commerce of Canada and Louisiana into less dangerous channels, and a place where French were actually settled in the 1740's. Following the Desplaines to the Illinois you passed Le Rocher, "the Rock," site of La Salle's Fort St. Louis of the Rock, intermittently the place of refuge for one or another of the decaying tribes of the Illinois confederacy. Farther still was Pimitoui, at the Lake of Peoria—from time to time the habitation of the Peoria, the least feeble of the Illinois tribes. Below the mouth of the Illinois in the American Bottom of later days, silted lands on the east bank of the Mississippi, age old gift of the Missouri, and extending to the mouth of the Kaskaskia River, was French Illinois. Since 1717 a part of Louisiana, the French villages of Cahokia, St. Philippe, Fort de Chartres, Prairie du Rocher, and Kaskaskia were matched by villages of the Cahokia or Tamaroa, ministered to by priests of the Seminary of Foreign Missions, the Michigamea, and the Jesuits' village of Indian Kaskaskia.

Of the Illinois tribes, observers reported that they were scarcely eight hundred warriors left of the ten thousand of earlier days, drunken and cowardly, braggarts when the white men seemed weak, a prey to their own terrors. The keen-eyed witness might have seen the seeds of decay among the Illinois in earlier periods. A reporter with the sociological mind thirty years before had singled out their morally and socially invalid perversions and repressions, as well as the emotional instability that resulted.

But the white man had nurtured their vices. When a bibulous commandant like Macarty<sup>1</sup> made all Israel drunk, he was not by

<sup>1</sup> Macarty Mactigue. A musketeer; came to Louisiana as aid major in 1732. Captain, September 14, 1735; major at the Illinois, June 11, 1750; chevalier of St. Louis in the same year; lieutenant of the king at New

any means the introducer of intemperance among them. Nor doubtless had their *coureur de bois* sons-in-law contributed to stiffening their moral fiber. For, shut away in the wilderness from white women, the errant white gods had beheld the daughters of the red men and found them fair. Unions illicit, and unions with Christianized Indian girls blessed by the church had taken place, the fathers excusing themselves for performing such marriages in defiance of the protests of minister, governor, and commandant by the allegation that otherwise the *coureur de bois* bought himself Indian girls captured in slaving raids across the Mississippi. The half-breed progeny to which French officialdom objected, resulted in either case. It was an important element in the population of French Illinois.

Part relatives, part hosts, part wards of the French, the Illinois Indians went their unstable way, now bullying, now killing the cattle and hogs of the French, now cringing in terror when their ill-advised raids on the northern tribes brought the lash of Sauk, Fox, and Winnebago war parties on their backs. They thought, perhaps with truth, that the French with the northern Indians in their alliance shared some of the responsibility for such raids, and resented it. At all events they were tempted again and again to sedition by the cajoleries and threats of such of their Miami cousins as had espoused the cause of the English, and sent belts on their behalf to the trans-Mississippi tribes.

In a broader sense the Miami included the Wea and Piankashaw of the Wabash. In a narrower sense they were three bands grouped near the Miamis post, on the present site of Fort Wayne. English goods bought at Oswego and carried along Lake Erie, or brought them in the Ohio Valley by English traders, could occasionally seduce a part of them to hostility to the French. The Kickapoo and Mascoutens of eastern Illinois were generally loyal to the French, perhaps because they had no commandants.

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Orleans, July 1, 1759. A N Colonies D2C4. He did not, however, arrive at New Orleans till the end of May, 1760. Neyon de Villiers had been named major commandant to the Illinois in 1756, but Macarty continued to draw the emoluments until his new commission. A N Colonies C13A 40:238; 42:39v. He died at New Orleans April 20, 1764 apparently having been superseded some time before. C. W. Alvord and C. E. Carter, *The Critical Period (I.H.C., 10)*, 115, 183.

The Shawnee were the variable in the Indian equation of the midwest. They were found within a century in Georgia, among the Catawba, in Maryland, in eastern Pennsylvania, and at the Forks of the Ohio; on the Mississippi, on the Cumberland, or Ancient River of the Shawnee, among the Alibamu, and at Sonnioto, the Shawnee town at the mouth of the Scioto. Always the French were put to it to supply them the goods they would otherwise obtain of the English.

The territory of the Illinois confederacy, in French parlance the country of the Illinois, in a sense was the keystone of the arch of French imperialism. It was at once the granary and the advanced post of Louisiana, connected with the lower colony by the dangerous and exposed course of the Mississippi, which offered not merely its own hazards of sawyers, snags and sand bars, inclement weather and disease, but was vulnerable also to the visitations of the mistakes of French Indian policy.

"I cannot quit the Indians without mentioning," wrote Governor Bull of South Carolina to Hillsborough, November 30, 1770, "an observation that has often raised my wonder. That in this province, settled in 1670 (since the birth of many a man now alive) then swarming with Tribes of Indians, there remains now, except the few Catawbas, nothing of them but their names, within three hundred miles of our sea-Coast: no traces of their emigrating or incorporating into other nations, nor any accounting for their extinction by war or pestilence equal to the effect."<sup>1</sup>

No such harsh record of carrying death to Indian tribes on the soles of their shoes could the French boast. Once and again deliberately they set themselves to exterminate an Indian tribe in visitation for some misdeed—the Foxes, the Natchez, the Chickasaw. Again and again the guilty tribes were exterminated on paper and again and again they reconstituted. In the case of the Foxes, the French finally discovered that their western Indian allies who clamored for the destruction of that tribe, but who privately had no intention whatsoever that so great a judgment as the taking away of a tribe should befall, were repeatedly re-establishing the annihilated Foxes by the simple process of

<sup>1</sup> P R O CO5, 394:36.

releasing their Fox captives. At last the French admitted the harassed tribe to toleration and forgiveness.

With the Natchez and the Chickasaw it was otherwise. The massacre of Fort Rosalie by the Natchez in 1729 had spelled the end of the rule of Law's old company in Louisiana; and the crown prepared to take summary vengeance on the guilty tribe. When the Chickasaw gave it asylum, they were decreed the same fate. Set expeditions against them at the best were futile as in 1739; at the worst, they encountered the terrible fate of Darta-guiette's in 1736. Then the French subsidized the Choctaw and the northern tribes to war parties after Chickasaw scalps. The Chickasaw retaliated with ambushed convoys, with cutting off single pirogues and little bands of hunters, rendering the connection of Illinois with New Orleans, and even with the Wabash Valley, increasingly precarious. With the Sioux and the Great Osage occasionally collecting the scalps of French *voyageurs* on the upper Mississippi and beyond it, the vast wilderness world that stretched away from the French log stockades became once more the abode of death and terror.

When a governor-general arose in Canada with the genius to perceive that the Indian menace was one to be dealt with in the large and not by the passing counterirritant of scalping parties wheedled out of friendly Indians by presents and diplomacy, he found the underlying cause in trade.

For the real villain of the piece was the English trader. No bureaucracy dictated where he should buy his goods and where and for what price he should sell his furs. Once he had smuggled or paid duty on his goods he was free to go where his market led him. He could undersell, he could sell at a loss to drive out a competitor, he could be lavish with premiums in the form of presents to attract new customers. He did not have the terror or the fascination that attached to the person of the French commandant, a gentleman and soldier who plied the Indians with diplomacy and threats, and whom they respected as a chief and a warrior. He was not so interesting, or so likeable a person; but to a bargain hunter he was invaluable.

At every turn the legitimate French trader was fatally handi-



capped in fighting it out competitively on quality and price. Old France by individual craftsmen could produce textiles that were objects of luxury; but the English clothier had the organization to supply them in hundred-bolt lots uniform in texture, quality, and dye. So great was the inferiority of French scarlet cloth of commercial grades, that at times the French monopoly was forced to buy of England. Furthermore, all trade goods were supplied through a monopoly to the French trader, and all beaver was bought at the bureau of the same monopoly at a far less price than could be had at Albany. The European market must not be starved or glutted by fluctuations in the price of French beaver hats; hence the hatters must have a constant supply of raw material at a fixed price; accordingly regulations in New France to control output and price of beaver must conform.

To add to the difficulty the French government in a mood of ill-timed parsimony was prepared to spend no more on western adventures than the pay of the officers and soldiers detached to western garrisons. All other charges were to be laid on the trade. Special licenses to take one or two canoes of trade goods to the West were the price paid private traders for the transportation of the commandant and his wife to his wilderness post. Sometimes the commandant was given the monopoly of his post's trade; usually he then entered into a bargain with a Montreal trader who in return promised him a payment for each of his customary three years' incumbency, and various other advantages. The trader then recouped himself by limiting the amount and enhancing the price of his goods until the Indian in disgust sought his needs elsewhere.

When this procedure was abandoned the posts were farmed to men who agreed to pay the king a yearly fee for the monopoly, to charge themselves with necessary Indian presents, to carry out supplies for commandant, missionaries, and troops, and to perform various small services. Then the cry of monopoly arose; next time the post might be farmed by licenses. Five hundred or six hundred livres would be collected for each of the ten or twelve canoe licenses issued annually for Detroit, Mackinac, or the Illinois. In either case the return from farm or *congés* was partly



applied to the wages of interpreters and chaplains and to extra payments to officers, by way of rendering their regular pay more adequate in view of the increased cost of comforts in the wilderness.

The relatively democratic method of licenses had its fatal repercussion on the treasury. For when Indians bullied or wheedled the commandants for presents, provisions, or services, the commandants bought of local traders, often at prices that were collusively high, the necessary goods, furnishing certificates on the treasury in payment. From 1747 to 1752 the flood of certificates rose until the posts were once more put to farm. Even so, farmers could not be expected to pay for the presents and equipment needed to set on foot the constantly recurring scalping parties against the Chickasaw which French policy ordained; and in the fatal year 1754, in which France was to gamble with her international prestige over a disputed boundary in the heart of the wilderness, New France was warned she must economize on the upcountry or be altogether abandoned.

Considering the French traders' necessity of buying and selling through a monopoly, of purchasing trading privileges and of crossing official hands with silver, small economics suffices to compute the geometrical accumulation of price accretions which put him under a hopeless handicap with his English competitor. Of course the illicit French trader, the *coureur de bois*, still flourished. At the turn of the century, in defiance of edicts carrying the death penalty, he had slipped out, hundreds of him, to stay in the hinterland, perhaps selling his furs and replenishing his supplies with the English until New France had need of him; then a pardon for past offenses in return for services to be rendered once more put him on an even footing with French law.

As may be seen below, the illicit traders who bought and sold with the English, flourished exceedingly in the Illinois, even in the 1750's. Farther east illicit trade was so fully intrenched in high places that governors labored to dislodge it in vain. In the days of Queen Anne's War, with the connivance of Governor Vaudreuil, Albany traders had privately negotiated a neutrality for the Iroquois and the New York side of the Hudson. Trade

between Montreal and Albany continued; the guns used in raiding Deerfield might well have been bought of the Dutch on the Hudson. In later years Montreal merchants used the highly privileged Catholic Indians of the missionary villages at Sault St. Louis and Lake of the Two Mountains to carry their beaver to the high cash market at Albany and to bring back English goods for the Indian trade. It was French policy, by humoring the converted Iroquois, to draw in more of their tribesmen from the old village sites south of Lake Ontario. Canadian tradition, recalling the black days of Iroquois hostility, at every turn thwarted any policy in New France that might start them from their neutrality. And this applied not merely to their position as middlemen in the fur trade but also to the lands they claimed as theirs from Lakes Ontario and Erie, southward into the upper Ohio Valley.

To the south, in the duel for control of the great southern tribes, Governor Glen, of South Carolina, had the better of Governor Vaudreuil,<sup>1</sup> of Louisiana. French magazines, bare of

<sup>1</sup> It may cause surprise that it should be a matter of doubt and dispute to distinguish between the brothers Vaudreuil who had such important rôles at the climax of the tragedy of New France. Pierre Rigaud de Vaudreuil de Cavagnal, last governor-general of New France, and Pierre François or François Pierre Rigaud de Vaudreuil, his brother, cannot both be fitted satisfactorily into the list of the children of the elder Marquis de Vaudreuil. L'Abbé Cyprien Tanguay [see *Dictionnaire Genealogique des Familles Canadiennes*, 1:184, 3:352 and 6:568] assigns the baptismal date of Pierre, November 22, 1698, to the lesser of the two brothers, linking it with the latter's marriage, May 2, 1733, to Louise Fleury d'Eschambault. The interval between the births of Pierre and his next elder brother, Jean, is longer than that between any other two children in the family, almost four years. There may be an unrecorded birth in this period, or there may be a mistake in the name of one of the three brothers older than Pierre.

The lesser brother, born at Montreal February 8, 1703 [*Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, 33:286], was a lieutenant in 1722 [*Ibid.*, 36:212], and signed as captain in 1728. *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1921-1922*, 80. He was commandant of Three Rivers, January 15, 1748, major and acting commandant, January 27; he was lieutenant of the king at Quebec, September 23, 1748. *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, 2:71; 17:381. November 2, 1748 he signed at Quebec, being termed M. Pierre Rigaud de Vaudreuil, esquire, chevalier of St. Louis, lieutenant of the king for Quebec. *Ibid.*, 22:349. He was made governor of Montreal as of May 1, 1757. *Canadian Archives*, 1905, volume 1, part 6, pp. 508, 237. He had had a prominent part as leader of raids and expeditions in the wars of 1744-1748 and 1755-1760. As a reward for his services he had been originally granted the monopoly of the much coveted post of La Baye in 1752 [A N Colonies C11A 99:311v]; September 30, 1757 he let it for three years. C.H.S., Otto L. Schmidt Collection, 2:261. In 1759 he

Indian goods, contrasted with the abundance brought by English traders. English influence was supreme among the Cherokee and Catawba to the north. Despite the French outpost of Fort Toulouse among the Creeks, the English had the better of it among Upper and Lower Creeks. The Chickasaw, preserved from destruction by the French by English munitions and leadership, clung close to their friends. English trade goods even divided the Choctaw, the last of the great southern nations, into a French and an English party.

Surveying the situation as a whole the Comte de la Galissonnière,<sup>1</sup> the ablest man to rule New France in the eighteenth century, like many another Frenchman perceived a "perfidious Albion" on her way to the colonial supremacy of the globe. Her successive steps would be the occupation of the Ohio Valley, the cleaving asunder of Canada and Louisiana, the conquest of the silver mines of Santa Fé from Spain as a resource for the complete mastery of the Americas. English participation in the Indian trade of the interior and English incitement of Indian hostility to France were the thin end of the wedge. English influence could clearly be discerned in the unrest of the interior tribes from

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received a permanent grant of it from the king [*Canadian Archives*, 1905, volume 1, part 6, p. 285], which the British government refused to recognize. The diplomatic representations made by the French representative at London are mostly made in the name of the Marquise de Vaudreuil. A E Corr. Pol. Angl., 450:455, 456; 451:4; 476:53, 74, 117, 121, 175, 197, 206, 208. According to Gagnon, he died at the Chateau de Collier, commune de Muides in the department of Loir et Cher, August 24, 1779. *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, 5:364.

The governor-general: He was a captain in 1722 [*ibid.*, 36:210], and was termed "major of the troops in Canada" in 1726. He accompanied De Ligneris against the Fox in 1728, acting as commissary. He served as governor of Three Rivers from April 1, 1733 to 1742. A N Colonies D2C4; *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, 2:71. He then went to France to come out in 1743 as governor of Louisiana. Probably in January or February of that year he married Charlotte de Fleury, a widow of sixty, and aunt of the wife of Pierre François Rigaud de Vaudreuil. *Ibid.*, 34:502. He served as governor of Louisiana until 1753, when he went to France to return as governor-general of New France as of January 1, 1755. A N Colonies D2C4. After the capitulation of Montreal he returned to France, where he died at Paris, August 4, 1778. *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, 26:274.

<sup>1</sup> Roland Michel, Comte and later Marquis de la Galissonnière, 1693-1756. Governor-general of New France, 1747-1749. See T. C. Pease, *Anglo-French Boundary Disputes in the West, 1749-1763* (I. H. C., 27), xiv et seq.

the Chickasaw northward into the Ohio Valley. It could be seen more distinctly yet at Oswego, from which the route across Ontario stretched to Toronto and thence to Georgian Bay and Lake Superior, drawing the furs of that region to English markets and carrying English presents and incitements to revolt to all the North.

From this concept the policy initiated by La Galissonière in 1749, and reaffirmed by the French ministry in 1752 and 1753, becomes understandable. Briefly put, it involved the establishment of a sanitary cordon from Lake Erie to the Ohio against the penetration of English traders and English influence.

The crisis had come, quite suddenly, in 1747. In the late winter Vaudreuil, the governor of Louisiana, had reported with approval raids by the Quapaw against the Chickasaw, and had threatened to cut off the yearly dole of presents to the Illinois unless they did likewise. The Chevalier de Bertet,<sup>1</sup> commandant of the Illinois, had reported that the Peoria, the Cahokia, and the tribes of the Wabash seemed disposed to attack "the English of Philadelphia" presumably at unspecified points in the middle Ohio Valley. The errant if not erring Shawnee seemed disposed to do the same; but they demanded assurance that if they did so their villages be protected during their absence; for belts coming from the Iroquois and the direction of Detroit had incited the Illinois and other tribes to destroy the Shawnee. Bertet was able, and skilled in the ways of the Indians; and the fact that these belts were given up to him only lessened his uneasiness. Like every other French official he was short of goods for Indian presents and trade, and sensed the effect on the tribes of English lavishness.

In July and August the news of disorder at Detroit and Mackinac reached Montreal. June 23 Longueuil,<sup>2</sup> commanding

<sup>1</sup> His given names are unknown. He was appointed major commandant of the Illinois on Bienville's recommendation as of October 1, 1741 [A N Colonies: D2C4; B72:470v] while in France and arrived at Fort de Chartres in November, 1742. He received the Cross of St. Louis in 1746. For his death, January 7 or 9, 1749, see *post*, 99, 102.

<sup>2</sup> Paul-Joseph le Moyne, Chevalier de Longueuil. Born 1701; buried at Tours, May 12, 1778. Brother of Charles le Moyne, the second baron. Commandant at Detroit, 1743-1749 [A N Colonies C11A 115:32; 116:157,

at Detroit, reported a dangerous conspiracy among the Hurons. One band under Nicolas,<sup>1</sup> discovered and frustrated in an attempt to massacre all the French, had gone eastward along the shore of Lake Erie to Sandusky, one of the centers of George Croghan's trading interests. This Longueuil ascribed to the effect of the English belts distributed by the Iroquois. August 13 Noyelle<sup>2</sup> and La Vérendrye, returning from Mackinac, brought the news of general disorders among the tribes of that post. The Ottawa of Saginaw had killed three Frenchmen. The Chippewa had attacked French canoes. The Iroquois, Huron, Ottawa, Potawatomi, Chippewa and Missisauga were reported in league with the Flat-heads of the South, and against the French.

Meanwhile to the Illinois in the last part of July had come three strange Indians with a message in the name of Iroquois, Huron, Abnaki, Potawatomi, Ottawa, as well as of all the Wabash tribes, bidding the Illinois abandon the French or they were all dead men. In any case they were to withdraw to Cahokia and stand by while other Indians cut off the French. Then the English with ample goods would come to the Illinois and supply all their needs. As usual, playing on the hopes and fears of the Illinois had its effect; they hesitated.

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157v; 119:228, 230]; major of Quebec, 1748; lieutenant of the king at Quebec, 1749 [*ibid.*, 116:208]; governor of Three Rivers, 1757-1761 [*Canadian Archives*, 1905, volume 1, part 6, p. 508]; commandant of Quebec, 1756. *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, 2:71; 7:17; 10:158; 19:352; 17:381; 26:165. A letter from his wife to the minister asking promotion for him, November 2, 1747, is in A N Colonies C11A 89:252.

<sup>1</sup>Orontony, or Nicolas, was chief of the Hurons. In 1747 he plotted to wipe out the French at Detroit and was said to have seduced the Miami to revolt. He died in 1748.

<sup>2</sup>Nicolas-Joseph de Noyelle, baptized in 1694, married on August 8, 1718 to Marie-Charlotte Petit le Villiers. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire*, 3:346. He became an ensign in 1710, lieutenant in 1721, captain in 1732, commandant at Detroit in 1736. *Canadian Archives*, 1899, supplement, 28. A N Colonies B64:446v. His service in the West included commanding an expedition against the Foxes during which he spent some time at the Illinois post, where he had gone for supplies. A N Colonies C13A 20:87; 22:271. In August, 1747, referred to in text above, he was returning from the Posts of the West, where he was serving as commandant, having certified for supplies at Mackinac just the month before. *Ibid.*, C11A 117:426. His son at this time was acting commandant at Mackinac in the absence of La Corne. *Ibid.*, 17, 387. The elder Noyelle became major of Three Rivers in 1751; king's lieutenant at the same place in 1759. *Canadian Archives*, 1905, volume 1, part 6, pp. 152, 285.

Bertet learned that the immediate prompter was a chief of one of the Miami bands, bearing the incongruous name of La Demoiselle. With his storehouses and those of the traders empty, he could only concentrate his available force at Kaskaskia. He had not heard from New Orleans in fifteen months, did not know even that it had not been captured by the English. The threatening storm on the Wabash endangered his communication with Detroit.

The picture of the western situation could be filled in with additional details from point after point. Douville,<sup>1</sup> from Miami, on his way to Montreal with two Miami chiefs, Le Pied Froid<sup>2</sup> and Le Porc Epic,<sup>3</sup> was checked by news of the disorders on the lakes. The same happened to La Pérade<sup>4</sup> at Ouatatonon. La

<sup>1</sup> Alexandre Dagneau, Sieur de Douville. As ensign he was in command at the Miamis post in 1746-1747. A N Colonies C11A 117: 133, 135, 141, 367v. In his absence the post was sacked by the rebellious Indians. Bigot succeeded in getting for him a reimbursement of three hundred livres to cover his losses. *Ibid.*, 93:245. In June of 1754 he was sent to command in place of Courtemanche at Presqu'Isle. *L'Archiviste . . . de Québec pour 1926-1927*, 359, 369. In June, 1755 he had a year's stipend as commandant due him. A N Colonies C11A 119:320. He was killed on an expedition from Fort Duquesne in 1756 while attacking a blockhouse on the Virginia frontier in Hampshire County.

<sup>2</sup> Le Pied Froid was himself not ill-disposed to the French; but most of his band later went over to La Demoiselle. He was the great chief of the Miami.

<sup>3</sup> See *post*, 154, 175, 178.

<sup>4</sup> Referred to as Ensign Chevalier de la Pérade, commandant at Ouatatonon, N. Y. C. D., 10:139. Two brothers, Charles-François Tarieu, Sieur de la Pérade, and Jean-Baptiste, were actively engaged in the western trade, one as early as 1738. *L'Archiviste . . . de Québec pour 1929-1930*, 359-464, *passim*; 1930-1931, 355-375, *passim*. The former was born in 1710, was married first on January 6, 1743 and second on January 12, 1764. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire*, 7:262. In 1738 (May 23) he was commanding at the post of the Miamis. C. H. S., Otto L. Schmidt Collection, 2:324. He was still there in 1741, signing as La Pérade, *fils*, commandant. A N Colonies C11A 76:211; 78:288. On May 23, 1749 he was promoted captain and in 1759 was granted the Cross of St. Louis. *Canadian Archives*, 1905, volume 1, part 6, pp. 118, 283. Jean-Baptiste de la Pérade, Sieur de Tarieu, was baptized May 5, 1720 and was married in 1749. It was he, and not the son of Charles-François, who was killed at Braddock's defeat. He was an ensign at the time of his death. *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, 14:222; 19:196.

During the years 1745-1747 the Pérades functioned at Ouatatonon. On July 6, 1745 the Chevalier de la Pérade certified to supplies necessary in taking certain Indian chiefs to Montreal. In this certificate he referred to M. de la Pérade as commandant at Ouatatonon. A N Colonies C11A 83:324. Although the statement is made that there was never a commandant at Ouatatonon while the Chevalier held the farm [Carqueville became



Perrière Marin<sup>1</sup> reported from St. Joseph that the English were endeavoring to gain the Potawatomi of that post. The Seneca had sent the Miami a belt, bidding them assassinate Douville. Actually they had partly burned the post of Miamis, making prisoners of eight French and seizing their goods which were later partly recovered through the activity of friendly chiefs of the tribe. Le Jarret,<sup>2</sup> one of these, was dispatched from Detroit to endeavor to restore order; and Longueuil, hearing nothing at Detroit from the rebel Huron or Miami, or from the Wabash, was planning at the beginning of November to send detachments overland to St. Joseph, Ouatanon, and the Illinois; he had orders to send what goods and ammunition he could to Bertet at the Illinois.

With the revolt of the Indians traceable to economic causes, everything depended on the way in which the colony's scanty resources in goods were applied. The Detroit convoy arrived September 22 with an escort of 150 men including merchants and

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commandant in 1748. A N Colonies C11A 116:158v-159], La Pérade did sign there as commandant in July and December, 1747, the name appearing variously as La Pérade fils and the Chevalier de la Pérade, fils. *Ibid.*, 87:226; 117:19, 117, 134. If Tanguay is correct that Charles-François was a lieutenant in 1744, the reference in the above text would be to Jean-Baptiste.

<sup>1</sup> Probably Claude la Perrière Marin, whose interest in the West dated at least to 1727, when he acknowledged a debt for equipment for a trip to the upcountry. *L'Archiviste . . . de Québec pour 1929-1930*, 264. Tanguay (*Dictionnaire*, 5:514) lists him as a half brother of Paul Marin (for whom see *post*, xlv, n.), but R. Roy, in an article in the *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 1904, section 1, p. 25 *et seq.*, considers that Tanguay erred in crediting Paul's father with a second marriage. The two men had some business relations, for in June of 1737 Claude and his partner were indebted to Paul Marin for supplies for a western trip. *L'Archiviste . . . de Québec pour 1929-1930*, 351. Claude la Perrière Marin had trading interests at St. Joseph from 1741, engaging men for trips there, furnishing supplies, or himself certifying to supplies furnished him while at that post under orders of "M. the general." *Ibid.*, 403-417, *passim*; A N Colonies C11A 117:3, 13-14v, 434, 438, 439, 442v, 461v. After 1747 his activity seems to have centered at Mackinac. *L'Archiviste . . . de Québec pour 1930-1931*, 354-449, *passim*. He died there sometime before September 28, 1752, at which time an inventory of his goods was filed. C. H. S., Otto L. Schmidt Collection, 2:311. Nicolas Antoine de Villiers' eldest daughter, whom he had married on December 30, 1737, survived him.

<sup>2</sup> A Miami chief of the village of Tippecanoe and the brother of Les Grands Ongles. *Post*, 207. In the spring of 1749 he was killed. *Post*, 121 and A N Colonies C11A 119:92. At De Raymond's order his widow was given blue cloth to relieve her of her mourning—certificate of February 24, 1750. *Ibid.*, 91.

their servants; in content it was but meager. The monopoly, agreeing to raise the price of beaver somewhat, had raised the prices of its Indian goods 140 per cent. Farmers threw up their farms. Canoe licenses for the upper posts had to be given without fee to secure the freight of necessary supplies for the garri-sons. Even on such terms, only nine canoes would go to Detroit; ten that went to Mackinac paid for *congés*; thirteen went to the Michigan and Indiana posts, and eighteen to the Bay, Lake Superior and beyond. The intake of beaver shrank to 60 per cent of the normal amount.

The fate of New France hung in the balance. Its sole salvation was the success of France in other fields of war. The Duke of Newcastle had countermanded the great colonial-Indian effort on Canada planned for 1747, and early in 1748 negotiations for peace began with a France possessed of the Austrian Netherlands; to purchase her withdrawal from them there was only Louisburg. Preliminaries were signed April 30, and June 3, orders for a cessation of arms were addressed to the colonies.

On the upper lakes the situation was clearing up. The revolted tribes of Mackinac went back to their allegiance even though the rebel chiefs they surrendered escaped on the way to Quebec. But Nicolas' Hurons remained hostile. In the summer of 1748 Conrad Weiser went to Logstown to hold a meeting with representatives of the Five Nations and the midwestern tribes, who constituted, away from the authority of tribal chiefs, what the French government termed a republic at Sonnioto. De Raymond<sup>1</sup> from Niagara on the other hand assured emissaries from the

<sup>1</sup> Charles de Raymond or Reymond. Commissioned *ensign en second* in the troops of the marine in Canada in 1722. He was in France 1725-1728 and was warned to return or lose his commission. He was again in France in 1731, was promoted in 1736, and in the same year was an unsuccessful petitioner for the command of one of the posts. For his petition of 1751 in which he asked for the posts of La Baye or Mackinac, see *post*, 393. In this he was profuse in the recitation of his abilities, services, and wrongs; the minister seems to have been impressed, but Duquesne had apparently no high opinion of his disinterestedness. *Post*, 903. He served at the battle of Lake George September 22, received the Cross of St. Louis in 1759 and was at the siege of Quebec. In 1767 he was residing in Angoulême, said to be fifty-five; but his more probable birth date is 1706. *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, 22:351. A long and interesting memoir by him is in *L'Archiviste* . . . de Québec pour 1927-1928, 323-354.



malcontents that the English were suing for peace and that Onontio<sup>1</sup> would summon all his children to a council next spring. The Miami assured him they had rejected a red blanket with an axe on it sent them by the Iroquois to bid them strike the French. The plunder taken at the Miamis post had been restored; but the post itself was not yet reëstablished. The western Shawnee had disappeared no one knew where.

At any rate there was a breathing spell to concert broader measures. La Galissonière planned substituting exploitation by *congés* for exploitation by farmers in the posts in which the Indians had complained of high prices, though François Bigot,<sup>2</sup> the intendant, thought such prices only the fruit of war conditions. The minister reopened the perennial question of Illinois buffalo wool as a textile fabric. He postponed the oft agitated establishment of a French fort on the Ohio near the mouth of the Tennessee on the ground that with peace established the emergency had passed. He considered that Bertet, while acting properly, might have overestimated his danger in 1747 and the potential hostility of the Shawnee. At all events Shawnee attacks on the Illinois Indians in which the French were carefully spared seemed to show the danger was no longer pressing.

The minister opened too the question as to whether the Illinois had better remain with Louisiana or be once more annexed to Canada. In either case the decision would be made either on the ground that the fur trade, exploited by Canadians, naturally bound it to Canada or that its supply of food stuffs for New Orleans made it essential to that colony. Actually the arguments of Vaudreuil so far prevailed. But in the future as in the past, with the commandant under the orders of the governors both of Canada and Louisiana, conflicts of authority were to continue.

As to the need of developing settlement in the Illinois, there was agreement. La Galissonière insisted that five hundred French

<sup>1</sup> The Indians used the title "Onontio" in referring to the governor of Canada; sometimes also in reference to the King of France.

<sup>2</sup> François Bigot, born about 1699. Intendant of New France, 1748-1760. Notorious for his speculations for which he was punished by fine and confiscation. Adam Shortt, *Documents Relating to Canadian Currency, Exchange and Finance during the French Period*, 2:765 n.

in Illinois, instead of trembling before the Illinois and Wabash tribes, could have led these Indians into the heart of the English settlements. Agreeing at least so far as the need of developing its agriculture, the minister promised shipments of *faux sauniers*—false salters in the sense of persons whose evasion of the salt monopoly had condemned them to transportation to a penal settlement.

The year 1749 offered the first opportunity for constructive action in the way of fortifying the French position in the West. The baneful influence of Oswego stretching across Lake Ontario to the region of the upper lakes was to be counteracted by a post at Toronto, diagonally across the lake at the end of the portage route from Georgian Bay. Here artificially cheap goods might divert at least a part of the Indians of the Northwest from the English market. It might also help to sell goods at a loss at the French posts of Niagara and Frontenac, at either end of the lake. Unless the wary diplomats of the Five Nations could be cajoled into themselves dispossessing the English from the Oswego post they had held in war or peace for almost a quarter century, no more could be done. As for the Iroquois, the French insisted that they must themselves negotiate the release of their warriors held prisoner in Canada and must not do it through the English; statements were secured from their chiefs that they did not recognize the overlordship claimed by the English under Article 15 of the Treaty of Utrecht.

As a second defensive work for the French position, a resident French commandant was established at Detroit, to preside over a permanent settlement instead of serving as diplomatic and military agent to the Indians. Special privileges in this and succeeding years in the way of gifts and loans of provisions, seeds, tools, and stocks were proclaimed throughout the churches to all Canadians who would migrate to Detroit. Some migration there was; but the new settlers showed distressing tendencies to scatter their habitations and to cultivate the fur trade and not the soil. The commandant was given supervision over the posts at Miamis, Ouiatanon, and Sandusky. The place was destined for the brilli-

ant, headstrong, and insubordinate Céloron de Blainville<sup>1</sup> after the completion of the mission assigned him for the year.

<sup>1</sup> Pierre Joseph Céloron de Blainville. Born December 29, 1693, the son of Jean Baptiste Céloron de Blainville, 1660-1735. Ensign expectative, 1712; ensign *en pied*, 1715; recommended for lieutenantancy in 1722 when aid major at Montreal [*Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, 36:214]; lieutenant, 1731; commanded at Mackinac in 1737; captain in 1738. He served brilliantly on the Chickasaw campaign in 1739 and received the Cross of St. Louis in 1741. *Canadian Archives*, 1904, appendix K, 250, 251, 291. Returning in 1740 from the Chickasaw campaign he went by way of Chicago to Mackinac, where he remained intermittently until 1742 [A N Colonies C11A 71:151; 72:123; 73:185, 186, 210, 226; 76:191, 214, 215, 242], his younger brother, Louis-Jean-Baptiste Céloron de Blainville, signing there as commandant during his absences, 1739-1742. *Ibid.*, 71:153; 73:258, 269; 76:207, 222, 243 *et seq.*; 81:358, 359. The latter is referred to as De Blainville. In the summer of 1742 Pierre Joseph was transferred to Detroit. *Ibid.*, 77:83v; *M. P. H. C.*, 34:212. The next year he asked to be relieved on account of poor health [A N Colonies C11A 79:110v], being replaced by Longueuil. In 1744 he was in command at Niagara, but his imperious disposition led him to fall foul of the farmers of the post [*Ibid.*, B81:290], and in 1746 he was replaced by Duplessis. *Ibid.*, C11A 85:219v-220. He commanded at Crown Point in 1747 and was relieved by Sabrevois in November of that year. Next year he commanded the convoy intended to retrieve the situation at Detroit and in the Northwest. In 1749 La Galissonnière dispatched him on the famous expedition down the Ohio, and the same year he was made major and commandant at Detroit. La Jonquière became completely dissatisfied with his conduct in 1751. *Post*, 324, 417 *et seq.* In 1754 he was recalled to be major at Montreal, where he died April 12, 1759. *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, 15:329; A N Colonies C11A 99:128v.

His younger brother, Louis-Jean-Baptiste Céloron de Blainville, born December 1, 1696, was recommended for a lieutenantancy October 20, 1743 [A N Colonies C11A 79:196v] and commanded at St. Joseph, 1746-1747, when he was senior ensign of infantry. *N. Y. C. D.*, 10:88; A N Colonies C11A 87:21; 117:460, 463, 464; *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, 15:311. He was promoted lieutenant in 1749, and commanded at La Presentation, 1750-1753. He was killed while leading a raiding party from Fort Duquesne in the summer of 1756. *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, 15:311. He married Suzanne Piot de Langloiserie, October 25, 1730. Tanguay lists only daughters, although in 3:295 he credits him under the name of La Ronde with a son of the same marriage in 1737, but a son serving under "M. de Blainville père" at La Presentation in 1751 was probably Louis-Joseph Céloron de Blainville. As M. de Blainville, the latter was active in the Ohio campaigns until 1759, when he is referred to as ensign. *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, 33:600 *et seq.* He may be the Blainville, cadet, at Braddock's defeat. *Ibid.*, 14:222; 15:311; 33:600.

Pierre Joseph Céloron de Blainville was twice married, first to Marie-Madeleine Blondeau, December 30, 1724, and second to Catherine Eury, October 13, 1743. Nine children were born of this second marriage, the first son in 1747.

Of his first marriage were born four children listed by Tanguay [*Dictionnaire*, 2:591]: Pierre-Joseph, baptized August 3 [according to *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, 15:362 and 34:556 the birth date was

Céloron, dispatched by La Galissonnière to constitute his sanitary cordon along the Ohio with 216 French and thirty Iroquois and Abnaki Indians, had left Lachine June 15. Entering Lake Erie July 14 he passed up the great natural gorge in the upper end of which lies Lake Chautauqua, and portaged across to the tributaries of the Ohio. At the mouths of the rivers as he passed he buried lead plates in taking possession anew of the territory. The inhabitants of the mongrel villages of Seneca, Delaware, and Fox were in several cases terrified into taking flight. A pack train of fifty horses with English traders he made the bearer of a letter to the governor of Pennsylvania, warning him to keep English traders thenceforth off the lands of France. At Logstown, below the Forks of the Ohio, known as "the village where Croghan traded," he found the Indians defiant; it was a very bad village of Iroquois, Shawnee, and Delaware, seduced by cheap English goods; under the circumstances he temporized, giving the English traders a letter to the "Governor of Carolina." As he approached Sonnioto, the Indian "republic" at the mouth of the Scioto where other Indian strays had gathered round the Shawnee, he sensed a more hostile reception. All the Indians of the village, even those from Sault St. Louis, and Two Mountains, were devoted to the English. He dared not pillage the English traders and had to content himself once more with a letter to their governor. Here Ottawa messengers met him with the report that the Detroit Indians would not march to join him; he could only issue orders for canoes and provisions to meet him below Detroit.

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August 4], 1726; Maurice-Régis, March 19, 1728; Jean-Baptiste, September 15, 1729; Madeleine-Suzanne, October 11, 1730.

The eldest son was recommended for an ensign *en second* in November, 1741 by Beauharnois [A N Colonies C11A 75:239v], a rank he attained the following year. He became ensign *en pied* in 1749. As M. de Céloron,  *fils*, he appears in the list of officers on his father's expedition of that year. He died at Tours, June 26, 1801, aged seventy-five. *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, 14:62; 34:557.

A son unlisted by Tanguay, Pierre-Hyacinthe, born at Montreal, May 26, 1732, is said to have been known as the Chevalier de Céloron. He was commissioned ensign *en second* in 1751. A N Colonies C11A 97:170. An ensign so called was at Braddock's defeat. *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, 14:222. Pierre-Hyacinthe became ensign *en pied* in 1756 and lieutenant in 1760. Maurice-Régis and Jean-Baptiste both were in the service. *Ibid.*, 15:329 *et seq.* The latter may have been the Cadet Céloron at Braddock's defeat.

From Sonnioto he proceeded down the Ohio and up the Great Miami to the village of La Demoiselle and his band of Miami located near the present Piqua, Ohio. La Demoiselle was coy, but through an Iroquois interpreter, supplying the absence of Sieur Roy,<sup>1</sup> vainly summoned from Miami, he agreed to return to Kekionga next spring. September 25 Céloron arrived at the Miami post, then commanded by De Raymond. Here Le Pied Froid, great chief of all the Miami, assured him that La Demoiselle

<sup>1</sup> A certain Pierre Roy had married a Miami squaw in 1703. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire*, 1:536. He was apparently interpreter at the Miami post, 1721-1724. *L'Archiviste* . . . de Québec pour 1921-1922, 196, 200, 201, 206. His sons, Pierre, born at Detroit, April 21, 1706, and François, born April 20, 1713, are indicated. François accompanied La Pérade from the Miami post in 1740. A N Colonies C11A 76:212. Various bills from June 30, 1747 are for supplies, for pirogues, and for carrying freight across the portage. He is referred to as interpreter June 18, 1750. *Ibid.*, 119:142. June 30, 1752 a year's wages as interpreter are indicated at six hundred livres. July 18, 1752 he was given a certificate for twenty livres for a trip to Tippecanoe to the band of Le Gris. *Ibid.*, 119:307.

A brother [not listed by Tanguay], André Roy, called Pacane, is certified February 24, 1750 as delivering blue cloth to relieve the widow of Le Jarret of her mourning. *Ibid.*, 119:91. Further services to De Raymond are indicated by the following [*ibid.*, 119:93]:

Il Est ordonné au Sr àndre Roy dit pacane sur les different avis que nous avons En d'une Conspiration general dont Les françois sont menacés par toutes Les nations corumpûe par les anglois, et que s'assemble actuellement En conseil a La Riviere a la Roche de partire aussitost Le present ordre recüe pour se rendre a Ladte Riviere a La Roche, pour y Ecouter et En tandre ce qui s'y Reglera et decidera touchant Ladit Conspiration ou Les autres Entreprise que nos Ennemis pouroient faire d'attaquer Les forts et postes des Miami et 8iatanon, ou de garder Les passages qui conduisent au susdits postes et si les angloise et nations assemblés, ne le voulant pas souffrir dans Led Conseil ou quils se cachassent de Luy pour Le tenir En secret nous Luy ordonnons de ne Rien negliger et de faire adroitement tous ces Efforts pour sçavoir ce qui en sera decideé et Regléé dans Led Conseil, de Contraire au bien du service du Roy et a La surté et conservation de susdt poste et passages et de tous ses pais icy et il nous rendra a son retour un fidel Conte de tous ce qu'il aura vûe, apris et Entendu donné au poste et fort des miami ce 15 de May 1750.

Signé DE RAIMOND.

On the various advices we have received of a general conspiracy with which the French are threatened from all the tribes that have been corrupted by the English, and for which a council is actually assembling at Great Miami River, the Sieur André Roy, called Pacane, is directed to leave immediately on receipt of the present order, to repair to the said Great Miami River. There he is to listen and learn whatever may be arranged and decided with regard to the said conspiracy or other enterprises that our enemies may undertake such as attacking the forts and posts of Miami and Ouiatanon or besetting the routes which lead to the said posts. And if the English and the assembled tribes will not suffer him in the said

was lying: he, Le Pied Froid, was the only one who loved the French. Returning by Detroit Céloron reached Fort Frontenac November 6, with but a dubious report of the western Indians. He had, so far as lead cast into plates could do it, renewed French possession of the Ohio; he had warned Indians and English traders but had not scared them.

Alarming news preceded him. De Raymond, formerly commandant at Niagara, now at Miamis, used his pen much more freely if not much better than most of his fellow officers, and like them took great care never to hide his own light under a bushel. In a series of letters beginning September 4, three weeks before Céloron's arrival at Miamis, he drew a detailed and alarming picture of the situation centering on the Miami. La Demoiselle would not return. Cheap English goods were enabling the English to bring about a general revolt. The English were scattered throughout the villages of the Ohio, three hundred in number; they had brought forty horse loads of arms, and had built three forts; they had given Nicolas, the rebel Huron, swivels and mortars. Flags, red belts were being carried through all the tribes; a rendezvous at La Demoiselle's village and an attack on Detroit were threatened. Le Pied Froid, the great chief, De Raymond's main informant, was well disposed but had no influence over his immediate band. That of Tippecanoe, under the nominal leadership of Le Gris,<sup>1</sup> son of Le Jarret, who had been stabbed that spring, was well disposed. That of La Demoiselle was gone for good.

Raymond's alarmist reports were received by the Marquis de la Jonquière,<sup>2</sup> who had succeeded La Galissonnière as governor-

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council or hide matters from him to keep this secret, we direct him to neglect nothing, making adroitly all efforts to learn what may be decided and arranged in the said council, contrary to the good of the king's service and the safety and preservation of the said posts and routes and all these regions. On his return he will give us a faithful account of all he may have seen, learned, and gathered. Given at the post and fort of the Miamis.

May 15, 1750

Signed: DE RAYMOND

<sup>1</sup>Le Gris, chief of the Tippecanoe band of Miami. *Post*, 120-121. Le Jarret was his stepfather.

<sup>2</sup>Pierre Jacques de Taffanel, Marquis de la Jonquière, 1680 or 1685-1752. Governor of New France from 1749 until his death, March 17, 1752.



general. A naval officer, old, suffering from the wounds which caused his death three years later, accused apparently with reason of avariciousness in lining his own nest, his worst defects were lack of judgment and inability to penetrate into the purposes of those around him. Antagonizing the Montreal merchants by his opposition to their contraband trade, he finally fell completely into the western policy which their interests dictated, a policy which, under the name of the Canadian policy, the ministry expressly disapproved in 1752. His reaction to De Raymond's alarming reports was not that expected by the gentleman. Instead of confiding in his own faith in his powers to cope with the situation, he replaced him with the *Sieur Louis Coulon de Villiers*,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The various De Villiers who served in the West in or about the period of this volume are such a tangled web that it seems best to devote a special note to them. It is in general based on the researches of M. l'Abbé A. Gosselin in the *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, 12:161, 193, 225, 257, 289.

Nicolas-Antoine Coulon de Villiers, after service in command at St. Joseph and in the Fox wars, was killed at Green Bay September 16, 1733 in an affray with the Sauk and Fox.

His son Nicolas-Antoine Coulon de Villiers, born June 25, 1708, had served under his father at St. Joseph and La Baye and commanded the party that defeated the Sauk three days after his father's death. He was promoted lieutenant, November 30, 1734 and was in command at St. Joseph in 1740-1742. He married Marie-Anne-Tarieu de la Pérade, *veuve de la Richarderie*, at Quebec in 1743, being termed Antoine Coulon, *Sieur de Villiers*, lieutenant. By that time the Chevalier de Villiers, ensign, who probably was his brother Louis, had succeeded him in command at St. Joseph. A N Colonies C11A 79:147v. He became a captain in 1744, served with success against the English in Acadia in 1746-1747, and was permitted in the latter year to go to France on account of wounds. In 1748 he became a chevalier of St. Louis and major of Three Rivers. Returning in 1749, he died in the spring of 1750 and was buried at Montreal as Nicolas Coulon, esquire, *Sieur de Villiers*, aged forty-one.

Louis Coulon de Villiers, brother of the above, was born August 10, 1710. He signed at St. Joseph March 7, 1729 as "Louis Coulon de Villiers le fils." He may be the cadet *à l'aiguillette* who signed there as "Villiers" in 1731, and as "villiers fils cadet" he is listed as ensign *en second* in 1732. He can probably be identified with the De Villiers of the Chickasaw campaign of 1739. He as well as his brother François seems to bear the title of the Chevalier de Villiers. A "Chev. de Villiers," ensign, commanding at St. Joseph in 1743, is probably Louis. M. Gosselin's identification of him with the *Sieur de Villiers*, lieutenant of infantry sent to command at Miamis in 1750, is established past a doubt by the agreement printed on p. 224, which refers to him as Louis Coulon de Villiers. He was still in the upcountry in 1752 but married at Montreal in December, 1753 as Coulon Villiers, captain of the troops of the garrison. June 14, 1754 he passed

persuaded that his influence over the Miamis would, with a few trifling presents, secure the reuniting of the tribe under French influence.

Chatauqua at the head of a reënforcement on its way to the Ohio. *L'Archiviste* . . . de Québec pour 1927-1928, 365. Arrived at Fort Duquesne June 26, he at his request was given command of the detachment starting out against Washington's force, in order to avenge his brother De Jumonville, replacing the Chevalier le Mercier in command. For his success at Fort Necessity he was sent back with dispatches and recommended by Duquesne for the Cross of St. Louis. A N Colonies C11A 99:279. He served at Niagara in 1755, in the Oswego campaign of 1756, and at Fort William Henry in 1757. He died of smallpox at Montreal, November 2, 1757. The Louisiana troop lists indicate another Chevalier de Villiers who was ensign *en second*, October 15, 1752, ensign *en pied*, February 1, 1754, and lieutenant, July 1, 1759. A N Colonies D2C4. He cannot in any way be fitted into the known family.

François Coulon de Villiers, another brother of the above, M. Gosselin conjectures to have been born at Verchères about 1712, a year for which the parish records are missing. He probably served with his father and brothers at St. Joseph and La Baye; probably also was the "cadet à l'aiguillette" wounded in the arm in his brother's defeat of the Sauk, September 19, 1733. He as one of the Chevaliers de Villiers listed served in the Chickasaw campaign. In the Louisiana troop lists he appears as cadet in Canada; ensign in Louisiana, October 15, 1736; lieutenant, June 1, 1746; captain, February 1, 1754. A N Colonies D2C4. The settlement of Nicolas-Antoine's estate in 1752 indicates a lieutenant serving on the Mississippi. He is probably the De Villiers whose convoy was attacked at the mouth of the Wabash about 1741. *Ibid.*, C13A 27:139v. He may well have served around Fort Duquesne in 1755. In 1756 he brought a convoy of provisions from the Illinois. In 1757 he led a party out to Fort Cumberland and in July took Fort Granville. November 28, 1757 he was aid major at Fort de Chartres. In 1758 he carried another convoy of provisions to the Ohio and was at Grant's defeat. He signs as Chevalier de Villiers, captain, commanding the Illinois convoy in May-June, 1759. A N Colonies V7 345:534v, 626, 639. He was taken prisoner with De Ligneris at Niagara in 1759; and received the Cross of St. Louis in that year. He died at New Orleans, May 22, 1794.

Joseph Coulon de Villiers, called de Jumonville, another brother, was born September 8, 1718. He was on the Chickasaw expedition. In 1748 he accompanied a raid from Montreal. Despite a plea for promotion in 1750, he died an ensign. October 11, 1745 he married Marie-Anne-Marguerite Soumande. Beyond the fact that he signed at Montreal in 1752, nothing is known of his movements until the expedition that ended in death and immortalization May 28, 1754. A Jumonville certified on May 22, 1742 to supplies furnished at Mackinac [A N Colonies C11A 76:214], and Joseph L'Epinay de Villiers signed July 15, 1740. *Ibid.*, C11A 74:142. He may also be the ensign of troops detailed from St. Frederick, November, 1747. *N. Y. C. D.*, 10:147-148. He can scarcely be adjusted to the Charles, esquire, Sieur de Jumonville, cadet à l'aiguillette, buried at Fort Duquesne, July 27, 1755. *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, 19:197.

Another brother, Pierre, born May 4, 1720, added Lespiney to his name. He signed at St. Joseph March 24, 1742 and died in the Acadian cam-



Through the winter of 1750 the stories told to De Raymond by warriors, chiefs, and interpreters of the machinations of La Demoiselle's Miami, of the seduction of the remaining western tribes, and of the onset of the English, grew more and more appalling. Of course in the interests of presents and promotions, neither De Raymond's informants nor De Raymond himself were likely to err on the side of understatement. English forts burgeoned out of the fertile Ohio soil; swivels and mortars, and garrisons of 150 English sent out with officers from Philadelphia grew as though the dragon's teeth had been sown. The whole was interlaced with belts of wampum, axes, red blankets, and red flags borne by chiefs and warriors disappointed in the presents they received of the French, all designed to corrupt all the tribes of the West. It might be doubtful if the Ottawa of Detroit were to move to the Great Miami River, or that the Piankashaw were to escort the English to the Falls of the Ohio and to the Vermilion; it might be doubtful if these same English were to establish themselves thirty-five miles from Miamis at the Forks of the Wabash. But it certainly was true that the Miami of the Tippecanoe village, despite all exhortations, refused to move to Miamis, that Le Pied Froid suddenly and obstinately refused to go to Montreal; nor was it unlikely that most of the western tribes had been to trade with the English and that efforts were making to attack the French.

La Jonquière was guided by skilful Canadian hands into paths of finesse and circumvention. De Villiers replaced the alarmist De Raymond at Miamis with instructions to employ his supposed influence over both the son of Le Gris and La Demoiselle to make the former lure the latter back under the wing of the French. The wily Joncaire,<sup>1</sup> as influential among the Seneca as was William Johnson among the Mohawk, was dispatched with

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paign of 1746.

Another brother whose name is unknown was killed with his father, September 16, 1733.

An altogether different person and of a different family was Pierre Joseph de Neyon de Villiers, for whom see *post*, 560n.

<sup>1</sup> The original De Joncaire, Louis-Thomas, had numerous children, two of whom played an active part in the Seven Years' War. Philippe-Thomas,

canoe loads of presents over the Chautauqua portage, instructed to descend even to Sonnioto to soothe and conciliate the villages ruffled by Céloron's show of armed force. He was to drive out the English traders or at any rate to order them away. He was to establish trading houses that might surreptitiously become forts.

The French ministry meanwhile had adopted La Galissonnière's theory that the farming of the western posts had been responsible for the high prices and scarcity of goods that had brought about the revolt of 1747 and approved his suggestion that henceforth only the more distant and lesser posts, Temiscamingue, Nipigon, Kaministiquia, Michipicoten and La Pointe be farmed, the remainder being set to licenses. The French hoped they had diverted western trade from Oswego, when in the fall of 1750 they got the Seneca to tolerate a second fortified post at the foot of the Niagara portage.

On the other side English officialdom was at last stirring. Governor Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, dispatched presents to the Miami; representations of the Indians of the Ohio, Shawnee, Iroquois, Delaware, and Huron assured him that to the number of fifteen hundred or two thousand men they would stand firm to the English. George Croghan on November 16 reported from Logstown to Governor Hamilton the machinations of Joncaire and the Indians' wish that the English have a fort on the Ohio.

Disturbing elements, the rivalry of Virginian and Pennsylvanian, land speculator and fur trader appeared when the Ohio Company dispatched Christopher Gist to the Ohio to spy out the land as far as the Falls and to select good lands for settlement. By November 25 he had reached Logstown, where he found reprobate Irish Indian traders to whom for his bodily safety he

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baptized January 9, 1707, married Madeleine Renaud, July 23, 1731. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire*, 3:283. He signed as lieutenant and interpreter at Quebec, November 2, 1748. *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, 22:349. He was active in sustaining French influence on the Ohio, 1749-1753.

His younger brother, Daniel, Sieur de Chabert et de Clausonne, is said variously to have been born in 1714 and 1716. January 19, 1751 he married Marguerite Robbert; he was buried at Detroit, July 5, 1771. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire*, 5:18. He and his brother were sustainers of French influence among the Seneca, rivals of Sir William Johnson for the mastery of the Iroquois.

had to lie about his business. He attached himself for greater safety to George Croghan, the idol of the traders. At the Muskingum Huron village he found English colors flying on the houses of the chief and of Croghan. He found the latter was concentrating his traders at this village and at Piqua in view of reports that French and Indian parties were picking up scattered English traders wherever they could be found. In September, two such taken in June had escaped to Oswego from their French captors. Other seizures were reported toward the end of the year.

In the winter of 1751 the French and English engaged in diplomatic fencing for the control of the Ohio Indians, and especially the village of La Demoiselle. In it the French came off second best. February 17 Gist had reached La Demoiselle's village which he described as four hundred families, with a fort that needed the repairs being made by the English traders' servants, and with an English flag flying over La Demoiselle's house. There February 25, Gist and Croghan received messages from Wea and Piankashaw, and next day saw La Demoiselle repel with scorn French messages from the Ottawa. Toward the end of March, misled by signs of penitence, Villiers visited Piqua to endeavor to persuade the Indians to return, but was repelled with an insolence which as Céloron thought rendered strong measures inevitable.

In May, 1751 Croghan and Montour, bearing the present of Governor Hamilton, fought a successful diplomatic battle with Joncaire at Logstown for control of the Iroquois, Shawnee, and Delaware of the region. Joncaire on May 21 demanded an answer to Céloron's speech of 1749 bidding them drive off the English traders. The Iroquois returned Céloron's belt with a flat refusal. Disconcerted, Joncaire privately apologized for his speech, saying his orders had compelled him to make it, though he knew the French were in no position to coerce the Six Nations. They were not appeased. "Is it not our land?" said the Iroquois spokesman stamping his foot on the ground and putting his finger to Joncaire's nose; "What right has Onontio to our lands?" He was to go back and tell Onontio to send them word what he meant by such practices. May 28, the English repre-

sentatives held a treaty with Iroquois, Delaware, Shawnee, Wyandots and Miami; Croghan warned them that they would lose the English traders through the strong houses they had suffered to be built on their lands. The English situation was a strong one; but by refusing the expense of a fort at the Forks of the Ohio in 1751, on the ground it was outside the colony, the Pennsylvania Assembly tossed the English advantage away.

From Detroit, Céloron deemed the situation serious. In sending to Montreal some English traders taken in the previous autumn, one near Miamis, and three near the present site of Cleveland, he felt it necessary to send an escort of 150 French and 20 Ottawa, for the Hurons were much displeased at the arrest. Céloron was convinced that at least 1200 French operating from the Chautauqua portage and 600 sent to Detroit, both with Indian auxiliaries, were needed to deal with the menace of the Ohio tribes.

La Jonquière however was weighing out his armaments upon a miser's scales. His Canadian advisers had doubtless convinced him that when Joncaire's cajoleries failed to do their work, the next recourse must be to a French and Indian expedition against La Demoiselle's village, operating from Detroit and keeping at a respectful distance from the Six Nations and the lands they claimed. Céloron apparently considered that the number of French and Indians of Canada sent out to him, disappointingly small when joined to the French of his own post, was insufficient for offensive operations; for the western Indians, taken aback by the small number of their auxiliaries, avoided coöperation. A small party of Nipissing which Céloron could not stop at Detroit took two Miami scalps, a stroke sufficient only to anger the Indians. La Jonquière argued that since La Demoiselle's fort was incomplete, and his people short of food and dispersed to hunt, a sudden blow was possible with a small force. Duquesne<sup>1</sup> later considered Céloron had been at fault. Next year Langlade<sup>2</sup> with

<sup>1</sup> Michel-Ange, Marquis Duquesne de Menneville, 1701 or 1702-1778. Governor-general of New France, 1752-1755.

<sup>2</sup> Charles-Michel Mouet, Sieur Langlade, baptized May 9, 1729, at Mackinac. Married at Mackinac August 12, 1754, Catherine-Ambroisine Bourassa. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire*, 6:125. His death is reported as in Janu-

a surprisingly small force succeeded under conditions such as La Jonquière had envisaged. At all events La Jonquière frantically rebuked Céloron in letters intended for ministerial consumption to justify his own failure.

On other sides his success was better. He withstood to their faces the Iroquois who claimed the Ohio as theirs. He reëstablished the Mackinac Indians in allegiance, got back an English belt that had been among the Chippewa ever since 1747 and prepared the Indians of the Northwest for Langlade's enterprise of the succeeding year. On the report from Mackinac that hunters of most of the neighboring tribes had been to trade with the English, carrying three hundred packs through the Sault, he had granted<sup>1</sup> Sault Ste. Marie in seigniority to two Canadians who agreed to build an intercepting post there. A thousand packs were reported carried past Niagara on the way to Oswego.

In the Illinois country on January 7 or 9, had died the Chevalier de Bertet, after successfully guiding it through the dangers of the war. Pestilence for two years back had taken toll of the French. Bertet was succeeded temporarily in the command by Benoist de St. Claire,<sup>2</sup> an officer of average ability. He had not much to report during the year. The Osage, accused of killing French on the Missouri, sent chiefs with apologies which it was expedient to accept as no stronger steps could be taken. On the other side at Vincennes the tribes attached to the post showed a sudden tendency to migrate. St. Ange,<sup>3</sup> its comman-

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ary, 1800, but he autographed a letter on July 26 of that year. *W. H. C.*, 18:462. He became an ensign *en second*, March 15, 1755 [*Canadian Archives*, 1905, volume 1, part 6, p. 511; *A N Colonies*—C11A 99:280v, 282v; B101:131v], in reward for his successful attack on La Demoiselle's village. He had a long career in the West.

<sup>1</sup> October 18, 1750.

<sup>2</sup> Jean Baptiste Benoist, Sieur de St. Clin or St. Claire. Captain, October 15, 1736. Chevalier of St. Louis, 1750. Died at New Orleans, September 9, 1757. *A N Colonies* D2C4. He served as acting commandant at the Illinois, 1740-1742, 1749-1751.

<sup>3</sup> Louis St. Ange, Sieur de Bellerive, baptized February 20, 1702. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire*, 4:382. Died at St. Louis, December 26, 1774. In command of the Missouri post, 1736. In command at Vincennes, 1736-1764. Succeeded Neyon de Villiers at Fort de Chartres, and surrendered it to the English, October 10, 1765. He later entered the Spanish service at St. Louis. Alvord and Carter: *The Critical Period, 1763-1765* (*I. H. C.*, 10), 289 n.; *The New Régime, 1765-1767* (*I. H. C.*, 11), 91.

dant, had at the same time to prevent the Kickapoo from joining the Foxes, and the Piankashaw from going off to the Vermilion.

From the Illinois, Benoist somewhat conservatively confirmed De Raymond's alarms. The rebel Miami were working to seduce the Illinois and had gained the Kaskaskia; the Peoria were hesitating. Once again the clash of Canada and Louisiana was heard as Benoist complained that the Green Bay Indians had been incited to seize as interlopers within the region of that post, his traders from the Illinois. He reported that the western Shawnee had disappeared. One band with Chartier<sup>1</sup> had gone to the Alibamu; he did not know as La Jonquière did from Sabrevois's<sup>2</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> A certain<sup>o</sup> Martin Chartier accompanied La Salle's men who deserted from the Illinois about January 6, 1680. He was not with the deserters that La Salle recaptured near Fort Frontenac the next July. Pierre Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de L'Amérique Septentrionale (1614-1754) Mémoires et Documents Originaux*, 2:103, 104, 108, 225. By his own somewhat indefinite account twelve years later he had about 1684 left Canada in search of some beaver due him and had been imprisoned on his return, escaping after some months. He then went to Fort St. Louis, where he remained till 1690, when the Shawnee with whom he was there associated left the post. After two years' wandering with them he ended up at the head of Chesapeake Bay, where the Maryland government allowed him to remain [*Maryland Archives*, 8:345 et seq., 524, 525] as an Indian trader. A map of Conestoga Manor of 1717 marks the site of his trading post.

Peter Chartier was his son by a Shawnee squaw. In 1718 on his father's application the Pennsylvania Board of Property issued him a warrant for three hundred acres on the Susquehanna where his father was settled. C. A. Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail*, 1:43n., 171.

In 1730 he was licensed as an Indian trader in Lancaster County. Not long after he was urged to bring back the Shawnee who had begun to move to the Ohio where he himself followed, building posts at Chartier's Creek and Chartier's Old Town. In 1745 it was reported that he had gone over to the French, accepted a French commission and plundered English traders, going down to the Shawnee town at the mouth of the Scioto. *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, 4:757-758, 780. The wanderings of Chartier's band are indicated in the current documents from Mobile to the Alabama, the Cumberland, the Wabash, and the Illinois. About 1748 he was apparently on the Wabash, leaving it for the Alabama about the time another part of the Shawnee settled at Sonnioto. He was still in the South in 1750, having appeared at Mobile and obstinately refused to remove to Canada. By 1752 he and his band had apparently gone to the Forks of the Ohio. See *post*, 69, 84-85, 117, 153, 155, 170, 185-186, 370, 584-585.

<sup>2</sup> This officer has been identified both with Charles de Sabrevois, baptized, November 25, 1699; died, 1774; ensign in 1720; lieutenant, April 20, 1729; captain in 1734 [*Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, 31:11]; and his brother, Clement de Sabrevois de Bleury, baptized, July 16, 1702; buried, April 19, 1781. The latter is unlikely. See *ibid.*, 31:77-79.



Raymond's reports that they had joined the Chickasaw to attack the French convoys on the Mississippi.

On the side of the Illinois things went their unquiet course. The French commandant at Missouri, near the present Leavenworth, Lieutenant la Barre,<sup>1</sup> was murdered February 24 by a soldier, who was shot for his crime March 18 at the Illinois. The Illinois tribes were again provoking their stronger neighbors. A Peoria had killed a Potawatomi of St. Joseph, and his tribe was attacked in retaliation despite the efforts of the commandants. The Cahokia had put to death seven Foxes, an act which was next year to draw a savage revenge from the northern tribes. Chippewa raiding the Illinois cabins at Starved Rock, killed a Frenchman; and whether as they alleged it was an accident, seemed doubtful. The Illinois and Wabash tribes continued to raid the Shawnee; and the Shawnee, though scrupulously refraining from killing the French, were holding Frenchmen as hostages.

Le Maringouin,<sup>2</sup> chief of the Vermilion Indians, still rejected English overtures; but De Ligneris,<sup>3</sup> passing there in September, had his canoe pillaged by the young men while he was speaking to the chiefs. This he thought was to hinder his going on to Terre Haute to draw the Kickapoo to his post. The English were reported to have made La Mouche Noire and La Peau Blanche

<sup>1</sup> Augustin-Antoine de la Barre, Seigneur du Jardin. Ensign *en second* in Canada; *ensign en pied* in Louisiana, December 1, 1742; lieutenant, June 11, 1750. A N Colonies D2C4. Killed by a soldier at his post of the Missouri, February 24, 1751. *Post*, 410. He married at Quebec, November 28, 1741, Marie-Anne Adhémar de Lantagnac, grandniece of the first governor Vaudreuil. *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, 14:350; 37:468. One son [referred to by Macarty, *post*, 561-562], Augustin Antoine la Barre, is listed as cadet à l'aiguillette, January 1, 1757, in D'Orgon's company. A N Colonies D2C51:1.

<sup>2</sup> Le Maringouin is referred to as a chief of the village at the mouth of the Vermilion. He was reported as friendly to the French [*post*, 454, 537], and hostile to them. *Post*, 507, 523. He died in 1752. *Post*, 751.

<sup>3</sup> François-Marie le Marchand de Ligneris. Born in Montreal, August 24, 1703. Married, January 27, 1738, Marie Thereze Migeon de la Gauchetierre. Died at Fort Niagara a prisoner, August 28, 1759, of wounds received in the action of July 25. *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, 33:241; Tanguay, *Dictionnaire*, 5:312. He was in command at Ouiatanon, 1751-1753. A N Colonies C11A 98:343; 119:306, 307, 311v, 403. See also *post*, 844, 847.

of the Wea<sup>1</sup> their agents to corrupt the Illinois. Two of the former's brothers were Kaskaskia chiefs.

Meanwhile a new order loomed up in both Illinois and New France. Those sensitive to official opinion by the spring of 1751 saw that the person whom the minister delighted to honor was the Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor of Louisiana. Son of the marquis who with the help of his wife's family governed New France in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, Vaudreuil de Cavagnal had served in Canada and the West before he was sent in 1743 to be governor of Louisiana. He was expert in the arts of popularity. Place hunters fawned on him with delight. He stood well with churchmen. He was adroit in putting the best face on unfavorable circumstances in his quarrels with Michel,<sup>2</sup> the *ordonnateur* of Louisiana. He was expert in drawing orders to subordinates so indecisive that he could assume the credit for successes and shuffle off the responsibility of failures. By 1751 Canada had heard that he was to succeed La Jonquière as governor-general of New France; and Céloron and others hastened to pay their court.

Vaudreuil, resolved to increase the garrison of the Illinois from two to six companies with a view to developing settlement and increasing the agriculture which helped to feed New Orleans and the lower posts, on the eighth of August drew the instructions of Macarty Mactigue, who was on his way there as major and commandant.

Macarty apparently owed his appointment to influence at the French court; but he zealously paid lip and pen service to Vaudreuil and begged through him for favors, allowances, transfers, and promotions. Macarty had at one time served in France; but

<sup>1</sup> La Mouche Noire is referred to as both a Piankashaw and a Wea chief. *Post*, 164, 366. He was generally regarded as hostile to the French. *Post*, 176-177, 209. Two of his brothers were said to be chiefs of the Kaskaskia. *Post*, 366-367. Probably he is the chief referred to as Rouensa's eldest brother, and brought up among the Miami. *Post*, 719.

La Peau Blanche is mentioned both as a rebel Miami who attempted to corrupt the Peoria [*post*, 366], and as a Cahokia partisan. *Post*, 663.

<sup>2</sup> Honoré Michel, Sieur de Villebois, de Saint-Michel, de la Rouvillière. From 1730 to 1747, chief commissary and deputy intendant at Montreal; 1748, commissary general of Louisiana. Died, December 18, 1752. Shortt, *Canadian Currency* . . . during the French Period, 2:637n.



since the 1730's in New France also. His patron was Lord Clare<sup>1</sup> of the Irish brigade. His service in Louisiana had not been brilliant, and his rule in the Illinois was inclined to be blundering. He acquired the bad report of the governor-general of Canada and the Jesuits, who accused him of drunkenness; in support of the accusation it must be said that he displayed great solicitude for shipments of wine to his order.

His instructions, beginning with the duty of seeing the inhabitants lived as good Christians, and himself setting an example, directed him to discourage litigation, and oppose the brandy trade and marriages with Indians. He was to obey orders from La Jonquière when they seemed clearly advantageous, otherwise referring them to Vaudreuil. He was to concert measures against La Demoiselle, lest the English make this village a second Oswego. He was to encourage agriculture and stock raising, permitting the soldiers to hire out to inhabitants. He was to detach such garrisons as seemed proper to outlying posts at Missouri and Vincennes. He was if it seemed best to send an officer and garrison to the trading post of Descaris at Peoria, taking care that the *voyageurs* repaired and supplied the fort. Since the trade of the Missouri post was secured to its commander, that officer was responsible for expenses. The complaint of the Illinois Indians that the best goods were carried there by the traders was to be redressed. French hunters, lest the Cherokee attack them, were to be kept away from the Ohio; for fear of the Sioux the same precaution applied to *voyageurs* on the Mississippi above the Illinois.

Finally Macarty had instructions to build a new fort in the vicinity of Kaskaskia for the protection of the settlement and to serve as a seat of government. Fort de Chartres Vaudreuil proposed to retain as a one-company post. François Saucier<sup>2</sup> was to come up to join him as engineer in charge.

<sup>1</sup>Charles O'Brien, but for the attainder Viscount Clare and Earl of Thomond, March 17, 1699-September 9, 1761. Inspector general of infantry and maréchal de camp. Served at Philippsburg, Dettingen, Fontenoy, Landshut, and Raucoux. Commander of the famous Irish Brigade.

<sup>2</sup>Listed in A N Colonies D2C4 as *sous-ingénieur à la Mobile*, and half-pay lieutenant, October 15, 1752. His death date is given as February 26,

Macarty arrived at the Illinois the eighth of December, in a west which seemed more dangerous to the French than ever it had been before. The taking of two Miami scalps by French Indians in the summer had its retaliations. Two soldiers of the Miamis garrison were cut off and scalped near the post. On December 19 the Piankashaw had killed two French below Vincennes and on December 21 killed two slaves. On the eve of Macarty's arrival, a party of Piankashaw and other Indians appeared in the neighborhood of Fort de Chartres to be outfitted for a raid on the Chickasaw. When a soldier was scalped and a habitant wounded between Fort de Chartres and Kaskaskia, Benoist took the alarm and sent out detachments. One under Montchervaux<sup>1</sup> killed five Indians and took four prisoners including Le Loup,<sup>2</sup> described variously as a Piankashaw chief and as a Kickapoo. Actually what with intertribal marriages there was almost an aristocracy bridging from tribe to tribe with such relationships. And such

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1757. His widow, Marie Jeanne Fontaine, remarried at Kaskaskia in July, 1761. Illinois Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1919, p. 260. He signed as surveyor in 1737 at New Orleans. *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, 11:87. June 15, 1740 [*ibid.*, 7:65], Bienville recommended him to be engineer of Mobile, describing him as a creole of good family, educated in Paris and having returned to the colony about 1730; he gave him credit for exploring the country: probably he served on the Chickasaw expedition. His letters to Vaudreuil indicate he was already married and had a son probably in his teens when he came to the Illinois in 1751 to draw plans and make estimates for a new fort, which later was the second Fort de Chartres. *Post*, 472, 780.

There can be no doubt that the engineer of the second Fort de Chartres was François Saucier. As to the Sieur Jean B. Sausie, engineer at Ste. Anne de Fort Chartres, February 19, 1752 as a godfather, he is a superfluous piece in the picture puzzle. It might be noted that November 18, 1747 Marie Rose Girardy had contracted a second marriage; her first husband, Jean Baptiste Saucier, had died in the Illinois leaving two minor children, the younger of whom was two years old at his mother's remarriage. *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, 18:985. J. F. Snyder's article on the Sauciers [Illinois Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1919, p. 218 *et seq.*] while not pure fiction is pretty nearly so.

<sup>1</sup>Jean François Tisserant de Montchervaux. Ensign in 1732; lieutenant, October 15, 1736; captain, December 1, 1747. A N Colonies D2C4. Tanguay records the marriage of a person of that name in 1721 with four sons baptized between 1724 and 1729. *Dictionnaire*, 3:330. He was in charge of the Illinois convoy of 1749 and was accused of improper conduct. Apparently he was serving in the Illinois as late as 1758. French MSS.

<sup>2</sup>Le Loup was said to be a Kickapoo, with a Mascouten mother, and a chief of the Piankashaw. *Post*, 574, 660.

hostages were the signal for certain tribes well affected to the French to sue for the pardon of the captives. The Piankashaw living on the Vermilion however retaliated by killing five French among them.

For months Macarty pursued a complicated and heavy-handed series of diplomatic bouts with the agile spokesman who pleaded the cause of the prisoners. There were reports that Le Loup had been an emissary to seduce the Illinois by threats from La Demoiselle as to what would befall them if they did not attack the French. The Kaskaskia seemed ill-affected, despite the professions of their chiefs. Le Loup insisted that he had had nothing to do with the attack; he averred that with his fellow-chiefs, Le Maringouin and Le Gros Bled, he had always been true to the French. The Peoria who had come down with their trader, Descaris, to profess their loyalty were inclined to disbelieve his story. Macarty thought that they and the Cahokia would consent to be used against La Demoiselle. The Kaskaskia he soundly reproached, telling them it was their intrigues with the Miami which hindered his showing mercy. Finally in June, on the representation of Kickapoo and Mascoutens, he released Le Loup. He released two others of the Illinois in gratitude for assistance by these tribes to French hunters overtaken by winter. The fourth, a Wea, finally escaped.

The morale of the rebel Indians was shaking. Smallpox had taken toll of the Indians on all sides. Le Gris, his mother, and Le Pied Froid were dead of it. Shortage of food put them in danger of starvation. The Piankashaw began to make overtures to St. Ange at Vincennes for forgiveness. And Charles Langlade, swooping down from Green Bay with a small party of French and Indians, surprised La Demoiselle's village while his hunters were scattered. Either the Miami gave up the English traders to secure the return of their captive women or the French captured them.<sup>1</sup> Two were killed by the Indians, and five

<sup>1</sup> The Miami denied any part in giving up the English traders to the French, professing to be more distressed by the loss of the English than by their own. *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, 5:599-600. The following English account of the affair may be compared with the French stories:

"May it Please Your Honour:

more taken prisoner and sent to France, where in 1753 the English ambassador secured their release.<sup>1</sup>

The tide had suddenly turned. La Jonquière, dying in March, 1752, had been succeeded temporarily by the Baron de Longueuil,<sup>2</sup> who prepared to carry out the Canadian policy up to the hilt. Letting his adoptive fathers, the Iroquois, strictly alone, he had planned to send a French detachment via Detroit to spend the winter of 1753 in the Miami country, and to be reinforced via the Ohio in the spring with another force to coöperate in an

"Last night Thomas Burney who lately resided at the Twightwee's Town in Allegheny, came here and gives the following account of the unhappy Affair that was lately transacted there: On the twenty-first Day of June last, early in the Morning, two Frenchmen and about two hundred and forty Indians came to the Twightwee's Town, and in a Hostile Manner attacked the People there residing. In the Skirmish there was one White man and fourteen Indians killed, and five white men taken Prisoners.

"The Party who came to the Twightwee's Town reported that they had received as a Commission two Belts of Wampum from the Governor of Canada to kill all such Indians as are in Amity with the English, and to take the Persons and Effects of all such English Traders as they could meet with, but not to kill any of them if they could avoid it, which Instructions were in some measure obeyed.

"Mr. Burney is now here, and is willing to be qualified not only to this but to sundry other matters which he can discover concerning this Affair; if your Honour thinks it proper for him to come to Philadelphia to give you the Satisfaction of Examining more particularly in relation to it he will readily attend your Honour upon that occasion, or make an affidavit of the particulars here. Such orders as your Honour pleases to send on this occasion shall certainly be obeyed by,

"May it please your Honour,

"Your Honour's most obedient Servant,

"Robt. Cellender

"P. S.—Inclosed your Honour has the Twightwee's Speech to Mr. Burney, with a Scalp and five Strings of Wampum, ® Bearer. Fifteen Days after the taking of the Town, Thomas Burney and Capt. Trent, with twenty Indians, went back to the Town, where they found all the Indians were fled, and on their Return met with Three of their Chiefs whom Capt. Trent delivered the Virginia Present to as he had then with him. These Chiefs informed them the Indians were gone eighty miles from thence, and there would reside till they heard further frõm their Brothers."

<sup>1</sup> *Post*, 811 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Charles le Moyne, second Baron de Longueuil, 1687-1755. Succeeded his father as baron, 1729. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire*, 5:336, 337. Town major of Montreal, 1733. Received the Cross of St. Louis, 1734. Commanded the Canadian expedition for the Chickasaw war, 1739-1740. *L'Archiviste* . . . *de Québec pour 1922-1923*, 181. King's lieutenant at Montreal, 1748; governor of Montreal, 1749. *Canadian Archives*, 1905, volume 1, part 6, pp. 104, 118. Recommended for captaincy, 1754. A N Colonies C11A 99:282. Acting governor of New France after La Jonquière's death, March 17, 1752, until the arrival of Duquesne.

attack on La Demoiselle. Macarty in the Illinois had previously been ordered by Longueuil to dispatch provisions for the expedition's subsistence.

But the French ministry willed otherwise. It had already dispatched the Marquis Duquesne to succeed La Jonquière and to act as a stop-gap until Vaudreuil could proceed from Louisiana to France to receive instructions preparatory to coming out as governor-general. In Duquesne's instructions the minister expressly described and condemned the Canadian policy, directing Duquesne to revoke all arrangements looking to an Indian war in the interior and to recur to La Galissonnière's policy of occupying the line of the Ohio and driving all English traders out of the region, satisfied that when English goods were no longer forthcoming the resistance of the Indians to the French would collapse.

Duquesne, a naval officer before all else, was a savage disciplinarian who instantly set himself to remedying what he considered the unpardonable slackness and indiscipline of officers, soldiers of the marine, militia, and habitants. To his stiff soldier's soul, shipping off as a prisoner to France, doomed in all probability never to see wife, children, or home again, a Canadian militiaman who had deserted from the Ohio or a Detroit habitant who had dabbled in forbidden trade was all in the day's work, though the lot of such hapless persons might draw sympathy from the soul even of the peculating intendant, François Bigot.

Duquesne apparently flattered himself on his power to make a lightning estimate of an officer's qualifications. It was true, that, finding La Jonquière dead on his arrival he did not dare ask the opinion of Longueuil or any other supporters of Canadian policy for advice about measures or men. But there was a trace of the theatrical in the way in which he selected Marin<sup>1</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Pierre Paul de la Marque, Sieur de Marin. Baptized March 19, 1692. Died October 29, 1753 on the Ohio campaign, described as sixty-three years old. *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, 19:184; A N Colonies C11A 99:59. Married Marie-Joseph Guyon. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire*, 5:513, 514. From 1720 to 1752 while he was engaged either in private trade or official command in the West his name appeared in the list of permits for trade in the upcountry. *L'Archiviste* . . . de Québec pour 1929-1930, 230-447, *passim*; 1930-1931, 395-449, *passim*. C. H. S., Otto L. Schmidt Collection, 2:240. His recall from the command of La Baye was ordered in

Péan<sup>1</sup> as leader and second in command of the expedition destined to the Ohio.

Meanwhile at the Illinois, Macarty, sometimes one judges in his cups, was dictating long and confused journal dispatches to Vaudreuil. But out of his amorphous masses of detail occasionally vivid scenes leap to life. We see the half-breed traders with or without license going out into the forbidden regions of the Ohio, trafficking deerskins with the English for goods, sometimes attacked by the caprice of the Indians. We see whole parties of deserters slipping away from the garrison, probably in part for lack of moral fiber, in part from sheer rebellion of spirit at the

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April, 1742 at the displeasure of the minister. A N Colonies B74:469v. In 1748 he was made a captain. *Canadian Archives*, 1905, volume 1, part 6, p. 107. June 1, 1750 he left to take charge of La Baye and the Post of the Sioux. He held the posts in partnership with La Jonquière and Bigot: La Baye was said to yield 150,000 livres yearly net. A N Colonies C11E 13:151v. In 1752 Duquesne selected him for the command of the Ohio expedition, apparently to the surprise of the minister.

His son, Joseph Marin, baptized February 5, 1719, commanded at Chequamegon in 1749. *Ibid.*, C11A 96:325-326. He succeeded his father at La Baye and the Sioux in 1752. For his journal of 1753 and 1754 while occupying this command, see H M LO 461. He became an ensign in 1748 after the rank had been vainly sought for him, 1742-1744. A N Colonies C11A 75:243; 79:197-197v; 81:172. He went to France after the capitulation of Montreal.

Pierre-Paul Marin had a brother Louis-Hector de la Marque, Sieur de Marin, baptized September 4, 1697. He may be the Louis Marin de la Marque referred to in an appeal from the Illinois to the Louisiana Superior Council [*Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, 15:125, 140, 146] in January-February, 1746. A few months before July, 1730 Marin had married a Missouri Indian woman named Françoise, deceased before February 3, 1739, who was the widow of a Sieur Dubois, officer of the troops of the marine on the Missouri. The case involved the rights of her children born of the two marriages. In 1752 De Vossé was contemplating marriage to one of Marin's daughters by this marriage. *Post*, 561. Though a half-breed, the girl was apparently well-off. Tanguay's statement that Louis-Hector married Marie-Anne le Gardeur, born in 1699, buried at Montreal, May 6, 1742, is contradicted by her marriage to Charles Nolan, January 28, 1727. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire*, 5:514, 293.

<sup>1</sup>Michel Jean Hugues Péan. Born 1723. On January 3, 1746 he married Angélique Renaud des Méloizes, reputed to be the mistress of the Intendant Bigot. In 1753 he was second in command to Marin on the expedition of the Ohio. In 1754 he commanded one of the detachments operating in the campaign of that year, going to Mackinac in August. His name had already been mentioned in connection with the speculation for which he was punished on his return to France. He died August 21, 1782. Shortt, *Canadian Currency . . . during the French Period*, 2:685n.; Tanguay, *Dictionnaire*, 6:271; *N. Y. C. D.*, 10:85n.; *L'Archiviste . . . de Québec pour 1926-1927*, 353 et seq., 1927-1928, 399 et seq.



hard military captivity to which they are condemned in their prison in the depth of the wilderness. It is customary to turn out parties of the habitant militia to hunt them down and add to the heavy odds which the remorseless forest laid against their escape.

On his way among inhabitants and Indians, Macarty went, a heavy tactless man. He stirred up dissatisfaction among the inhabitants, by impressing horses, and quartering soldiers on militia officers, and the supple Vaudreuil had to warn him that Canadians were best treated with tact. His harsh policy toward the wavering Kaskaskia was sharply reported by their missionary, Father Guyenne.<sup>1</sup> In retaliation for their foolish enterprises against the northern tribes, on June 1 the Indians of Wisconsin, sixty canoes and four hundred or five hundred warriors, raided the Michigamea and Cahokia and killed or captured seventy people. A week later a Frenchman's lies sent the Illinois fleeing in blind terror in a driving rain. The inhabitants of Kaskaskia pitied their plight, but Macarty was obdurate. The Illinois suspected that the French had incited the raid in punishment for their former tampering with the Miami; the relics of a powerful confederacy vacillated between childish hate and childish terror. They still thought themselves sufficiently subjects of the King of France to wish to celebrate the birth of a Duke of Burgundy, and were much hurt when Macarty ignored their loyal demonstration.

Actually the French commandants did their best to patch up friendly relations between the Illinois and the northern tribes, to secure the return of prisoners and the cessation of retaliatory raids. But if affairs among the Ohio tribes were quieting down and the rumors of an English post on White River were only rumors, the activity of Chickasaw parties working with the assistance of runaway slaves was a renewed unpleasant reminder of unfinished business in that direction.

As to his outlying posts, Macarty had dispatched the Sieur Adam<sup>2</sup> to the Peoria at the village on the Illinois, once more on

<sup>1</sup> Father Alexis F. X. de Guyenne, Jesuit. Born, 1696; came to Louisiana in 1726, serving with the Alibamu, at the Arkansas, and in the Illinois until his death in 1762. *The Jesuit Relations*, 67:342.

<sup>2</sup> Ensign at Louisiana October 1, 1750, lieutenant July 1, 1759. He was detached to the Illinois and serving in De Neyon's company in 1752. A N Colonies D2C4; H M LO 377.

the trade route of Canadians who again used the historic Chicago portage. Adam reported the fort of Descaris in ruins; the task of repairing it was assigned to the traders who frequented it. Since they no longer went to the Missouri post, due to removal of the Indians, its upkeep presented yet another problem. At Vincennes St. Ange in the midst of the alarms of 1751 had been extending his picket enceinte to take in the church and the inhabitants' houses.

Macarty was loud and reiterated in his requests for favors and promotions from Vaudreuil and the minister alike. He professed himself active in securing an increase of agricultural produce. To that end he demanded salt smugglers, discharges for his veteran soldiers and foundling girls for them to marry, since those of the Illinois looked down on private sentinels. He enlarged on the English and Spanish methods of promoting the growth of colonies in contrast to the shortcomings of the French.

Along with Saucier, other officers, inhabitants, and Jesuits, he solemnly canvassed possible sites for forts in the neighborhood of Kaskaskia, speculating whether the exhaustion of the soil in that area did not make expedient a general shift of the colony across the Mississippi. Saucier decided the inhabitants could or would contribute little but good will toward the costs of the enterprise. When his estimates were criticized as too extravagant, he complained of his enemies and implored a continuance of Vaudreuil's favors to him and to his family. Ultimately on reduced estimates the new fort was built at the site of Fort de Chartres.

In 1753 Chickasaw raids on hunter and convoy led to a renewal of the perennial requests for a fort on the lower Ohio, to which the ministry turned a deaf ear. It even ordered the dropping of the project of Fort de Chartres on grounds of economy. But to this Kerlérec,<sup>1</sup> the new governor of Louisiana, answered that work on the fort had already progressed so far and would progress so much farther before orders would ascend from New

<sup>1</sup> Louis Billouart, Sieur de Kerlérec, 1704-1770. Married in 1738 Marie-Josèphe-Charlotte du Bot. Governor of Louisiana, 1752-1763. *Canadian Archives*, 1905, volume 1, part 6, p. 508; *N. Y. C. D.*, 10:281n.; Villiers du Terrage, *Les Dernières Années de la Louisiane Française*, 29, 31, 39, 161.



Orleans that the most economical thing to do in any case was to proceed.

In the Illinois itself mines once more come under consideration, either the promised mines of copper or the actual mines of lead which even under primitive and amateur methods of mining would yield something. On the side of trade, the claim of Duquesne to grant exclusive trading privileges at Vincennes and the Illinois for Canadians called forth the protests of Kerléc, Macarty, and the inhabitants who recognized the fact that without trade privileges the country was not greatly worth their inhabiting.

The year 1753 saw the departure of Vaudreuil to France, whence in 1755 he was to return to Canada to replace Duquesne. It is disappointing from the point of view of the historical student, because, with his detailed correspondence no longer available, our narrative of events in the Illinois and the West becomes disappointingly thin. We only know that attacks by the Chickasaw on French hunters and isolated convoys continued to make life in the West unsafe even after the Indians of the Ohio had been reduced to order.

That last was taking place quite rapidly. In December, 1752, De Villiers sent Duquesne two English scalps given him in token of penitence by the rebel Miami; and though they continued to trade with the English that winter, in July they journeyed to Montreal to express their full penitence and beg forgiveness. In May the Huron were once more established in their village at Detroit.

This was no doubt in great measure due to the campaign of 1753 in which Duquesne executed the orders of his superiors. In April the Iroquois took the alarm at a mighty French armament on its way up by Oswegatchie. They appealed to the English for support; and finding the jangling English colonies unable to act in concert, the Mohawk chief Hendrick forcefully expressed his disgust. Under Marin the expedition, landing at Presqu'Isle on the shore of Lake Erie, constructed forts connected by a portage road there and at Le Boeuf on the head of navigation of Le Boeuf Creek. There the expedition halted. Low water in the creek due to an extra dry summer made it impossible to go on to

Venango, the outlet of French Creek into the Allegheny, until late fall. Indians deserted and went home; so did Canadian militiamen. The disapprobation of Marin by the officers he led may not have been so extreme as Stephen Coffen reported but was marked enough to induce Duquesne to punish the officers concerned in the interests of discipline. The ministry expressed surprise at Marin's appointment, even while it forwarded the Cross of St. Louis requested for him. Worry and dysentery ended Marin's life, by the time the French were intrenched at Presqu'Isle, Le Boeuf, and Venango.

From the Illinois a large consignment of provisions had been ordered to meet Marin on the upper Ohio. Reaching the Falls, the present site of Louisville, without hearing from him, Des Mazellières<sup>1</sup> sent Portneuf<sup>2</sup> ahead to reconnoiter. Reaching the Shawnee town at Sonnioto, Portneuf met news of Marin's delay as well as an unfriendly reception which induced him to return straight to the Illinois. Mazellières, hearing nothing, cached his provisions and returned.

Tardily colonial governors and ministry on the English side had taken the alarm. In May the English cabinet had voted a present of £1000 to the Miami, and in the late fall Dinwiddie

<sup>1</sup> Captain *en second* in the Chasseurs of the colony; captain in Louisiana, October 1, 1750. A N Colonies D2C4. In 1753 he commanded the detachment carrying provisions to the Ohio for Marin. *Post*, 862.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Louis Robineau de Portneuf. It is difficult to disentangle his career from that of Pierre Robineau, Sieur de Portneuf. The list of officers in Louisiana [A N Colonies D2C4] lists but one Portneuf, who was ensign *en pied*, October 1, 1740; lieutenant, June 11, 1750; captain, July 1, 1759. He probably can be identified with the Portneuf who took a convoy down from the Illinois to New Orleans in the spring of 1740. A N Colonies C13A 25:240. Louis Robineau de Portneuf, August 6, 1741 at Fort de Chartres contracted to marry Marie Therese Trudeau, widow of La Buissonnière, commandant at the Illinois. French MSS; *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, 15:153, 508. He was commandant at the Missouri in 1751 and as lieutenant went with Des Mazellières to carry supplies up the Ohio to meet Marin's expedition of 1753. *Post*, 338, 862. It is impossible to be sure whether he or Pierre was the officer commanding on the upper Ohio in 1757-1759. An Etienne Robineau, Chevalier de Portneuf, was at Detroit as a lieutenant, October 13, 1759. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire*, 7:10. This was perhaps the Chevalier de Portneuf who commanded at Presqu'Isle, 1757-1759, and who was an ensign at Fort Frontenac in 1750 and at Chautauqua in 1754. A N Colonies C11A 95:205v; V7, 345:174, 166v, 169; *L'Archiviste* . . . de Québec pour 1923-1924, 262, 1926-1927, 359.

dispatched the young Washington to Venango and Le Boeuf with his fruitless warning to the French to leave British territory on the Ohio. Meanwhile Croghan was on his way to the Ohio to Logstown to confirm the Shawnee in fidelity to the British. The tribe was uneasy, threatened by attack from the Ottawa and by the return of the Miami to French influence; but he hoped it would be faithful; it asked for forts on the Ohio.

Then once more the French moved in force. Passing down the Allegheny to the Forks of the Ohio, they expelled the Virginia settlers from their fort and began the construction of Fort Duquesne. Jumonville, dispatched to scout the force of Washington, met his death under circumstances about which English and French accounts did not agree. Louis Coulon de Villiers, marching to avenge his brother's death, reduced Washington to the capitulation of Fort Necessity; and obscure happenings on the wilderness frontier of France and England were placed on the diplomats' table for a solution, failure to achieve which led inevitably to the Seven Years' War.

And so the period of transition ended, and the final struggle between France and England for Illinois and the interior had begun. In provisions and in men Illinois was to make her full contribution to the cause of France in every western campaign from Braddock's in 1755 to the fall of Niagara in 1759. As France and England tried to end their warfare by negotiation, the possession of her becomes one of the contested points of negotiation; and from England's formal acquisition of her in 1763, her story fits as an integral part in the epic of the American Revolution.

## **DOCUMENTS**



## CHAPTER I

### THE END OF KING GEORGE'S WAR, 1747-1749

#### INSTRUCTIONS FOR EXPLORATION OF LOUISIANA

[H M LO 258]

Notes pour Servir D'instruction A Mr Riday dit Basseron<sup>1</sup>  
Lors Qu'il sera de retour, a la Louïsiannie, Et Qu'il parcourra Les  
differens pay's De Cette Colonies

1 Examiner La route de la Balise a la nouvelle Orleans, Si le  
fleuve Est large Et profond dans le trajet, S'il y a beaucoup  
D'isle, de quelle nature, la qualité de terre qui Borde Cet Espace,

[Translation]

Notes to serve as instructions to M. Riday, known as Bosseron,<sup>1</sup> when he shall return to Louisiana to visit the different regions of that colony.

First. Examine the route from the Balise to New Orleans, whether the river is wide and deep at the passage, whether there are many islands and of what sort; determine the quality of the

<sup>1</sup>This person is a puzzle. Manifestly some one in France with scientific interests was trusting him with a task of observation and exploration that called for knowledge, intelligence, and literacy. Yet the *dit* before his name inevitably indicates a person of no social standing. One or two scraps about him stand out. Tanguay records the baptism, May 20, 1710, of Jean-Baptiste Ridé, son of Jean Ridé *dit* Beauceron. *Dictionnaire*, 6:566. A Jean Baptiste Ridé *dit* Beauseron made an engagement to go to the Illinois in 1734. *L'Archiviste . . . de Québec pour 1929-1930*, 315. J. B. Ridday Bosseron signed as witness at Kaskaskia once in 1768 and once in 1771. French MSS. Corporal Chandonné, temporarily commanding at the Miamis, certified August 26, 1747 that "le Nommé Jean Baptiste Riday dit Bosseron," *voyageur* returning from the Illinois, had furnished for the king a gun, a kettle, and powder to the total amount of 150 livres payable to him at Montreal. A N Colonies C11A 117:10. It is possible that Riday was on his exploring expedition at the time. As to who sent him on it, I know of no clue. See also *post*, 758.

Sa production la plus ordinaire, Soit En arbre, plante &c. la hauteur Du terrain, Et Sa pente, de quel Coté Elle Est dirigé

2 De la Nouvelle Orleans Aux Natchés, Et aux differens Établissements intermediaires, qu'elle Distance, La route, quelle Espece de terre, qu'elle jsle, Et S'il En Est quelqu'une formée depuis qu'on Connoit le pays, par quelle Cause (un petit détail a Ce Sujet). la production La plus ordinaire de ces paÿs, L'estime Du Chemin par tout, Celle Des voyageurs Sur une table, Et La Sienne particulière Sur une Autre table, les Rivières qui tombent Dans Cet Espace, de quel Côté du fleuve, ou Ces rivières Conduisent, Si Elles Sont bien rapides, et par Cascades, leur largeur, a peu pres, Et leur profondeur, Si par leur Secours, Et au moyen de quelque portage, on se rend a des paÿs Connûs, Si le terrain Est Boisé, Et S'il y a quelques prairies Considerables, Lacs, ou marais, Le bois le plus ordinaires, ainsy que les plantes, leur nom En françois, Et En Sauvage, l'interprétation Du Nom, Et Ce qui a Donné sujet, de les Nommer De même, Ce quils produisent, Et a quel usage Le françois ou Sauvage, L'employ, son utilité la plus ordinaire, ainsy que de ses productions

[Translation]

soil along that stretch, its ordinary produce in trees, plants, etc., the height of the land and the direction in which it slopes.

Second. From New Orleans to the Natchez, and the various settlements between them: distances, route, type of soil, islands, and whether any new ones have been formed since the country has been known, causes (with some little detail on this head): the usual produce of the country, estimates of distance everywhere with those of the *voyageurs* on one table and his own on another: the rivers that empty in, in that stretch, from which side of the river, whither they lead, whether they are very rapid and with falls, their approximate width and depth; whether by their help and the use of portages, one could get to regions that are known: whether the country is wooded, and whether there are extensive prairies, lakes, or marshes; the usual species of trees, as well as plants, their French and Indian names, with the meaning of the latter, and why they have been so named; what they yield and for what the French or Indians employ them, their most common use

3 Des Natchés, a Sâbache, les mêmes attentions que Cy Dessus, ou Cette Riviere Conduit, Et Ce qu'elle a de relatif avec le Canada, Et autres paÿs, Examiner Les Choses les plus Curieuses, Soit Mines, Soit pierres, qui paroîtront Singulières

4 De Cet Endroit, aux jlinois Les mêmes attentions que Cy dessus. Examiner, ou il paroît y avoir Eu des Établissements Anterieurs, a Ceux des françois, Et Si Ces Établissements, Semblent avoir Été fait a la maniere Europeane, qu'elles Nations habitent ces paÿs S'ils sont grands, ou petits, leur Nombre a peu pres Si le nombre des hommes Est Surpassé, par celui Des femmes, Sils augmentent, ou non ; Et au cas de diminution, Qu'elle En Est La raison, Si Ce sont Les guerres qu'ils soutiennent avec d'autres Nations, Si C'est l'eau de vie, Et leur fureur Dans L'Etat D'hvresse, ou Si C'est occasionné par leur Excès et libertinage, avec les femmes. Leur figure Leur Caracthere Leur inconstance, ou fidelité pour le françois ; Sils paroissent plus attaché a l'anglois Leur Commerce ordinaire, Et avec qui. Les bêtes fauves Les plus Communes dans Chaque paÿs. Les lieux, ou on voit des chevaux

[Translation]

as well as what is made from them.

Third. From the Natchez to the Wabash, the same observations as above ; whither that river leads, and its relation to Canada and other countries. Examine the most curious things, as mines or rocks which appear remarkable.

Fourth. From that place to the Illinois the same observations as above. Examine if there seem to have been settlements prior to those of the French, and if they seem to have been made in the European fashion: what tribes dwell in this country, whether large or small, their approximate numbers, whether the number of men is exceeded by that of the women, if they are increasing or not ; and in case of decrease, what is the reason, whether it be the wars they carry on with other tribes, brandy, and their frenzy when drunk: or whether it is caused by excess and debauchery with the women. Their countenance, character, inconstancy or fidelity to the French ; whether they seem more attached to the English: their customary trade, and with whom: the most usual fallow animals of each region. The places where



dans la forêt, Et autre animaux Domestique; par quelle raison, ils y sont En nombre—Et d'ou ils se sont détaché pour y venir

5 rendu, a l'Embouchure De la Riviere Des jllinois, mêmes attentions que Cy dessus. Quelles sont les nations &c—Les postes Établis par le françois (Comme dans tout autre lieu) S'ils sont Considerables, tant pour le nombre, que pour L'Etendû, Leur Commerce, ou trafic. Ce qu'ils font produire au terrain &c. dans quel Endroit Cette riviere Conduit Sielle Est rapide &c. route, Distances jsles &c—Si Elle a plusieurs branches, et ou Elles Conduisent, de quel Nature Sont Les terres, Leur production &c—S'il y a quelques Montagnes, ou prairies, ou Lacs, Les Bois les plus Communs &c—qu'elle Communication avec le Canada, ou autre Lieu &c. portage &c—Le Curieux pour Mines &c—Sources Salées, Soufrées &c—il faut Les mêmes attentions pour Le Coté Des Espagnols Et donner Des notes pour tout Le pays Qu'on Cottoye

6 jl faut Spécifier, avec précision Combien de lieües Ces rivières portent Canots Sans portage, Et Audessus de Ces portages, Combien On peut Encore les poursuivre. Ce qu'on pense

[Translation]

horses and other domestic animals are seen in the forests; why they are there in numbers, and whence they came.

Fifth. Arrived at the mouth of the Illinois River, same observations as above. What are the tribes, etc., the posts established by the French (as everywhere else) if they are important either in number or extent, their trade or barter. What they produce from the land, etc; to what place the river leads; if it is rapid, etc: route, distances, isles, etc: if it has several branches, and whither they lead, the nature of the land, its produce, and whether there are any mountains, prairies, or lakes; the most common trees; the communication with Canada or other places, portages, etc. Curiosities as to mines, salt or sulphur springs, etc. The same observations must be made on the Spanish side and notes made on all the country he traverses.

Sixth. It must be exactly stated how many leagues these rivers will carry canoes without a portage, and above the portages how many leagues farther one can follow them. What is thought

pour l'endroit, ou Elles prennent Naissance ; Si Elles viennent de quelques lacs, marais, ou prairies, Et Si Dans leur origine, Elles Sont Considerable, qu'elle rélation il y a Entre la belle Riviere Autrement dit ohio, quelques autre riviere qui tombent dans Cette lere ou qui la Cottoyent, Et Les jlinois, ou Missisipi

7 Lendroit ou tombe Le missouri, Ce qu'il y a de Curieux A Cette occasion, route, Estime de chemin, Dans Cette riviere &C Quel Est Son Contour, Si Cette riviere Est Considerable tant pour Sa longueur, que pour Sa largeur, Et profondeur, Les isles &C—Les pay's Les plus remarquable, ou ils Conduisent, Ce qu'on y voit &C Et d'ailleurs mêmes attentions que Cy dessus. Comment il Communique avec Le Canada, et avec quels autres pay's S'il y tombe quelque riviere Considerable, port Elles Canot loin &C

8 mêmes attentions pour Le Missisipi jusqu'a les Sources, dans quel pay's Elles sont, ou il Conduit. Et ou Conduisent ses branches, chacune D'elle En particulier, Cequ'on y voit de plus Curieux, Leur Communication avec Le Canada, Et d'autres pays. les nations Semées Dans les Lieux &c

[*Translation*]

to be the place at which they rise; do they come from various lakes, marshes, or prairies, and if in their origin they are considerable; what the relation is between the Beautiful River, otherwise called the Ohio, and the other rivers that empty into it or which border it, as well as the Illinois or the Mississippi.

Seventh. The place where the Missouri empties, what curiosities there are in that respect; route; estimate of the way by that river, etc.; what is its contour; is it as remarkable for length as breadth and depth, islands, etc.; most remarkable countries, whither they extend, what is to be seen there, and otherwise the same observations as above. How does it communicate with Canada, and with what other countries; does any considerable river empty there, will they carry a canoe far, etc.

Eighth. Same observations for the Mississippi as far as its sources, in what country they are and whither it leads; also whither its branches lead, each in particular, what is most curious to be seen there, the communication with Canada and other countries, the tribes scattered in those regions, etc.

9 Attentions relatives a tous Les articles Cy Dessus.

Les Brumes Qu'il appercevra, ou Elles Sont plus Communes, de quel vent Elles viennent Ordinairement, Si Elles Durent Long-tems, de quelle façon Elles se dissipent, Si C'est la force Du vent, ou Sa qualité qui la Dissipe, ou Si C'est le Soleil—Et dequel façon Elle se Dissipe si C'est par Nuage ou par goutte de pluyë— Si Dans quelques rivières on apperçoit flux et reflux Combien D'heures Dure Chacun Sil y a Lieu de Croire que ce soit Le vent, ou autre Cause qui produise Cet Effet, Et tous Les détails necessaires a Ce Sujet

Si par le Coté On se rend a quelque mer ; Si la mer Est au Sud, ou a l'ouëst &c, les lacs, ou rivières qui y Conduisent, Specifier Ce qu'on En dit, Et Si Ceux qui En parlent Sont Croyables. Marquer aussi Ce qui Se dit Sur Les differens paÿs Dont Ses memoires traiteront. Spécifier Si Ces discours sont généraux, ou particuliers. S'il n y a que quelque personne qui rapportent Certaine Chose. Examiner S'ils sont Ordinairement vrais Expliquer toutes Ces Choses Dans son Mémoire. Si plusieurs disoient a peu pres La même Chose avec Certaine Dif-

[*Translation*]

Ninth. Observations on all the above articles.

The fogs he may see, where they are most frequent, with what wind they usually come, if they last a long time, how they lift, whether by the strength or the nature of the wind, or by the sun: and how they lift, in clouds or in heavy dews. Whether in some rivers one sees a rise and fall, how many hours each lasts, whether there is reason to think it the wind or some other cause which produces it, and all necessary details on the subject.

Whether from those parts one reaches a sea, whether the sea is the South or the West, the lakes or rivers that lead to it. Specify what is said, and if those who say it are to be believed. Indicate also what is said on the different countries of which his memoirs treat. Specify if this talk is general or particular. If only some one person says a certain thing, examine if he is usually reliable, and explain fully in the memoir. If several say about the same

ference, La faire Sentir Dans Ce quil Écrira S'il pouvoit avoir  
 une Carte de Ces paÿs faite Sur des mémoires, Sur la fidelité  
 des quels ou put Compter, Ce seroit une Chose a ne point négliger,  
 Et je le prieroit même De se donner tous Les mouvemens neces-  
 saire pour y reussir, Et de s'adresser pour Cela a Monsieur Le  
 Gouverneur, messieurs Les jngenieurs, ou Mathematiciens qui  
 auroient vû Ces pāys, ou fait quelques Memoires qui En traitoient,  
 Et pour Lors je luy Serois tres obligés D'en faire prendre Coppie  
 Et de la joindre aux memoirs Qu'il m'enverra

.....  
 je le prie aussi de S'informer D'une gomme qui vient au Missisipi  
 qu'on nomme je Crois copal je luy donneray Le nom de cette  
 gomme plus certainement qui fait de tres beau vernis Et de m'en  
 envoyer comme s'il pouvoit aussi Envoyer, un jeune arbre, ou  
 Deux, qui produit de Cette gomme..

[*Translation*]

thing with certain variations, make that appear in what he writes.  
 If he can have a map of these regions made on the basis of the  
 memoirs, on the accuracy of which one could count, that would be  
 a thing not to be neglected; and I would even urge him to take all  
 necessary steps to succeed in it, and to that end to address him-  
 self to Monsieur the governor or to Messieurs the engineers or  
 mathematicians who may have seen those regions or have drawn  
 memoirs which treat of them; and to that end I shall be much  
 obliged to him if he will have copies taken, and annex them to the  
 memoirs he will send to me.

.....  
 I beg him also to inform himself respecting a gum which  
 comes from the Mississippi called, I believe, copal—I will give  
 him the name of this gum, which makes fine varnish, more exactly  
 —and to send me some as well as one or two saplings of the tree  
 which gives it, if that is possible..

VAUDREUIL TO MAUREPAS,<sup>1</sup> March 15, 1747

[A N Colonies C13A 31:17]

MONSEIGNEUR

.....  
20v....

Les differens qui estoient survenus entre les chactas, les abekas Talapouches et caoüitas ont été terminé peu de tems après, pensant bien que je ne pouvois rien faire de plus avantageux pour les progrès de la Colonie que de maintenir la paix et l'union parmi ces nations alliées a quoi je donnerai toujours une application de préférence et comme il n'est pas moins essentiel pour faire perdre aux anglois les vües d'aggrandissement qu'ils ont toujours

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sur cette colonie, je n'ai rien obmis pour leur faire des ennemis parmi ces nations mais je n'ai pu y reussir quant aux halibamons qui conservent toujours une exacte neutralité, j'ai bien profité des dissensions qui S'etoient elevées entre eux et celles des Rivierre d'Ouabache et d'Oïo ainsi qu'avec les chaoüanons, pour engager

[Translation]

MONSEIGNEUR:

.....  
The disputes which had arisen between the Choctaw, the Abihka, Talapoosa, and the Kawita were ended soon after. I thought I could do nothing more advantageous for the progress of the colony than maintaining the peace and union among these allied tribes to which I shall always particularly apply myself. Moreover, as it is no less essential to make the English abandon the ideas they have always had of expanding at the expense of this colony, I have omitted nothing to make enemies for them among these tribes; but I have never been able to succeed with the Alibamu who always maintain a strict neutrality. I have made good use of the dissensions which had arisen between them and the Indians of the Wabash and Ohio rivers as well as the

<sup>1</sup> Jean Frédéric Phéliepeaux, Comte de Maurepas. July 3, 1701-September 21, 1781. Secretary of state for marine, 1723; minister of the colonies, 1733. Dismissed from office in 1749. Prime minister on the accession of Louis XVI. Shortt, *Canadian Currency . . . during the French Period*, 1:537n.

tous ces sauvages a faire des incurtions sur leur etablissemens, mais j'en ignore jusqu'apresent le Succés n'aïant recû depuis ce tems aucunes Nouvelles des Jllinois.

Par celles qui me sont parvenües le primtems dernier Mr Bertet m'informoit que le S. Desruisseau travailloit fortement a

perfectionner le fort que sa Majesté <sup>21v</sup> a approuvée qu'il batit sur la Riviere du Missouris au moyen de la Traite exclusive que je luy en avois accordé Monseigneur, Sous vôtre bon plaisir, jusqu'à présent les arrangemens qui ont ete pris a cet égard n'ont pas peu contribué a en arreter les désordres et les abus qui m'avoient déterminé a prendre ce party sans avoir occasionné aucunes plaintes de la part de ceux qui etoient dans l'usage de faire cette traite qui pour la pluspart sont des vagabonds et coureurs de bois qui nous occasionnoient fort Souvent des désertions

J'ignore quel succès auront eu les menaces que j'ai fait faire <sup>22</sup> aux Jllinois de leurs retrancher leurs présens s'ils continuoient

[Translation]

Shawnee in order to induce all these Indians to make raids on their settlements. Up to now I do not know what success I have had as since that time I have received no news from the Illinois.

By the reports which reached me last spring, M. Bertet informed me that the Sieur Desruisseau was working hard to complete the fort which His Majesty has approved his building on the Missouri River from the profits of the exclusive trade which I had allowed him, Monseigneur, by your good pleasure. Up to now the arrangements made in this matter have not a little contributed to checking the disorders and the abuses which had determined me to take that course; and it has given rise to no complaints from those who were accustomed to trade there, and who for the most part are vagabonds and *coureurs de bois* and very often the cause of desertions.

I do not know what will be the success of the threats I have had made to the Illinois to cut off their presents if they continue to remain inactive and to give us as the sole proofs of

a demeurer dans l'inaction et a Nous donner pour toutes preuves de leur attachement des assurances de se mieux comporter a L'avenir a notre egard; Lorsque j'en Serai instruit J'aurai Monseigneur, lhonneur de vous en faire part et de vous rendre Compte du parti le plus convenable que je jugerai devoir prendre avec Mr de Bertet touchant ces Nations

Les akansas Sont venus me voir l'Eté dernier et m'apporterent cinq chevelures qu'ils venoient de Faire Sur les chicachas ces Sauvages commencent a Se bien comporter, J'ai eu peine a les tirer de la Létargie ou je les avois trouvé, ils me paroissent

22v

apresent dans Nos Interets Je ne negligerais rien pour les y maintenir, tout récemment ils viennent encore de m'envoier deux chevelures, S'ils y prennent gout ils sont bien Capables de donner de la Tablature aux Chicachas d'autant mieux qu'ils en Sont plus aportée qu'aucune de nos alliées; Pour les y animer je chargerai le Sr de Moncherveaux qui commande dans ce poste et duquel je n'ai que de bons témoignages a vous rendre, de leur payer les chevelures gracement, et de leur en témoigner ma satisfaction

[Translation]

their friendship, mere promises to behave better to us in the future. When I have received information as to this I shall, Monseigneur, have the honor to communicate it to you and to give you an account of the course that I shall think it most proper to adopt along with M. de Bertet respecting these tribes.

The Quapaw came to see me last summer and brought me five scalps which they had taken from the Chickasaw. These Indians begin to behave themselves. I had trouble in stirring them out of the lethargy in which I found them, but at present they appear to be in our interest, and I will neglect nothing to keep them so. Quite recently they came again to bring me two scalps. If they take a notion to do so, they are quite capable of confounding the Chickasaw all the more since they are in a better situation to do it than any of our allies. To encourage them I shall instruct the Sieur de Montchervaux, who commands at that post, and of whom I have only good accounts to give you, to pay them well for the scalps and to testify to them my approbation.



Quant aux arrangemens pris pour les limites de la Traite du Gouvernement de Canada avec celui cy J'ai eu l'honneur de vous prevenir, Monseigneur, par mes lettres de l année derniere que je

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ferois part de ces propositions a Mr Le Marquis de Beauharnois<sup>1</sup> au départ du convoi des illinois comme j'avois desja fait l'année d'auparavant, il a du recevoir le Plan de ces limites avec le memoire qui les concernoit, Je n'en ai point encore reçu de Réponse, sil m'en arrive d'icy au départ du Chameau J aurai lhonneur de vous en rendre Compte

Jai lhonneur detre avec un tres profond Respect Monseigneur  
Vôtre tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur

VAUDREUIL

A LA NLLE ORLEANS le 15. Mars 1747

[Translation]

As to the arrangements taken for the boundaries between the trade of the government of Canada and of this one, I had the honor to inform you, Monseigneur, by my letters of last year, that I would communicate these proposals to M. le Marquis de Beauharnois<sup>1</sup> at the departure of the Illinois convoy as I had already done the year before. He should have received the project for these boundaries with the memoir regarding them. I have not yet received any reply. If one arrives here when *Le Chameau* sails, I shall have the honor to give you an account of it.

I have the honor to be with very profound respect, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL

NEW ORLEANS, March 15, 1747

<sup>1</sup> Charles de la Boische, Marquis de Beauharnois, governor of New France, 1726-September 19, 1747. He died at Paris, July, 1749. *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, 34:551.



VAUDREUIL TO MAUREPAS, March 22, 1747

[A N Colonies C13A 31:42]

MONSEIGNEUR

Par une lettre de M. de Bertet que je viens de recevoir il paroist que les nations de ce Continent sont disposés a aller faire quelques incursions sur les habitations des anglois du coté de philadelphie, il leurs a envoïé des Colliers et un casseteste comme

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je lui avois marqué l'année derniere, Les Kaokias et Peorias les ont acceptés et sont venus luy chanter la Guerre, il a envoïé un officier chez les nations de Ouabache pour les y engager et voir dans quelles dispositions elles estoient a nôtre égard par rapport a des colliers que les Jroquois du detroit leur ont fait passer sous prétexte de détruire les chaouanons même jusques dans les villages illinois dont la pluspart des chefs les ont remis a Mr Bertet, qui ne laisse pas de s'en inquieter malgré les promesses que plusieurs lui ont faites de rester toujours attachés aux françois, il compte a cet egard se tenir sur ses gardes et attend avec impatience le retour de cet officier pour sçavoir a quoi s'en tenir et

[Translation]

MONSEIGNEUR:

By a letter of M. de Bertet which I have just received it appears that the tribes of that region are disposed to make some raids on the settlements of the English toward Philadelphia. M. de Bertet has sent them wampum belts and a tomahawk as last year I directed him to do. The Cahokia and the Peoria have accepted them and have come to sing the war song to him. He has sent an officer among the Wabash tribes to gain them over and to see what was their attitude toward us with regard to the belts which the Iroquois of Detroit under pretense of destroying the Shawnee have sent among them, even as far as the Illinois villages. Most of the Illinois chiefs turned these belts over to M. Bertet, who is still quite alarmed in spite of the promises which several of them have made him always to remain faithful to the French. In this situation he intends to stand on his guard and awaits with impatience the return of his officer to know on what he can rely and to make preparations to send war parties

se disposer a envoyer en guerre sur les anglois aussitost qu'il se

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sera assure de ces colliers ; il me marque que les chaoüanons ont paru dans d'assez bonnes dispositions a Suivre ses volontés pour aller sur les anglois pourveu, toutesfois qu'il garantit leurs femmes et leurs enfans des incurtions dont ils se croïoient menacés de la part des Jrroquois et de toutes les nations chez les quelles ils ont envoïés des colliers et des calumets qui leurs paroïssoient n'etre point flattés de les voir etablis Sur ouabache

(A S'en rapporter a ce que Mr le cher de Longueüil marqué a M. de Bertet qu'il avoit ordre de M. le Marquis de Beauharnois d'envoïer des irroquois du Detroit pour engager les chaouanons

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qui sont restés vis a vis sandoské, a venir s'etablir pres d'eux etant trop a la proximité des anglois, ce parti se trouveroit bien contraire a l'augure qui les chaouanons ont tiré de ces colliers, ce qui a déterminé ce commandant a envoyer le Sr de Portneuf pour en decouvrir la veritable cause, chez les nations de Ouabache et en même tems les inviter a aller en guerre. Mr Bertet attendoit

[*Translation*]

against the English as soon as he shall be reassured concerning these belts. He informs me that the Shawnee have appeared quite disposed to do his will and to attack the English provided he guarantees their wives and children against the raids with which they believe they are threatened by the Iroquois and by all the tribes among whom the Iroquois have sent belts and calumets; the Shawnee think these tribes are not well pleased at finding them established on the Wabash.

If one can rely on what M. le Chevalier de Longueuil told M. de Bertet, namely that he had the orders of M. le Marquis de Beauharnois to send Iroquois from Detroit to induce the Shawnee who have remained near Sandusky to come and settle at Detroit, since they were too close to the English where they were, the intention was quite contrary to what the Shawnee inferred from these belts. This induced M. de Bertet to send the Sieur de Portneuf among the tribes of the Wabash to learn the real intention and at the same time to invite them to go to war. M.

le retour de cet officier qui avoit ordre de passer chez les chaouanons de Ouabache pour les guérir de la crainte que ces colliers leurs ont causé qui pouroient bien avoir tout autre motif que celui de les detruire. Je consentirai volontiers que ces derniers prennent aussi ce parti comme ils doivent y etre engagés de la

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part de Mr le Marquis de Beauharnois pour peu que j'aie lieu de m'appercevoir qu'ils soient dans les dispositions d'entretenir quelques liaisons avec l'anglois qui nous deviendroient tres prejudiciables n'étant pas en Situation de nous y opposer et çest ce que craint aujourd'hui M. de Bertet sur les observations que Je lui en fis l'année derniere il est vrai de dire que S'il eut eu des marchandises a leurs fournir leurs besoins qu'ils etoient comme jay eu, Monseigneur, l'honneur de vous le marquer, dans les veritables dispositions de rompre tout commerce avec eux, mais n'ayant pû leurs etre d'aucun Secours ils ont continués a tirer leurs besoins de l'anglois et voudroient l'inviter a Venir s'établir sur la Riviere des Cherakes

[*Translation*]

Bertet was awaiting the return of this officer who had orders to go among the Shawnee of the Wabash to dispel the fear produced among them by these belts which might well have been inspired by an entirely different intent than one for their destruction. I will willingly agree that the Shawnee take the course to which they are to be inclined on behalf of M. le Marquis de Beauharnois, if I have the slightest reason to think them disposed to maintain relations with the English. Such relations would prove very prejudicial to us as we are not in a position to oppose them. This is what M. de Bertet fears today as a result of the observations which I made to him last year. It may be truly said that if he had had goods to supply their needs they would have been as I had, Monseigneur, the honor to tell you, really disposed to break off all commerce with the English. But since we could be of no help to them they have continued to get what they need from the English and would like to invite them to come and settle on the Tennessee River.

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si l'on peut s'en rapporter a l'avis que ce commandant a reçu ces chaoüanons doivent d'ailleurs lui venir demander des traiteurs qu'il sera dans l'impossible de leur donner etant au depourvû de tout au quel cas il doit mettre tout en usage pour s'opposer a leurs desseins ce qu'il ne croit pas difficile; Je lui ferai sçavoir mes sentimens a cette occasion, et lui marquerai de les engager plutost a prendre le parti qui a du leur etre proposé par les iroquois, preferant de nous priver de cette nation qui nous deviendroit plus a charge, que Nous ne pourrions en retirer davantage en la gardant desque nous Sommes

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hors d'Etat de pouvoir lui fournir ses besoins surtout la cour n'étant point dans le gout de suivre le projet qui avoit été formé depuis longtems d'établir un fort Sur la Riviere de Ouabache qui auroit ete d'une grande utilité a la navigation de ce fleuve, pour la Communication d'icy aux Jllinois et des Jllinois en canada. de meme que pour oter toute Esperance aux anglois de s'aggrandir Davantage de nôtre côté, Je ne cesserai, Monseigneur, d'avoir

[*Translation*]

If we can rely on the information that M. de Bertet has received, the Shawnee are likely to come and ask him for traders, whom it will be impossible for him to send to them, since he lacks everything. In this situation he must do everything possible to oppose their designs, and this he does not think will be difficult. I will let him know my opinions on the situation and will direct him to induce the Shawnee rather to take the course that is to be proposed to them by the Iroquois. It would be better for us to give up that tribe since it would be a greater liability than an asset to keep it with us, while we are in no condition to supply its needs. Especially is this true since the court is not disposed to carry out the project long since formed of establishing a fort on the Wabash River which would be very useful for the navigation of that river and for the communication from here to the Illinois and from the Illinois to Canada. Moreover it would deprive the English of all hopes of encroaching in our direction. I shall not cease, Monseigneur, to have the honor of representing

l'honneur de vous représenter que cest la d'où dépend la seureté de cette Colonie quoiqu'il en soit je ne négligerai rien pour faire harceler nos ennemis ou du moins les empêcher de faire de plus grands progrès sur l'Esprit de nos Nations tant que la guerre

45v

durera et pour cela je vais tacher d'envoyer a M de Bertet le plus de munitions de guerre et de marchandises qu'il me sera possible si Mr Le Normant<sup>1</sup> veut S'y prêter autrement que l'année dernière.

Mr le Marquis de Beauharnois duquel je n'ai reçu aucunes Nouvelles par cette dernière occasion touchant les arrangemens que Je lui avois proposés et dont j'ai eu, Monseigneur, l'honneur de vous rendre compte les années dernières lui marque aussi d'engager ces chaoüanons a faire des courses sur les anglois et de ne rien négliger pour faire harceler ceux qui ont établis des magasins sur nos Rivières, de mon côté Je n'épargnerai <sup>46</sup> rien

[*Translation*]

to you that it is on that that the safety of our colony depends. However it may be I shall neglect nothing to have our enemies harried, or at least to prevent them from attaining greater influence over the minds of our tribes while the war shall last. To that end I am going to try to send to M. de Bertet as much in munitions and goods as I possibly can if M. le Normant<sup>1</sup> is disposed to assist in other fashion than he did last year.

M. le Marquis de Beauharnois, from whom I have received no news by this last opportunity concerning the arrangements which I had proposed to him and of which I had, Monseigneur, the honor to give you an account in former years, also directs M. de Bertet to induce the Shawnee to make raids on the English; he bids him neglect nothing in order to have those of them raided who have established warehouses on our rivers. On my side I shall spare no pains to attain that end. The English for

<sup>1</sup> Sébastien François Ange le Normant de Mézy. Born in 1702. Served in various administrative posts in Canada, San Domingo, and Louisiana, where, 1744-1748, he was *ordonnateur*. He later served in France as *intendant-general* of marine and colonies. Shortt, *Canadian Currency.... during the French Period*, 2:889 n.

pour cela L'anglois devant etre pour le présent le But et le Plastron de toutes nos démarches il est d'ailleurs interessant d'occuper nos sauvages de toute part pour faire diversions aux entreprises que l'on fera sur eux du coté de Canada.

Douze folles avoines et trois Puans sont venus Sur la Riviere a la Roche<sup>1</sup> ou etoit allé le Nommé Marin a la sollicitation des sakis et Renards pour voir si les françois y formoient l'Établissement que Mr Bertet leur avoit promis, ils chargerent ce voyageur De sommer de leur part ce commandant de sa parole luy assurant qu'ils ne desiroient autre chose et qu'ils y comptoient

Mr Bertet me marque qu'il n'a point encore de nouvelles du

46v

succés de la derniere <sup>embassade</sup> des chaouanons aux cherakis que l'hiver a été extrêmement rude de ce coté ce qui peut leurs avoir causé du Retardement mais quil espere en etre informé bientost et qu'il m'en rendra compte par le premier convoi qui

[Translation]

the present should be regarded as the object and target of all our operations. It is, moreover, important to keep our Indians busy on all sides, undertaking diversions for the expeditions which will be directed against the English from Canada.

Twelve Menominee and three Winnebago came to Rock River<sup>1</sup> whither the person named Marin had gone at the request of the Sauk and the Foxes to see if the French were making the settlement which M. Bertet had promised them. They instructed that *voyageur* on their behalf to remind the commandant of his promise, assuring him that they desired nothing else and that they counted on it.

M. Bertet informs me that he has as yet no news as to the success of the last embassy of the Shawnee to the Cherokee. The winter has been extremely hard in that region, which may have delayed them, but he hopes to be informed soon, and he will report to me by the first convoy which is to bring down the flour

<sup>1</sup> The French used *rivière à la Roche* to apply indiscriminately to Rock River and Great Miami River. Consideration of the context is necessary to decide which is meant.

descendra avec des farines que j attend de jour a autre Dailleurs tout est tranquille de ce coté là.

Jai lhonneur d'être avec un tres profond Respect Monseigneur  
Vôtre tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur

VAUDREUIL

A LA NLE ORLEANS le 22. Mars 1747

VAUDREUIL TO MAUREPAS, March 25, 1747

[A N Colonies C13A 31:47]

MONSEIGNEUR

Par vôtre Dépêche du onze may dernier J'ai vû avec plaisir que vous avés approuvé Monseigneur, le parti que nous fumes obligé de prendre l'année derniere touchant les casernes et maga-

47v

sins du fort de la Mobile, l'Entreprise n'en est point encore achevée mais elle finira a la fin de may prochain il est a Souhaiter que ces casernes puissent durer jusqu'a ce que sa majesté se determine a y faire la Dépense qu'il conviendra pour les mettre dans un etat de Solidité et a l'abris des reparations continuelles aux quelles ces Sortes de Batimens sont Sujets

[*Translation*]

which I am awaiting from day to day. Otherwise everything is quiet on that side.

I have the honor to be with very profound respect, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL

NEW ORLEANS, March 22, 1747

MONSEIGNEUR:

By your dispatch of May 11 last I have seen with pleasure that you have approved, Monseigneur, the course we were obliged to take last year respecting the barracks and magazines of the fort of Mobile. The task is not yet finished, but it will be done at the end of May next. It is to be desired that these barracks may last until His Majesty decides on making the necessary outlay to establish them permanently and to avoid the continual repairs which are necessary on buildings of this type.



Quant aux mesures a prendre pour arreter les Desordres que causent les coureurs de bois du coté des illinois jai pris les plus justes a cet egard et en ai fait part a M Le Marquis de Beauharnois les années precedentes Sur lesquelles il ne m'a point encore

48  
fait de Réponse en attendant je n'emploirai que celles qui pourront le mieux y remedier et contribuer le plus efficacement au bien du Service.

.....  
Jai lhonneur d'etre avec un tres profond respect Monseigneur  
Vôtre tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur

VAUDREUIL

À LA Nlle ORLEANS le 25 Mars 1747.

VAUDREUIL TO MAUREPAS, April 8, 1747

[A N Colonies C13A 31:52]

MONSEIGNEUR

Jai bien compris par la prise de la flute du Roy l'Elephant que les trois anglois que jy avois fait embarquer ne se sont pas

[Translation]

As to the measures to be taken for checking the disorders which the *coureurs de bois* occasion in the region of the Illinois, I have taken those that are most proper and have communicated them to M: le Marquis de Beauharnois in former years. As yet he has given me no answer. Meanwhile I will employ only such measures as may best remedy the situation and contribute most efficaciously to the good of the service.

.....  
I have the honor to be with very profound respect, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL

NEW ORLEANS, March 25, 1747

MONSEIGNEUR:

I have inferred from the capture of the king's ship *L'Elephant* that the three Englishmen whom I had embarked on



rendus en france, j'ai toujours craint depuis quelques expeditions  
 52v  
 de leur part sur nos Rivieres par les connoissances qu'ils en  
 ont pris particulièrement sur celle de ouabache ou il est a apprehender  
 qu'ils nous previennent en y etablissant quelques forteresse  
 qui nous couperoient toute communication d'icy aux Illinois et des  
 illinois en canada par cette Riviere il y en auroit bien quelqu'apparence  
 suivant ce que me marque tout Récemment Mr Bertet  
 par des voyageurs qui sont descendus avec beaucoup de farines  
 qu'il a été informé par les chaoüanons quil y avoit des anglois  
 qui devoient venir s'Etablir au bas de celle des cherakis desquels  
 ils tiroient leurs besoins sous son bon plaisir puisqu'il n'etoit

53

point en etat de leur fournir, a quoi ce commandant doit  
 formellement s'opposer et Je vais lui recommander par le convoi,  
 de mettre tout en usage pour cela, Les Courses qu'il va faire faire  
 sur les habitations de phyladelphie et sur nos rivieres ou les anglois  
 ont d'anciens etablissemens, par un party de françois et sauvages  
 tant du Continent des Illinois que des Rivieres du missouris et

## [Translation]

it have not reached France. As a result of their various explorations on our rivers I have been alarmed at the knowledge they had gained, especially of the Wabash, where it is to be feared that they may forestall us in establishing some fort which would cut us off from all communication from here to the Illinois and from the Illinois to Canada by that river. This may very well be according to what M. Bertet has quite recently reported to me by *voyageurs* who have come down with a good deal of flour. This news is that he has been informed by the Shawnee that there were English who were to come and settle on the lower part of the Tennessee River, from whom, with his permission, they would get what they needed since he was in no condition to supply them. He must expressly oppose it. I am going to send him word by the convoy to do everything to that end. The raids which he is going to have made on the colony of Philadelphia, as well as on some old English settlements on our rivers, by a party of French and Indians, both from the Illinois region and from Missouri and

d'ouabache y compris les chaouanons pourront bien déranger ces anglois du projet quils peuvent avoir formé de venir s'établir en cet endroit et la Crainte que j'en ai toujours eu m'a fait insister, Monseigneur, a vous faire sentir de quelle importance nous seroit

53v

le fort projeté sur ouabache jen sens tellement la necessité que j'aurois pris sur moi de les commencer cette année si je n'eusse trouvé a ce sujet vos ordres trop précises ces considerations me font esperer Monseigneur, que vous voudrés bien m'indiquer par le prochain vaisseau que puissent déterminer cet Etablissement suivant le plan que vous en avez reçu.

Quant aux chaouanons je ne négligerai rien pour seconder les intentions qu'a Mr le mis de Beauharnois de les taire etabli du coté du détroit crainte que par leur Etablissement sur ouabache l'anglois n'ait occasion de se rapprocher encore de Nous.

54

Mr Bertet me marque a ce sujet que s'il étoit en situation de fournir a cette nation ses besoins qu'il se porteroit fort non

[*Translation*]

Wabash rivers, including the Shawnee, should disconcert any plans which the English may have formed of coming to settle on the Tennessee. The fear that I have always had of it, Monseigneur, has made me importunate in pressing on you the importance of our proposed fort on the Wabash. I feel the necessity of it so strongly that I would have taken it upon myself to begin it this year if on this point I had not found your orders to the contrary too specific. These considerations make me hope, Monseigneur, that you will be good enough to give me orders by the next vessel providing for that settlement according to the plan that you received.

As to the Shawnee, I will neglect nothing to second the intention of M. le Marquis de Beauharnois to have them settle toward Detroit lest by their settlement on the Wabash the English be given the opportunity to get near us once more.

M. Bertet indicates to me on that subject that if he were in a position to supply that tribe with what it needs, he would be able not merely to prevent its having any trade with the English

seulement d'empêcher qu'elle n'ait aucuns Commerce avec ces anglois mais encore de les chasser de nos Rivières ou ils ont depuis longtems des magasins.

Les colliers et calumets qui couroient parmi les nations des Illinois et d'ouabache dont j'ai eu Monseigneur, l'honneur de vous rendre compte par une précédente venoient de la part des anglois qui s'étoient servis des miamis du Portage pour faire courir le bruit parmy celles que les Irroquois devoient venir les détruire

54v  
ce qui avoit fort allarmé les nations que Mr Bertet a tranquilisé de façon qu'elles ont toutes accepté le cassetete pour aller frapper sur les anglois et devoient partir dans ce mois pour se rendre a la Rivière du Sud ou elles doivent se rassembler avec un parti de françois pour l'Expedition.

.....  
55v...

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec un très profond respect Monseigneur  
Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur

A LA NLE ORLEANS le 8 avril 1747

VAUDREUIL

[Translation]

but also to drive them from the storehouses which they have had so long on our rivers.

The wampum belts and calumets which were passing among the Illinois and Wabash tribes of which, Monseigneur, I had the honor to give you an account by a former letter came from the English, who had made use of the Miami of the portage to spread the report among them that the Iroquois were about to come and destroy them. This had much alarmed these tribes; but M. Bertet has reassured them in such fashion that they have all accepted the tomahawk to go and strike the English and are to set out this month to go to the River of the South, where they are to join a party of French on this expedition.

.....  
I have the honor to be with a very profound respect,  
Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

NEW ORLEANS, April 8, 1747

VAUDREUIL

AGREEMENT FOR TRADE AT MIAMIS POST

[C. H. S., Otto L. Schmidt Collection, 2:327]

Aujourd'hui Dix Avril mil Sept Cent quarante Sept. Nous Josué Boisberthelot de Beacourt<sup>1</sup> Gouverneur de Montréal Et honore Michel de Villebois commissaire Ordonnateur au dit Lieu. En Vertu des ordres de Messieurs Le Marquis de Beauharnois Gouverneur Général, Et hocquart<sup>2</sup> Intendant Avons faits les traittés et Conventions Suivantes avec Le Sieur Charly St Ange<sup>3</sup> Acceptant d'Exploiter le poste des Miamis, Et de la riviere blanche<sup>4</sup> aux Conditions qui Suivent

[Translation]

This day, April 10, 1747, we, Josué Boisberthelot de Beaucourt,<sup>1</sup> governor of Montreal, and Honoré Michel de Villebois, *commissaire ordonnateur* at the said place, in virtue of the orders of Messieurs le Marquis de Beauharnois, governor-general, and Hocquart,<sup>2</sup> intendant, have made the following agreements and arrangements with the Sieur Charly-St. Ange,<sup>3</sup> contractor for the exploitation of the post of Miamis and of Sandusky River<sup>4</sup> on the following conditions.

<sup>1</sup> Jean Maurice Josué de Boisberthelot de Beaucourt. Served in Canada from 1688. Governor of Montreal, 1733-1748. Died at Montreal, May 9, 1750. Shortt, *Canadian Currency...during the French Period*, 2:677n.

<sup>2</sup> Gilles Hocquart de Champerny, 1694-1783. Commissary-general of marine in Canada, 1729. Recalled at his request, 1748. Shortt, *Canadian Currency...during the French Period*, 2:591 n.

<sup>3</sup> Jean-Baptiste Charly had two sons interested in western trade. Jacques Charly-St. Ange was baptized April 26, 1702 and died about 1746. The last engagement to him is dated June 5, 1746. *L'Archiviste...de Québec pour 1930-1931*, 354. July 3, 1747 a certificate was given for goods drawn from the stores of "feu Monsr Charly," farmer of the Miamis post. A N Colonies C11A 89:358. Louis Charly-St. Ange was born in 1703 and married Ursule Godfroy at Three Rivers, January 22, 1732. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire*, 3:19. As early as 1729 the brothers made trips to, or furnished supplies for, the upcountry. *L'Archiviste...de Québec pour 1922-1923*, 192-260, *passim*; 1929-1930, 271-466, *passim*. In a bill for supplies furnished at Forts Duquesne and Machault Louis is referred to as Sr. Ange Charly "cy devant Négociant en Canada." A N Colonies V7, 345:573.

<sup>4</sup> Rivière Blanche might mean either Sandusky River, the White River of Indiana, or the White River of Arkansas. Sometimes it is difficult to determine which is meant.

## Sçavoir

## Article premier

Le Sieur Charly St Ange fera faire par luy ou Ses Engagés Le Commerce Exclusif avec les françois Et Sauvages Etablis dans L'Etendue des dits postes, le tout suivant les Limites ordinaires, Et telles que M de St Pierre<sup>1</sup> Et le Sieur Charly son frere en ont Jouïs.

## Article 2e

Le dit fermier pourra Envoyer dans les dits postes la quantité de Canots et marchandises qu il Jugera necessaire a L'Egard des

## [Translation]

## To Wit

## Article First

The Sieur Charly-St. Ange shall carry on by himself or by his *engagés* exclusive trade with the French and Indians settled in the area of the said posts all according to the ordinary boundaries, such as those that M. de St. Pierre<sup>1</sup> and the Sieur Charly, his brother, have enjoyed.

## Article Second

The said farmer may send to the said posts such quantity of canoes and goods as he shall think necessary. As to the *engagés*,

<sup>1</sup> Jacques le Gardeur, Sieur de St. Pierre, baptized October 24, 1701. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire*, 5:293,294. Served in the Fox campaign of 1728. Sent in 1729 to Chequamegon to make peace between the Sioux and the Cree. He is said to have served in the Chickasaw war, 1739-1740. Returning to Canada, April 1, 1740, he signed at Ouiatanon. A N Colonies C11A 73:189. In 1741 he was sent to Miamis [*ibid.*, 75:172], where he was commanding at least until June, 1743. August 2, 1742 he signed there as lieutenant. *Ibid.*, 81:370, 378. In 1746-1747 he served in Acadia and eastern Canada. From 1747 to 1749 he was attached at Mackinac for duty. Post accounts indicate he succeeded La Corne in May, 1747. *Ibid.*, 116: 155v, 159. However La Corne was signing as commandant as late as August 17, 1747. *Ibid.*, 117:411. A certificate signed at St. Joseph, November 20, 1747, is for supplies ordered by St. Pierre as commandant of Mackinac [*ibid.*, 117:3], and, by then a captain, he was signing in this capacity through July 26, 1749. *Ibid.*, 119: 182. He asked a Cross of St. Louis about this time. Recital of his services is in A N Colonies C11A 93:177. He was killed at the battle of Lake George, September 8, 1755.

Engagés, il Convient pour ne pas degarnir Le paÿs qu'il ny mène En temps de Guerre que ceux qui Sont Indispensables, En observant de prendre un Congé de Monsieur le Général par chaque Canot En la manie accoutumée, visé de Monsieur L'intendant, ausquels Congés Seront Jointes le Rolles des dits Engagés, qui seront agréés par Mondit Sieur le Général; les Congés Et rolles Seront Ensuite Enregistrés a L'ordinaire au greffe de Jurisdiction de Montréal.

### Article 3e

Le dit fermier ne pourra charger dans Ses Canots que la quantité de quatre pots d'Eau de vie pour L'usage de chaque Engagé dans le cours du voyage: il luy sera En Outre permis d'En Envoyer Chaque année dans Ses Canots quinze barils de Seize pots, pour la Consommation des postes cy dessus.

### Article 4e

L'ancien fermier ne pourra faire aucune traite aussitost l'arrivée du Nouveau fermier dans les dits postes, Et le premier

### [Translation]

he agrees in order not to strip the country of men, that in time of war he will take only those who are indispensable, taking care to have a license of Monsieur the general for each canoe in the customary manner viséed by Monsieur the intendant. To these *congés* shall be attached the list of the said *engagés* which shall be approved by the aforesaid Sieur the general. The *congés* and the lists shall then be registered as is customary by the registrar of the jurisdiction of Montreal.

### Article Third

The said farmer may load in his canoes no more than four pots of brandy for the use of each *engagé* during the journey. He shall further be permitted to send each year in his canoes fifteen barrels of sixteen pots each for the consumption of the aforesaid posts.

### Article Fourth

The old farmer shall not be allowed to carry on any trade from the time of the arrival of the new farmer in the said posts.

Sera tenu de renvoyer, Et Sortir hors des Limites des dits postes les marchandises qui luy restera des quelles marchandises Sera dressé un Estat, ainsy que des ballots qui En Seront faits, pour Estre portés au Detroit. Ou il Sera permis au fermier des autres postes de les acheter, Le tout a la Connoissance du Commandant du dit Detroit, Et non autrement; Si mieux n'ayme S'En accommoder de gré agré avec le nouveau fermier; pourra Seulement L'ancien fermier laisser un Engagé dans chacun des dits deux postes pour retirer Ses credits, lesquels Engagés Seront nourris par le nouveau fermier, Et ne pourront, Sous quelque pretexte que ce Soit, faire aucun Commerce; ou bien L'ancien fermier S'accommodera avec le nouveau qu'ant aux Credits; ou le nouveau fermier enfera le recouvrement à Ses frais, Et dans ce Cas la moitié des Credits retirés appartiendra au dit fermier, qui aura L'alternative ou le choix, Et qui sera tenû de remitter au Detroit l'autre moitié des dits Credits, aux Ordres de L'ancien fermier.

[*Translation*]

And the old farmer shall be required to send back and to carry out of the boundaries of the said posts the goods which he may still have. A list of these goods shall be drawn up as well as of the bales in which they shall be put up to be carried to Detroit. Or it may be permitted to the farmer of the other posts to buy them, all with the knowledge of the commandant of the said post of Detroit and not otherwise, in case the old farmer does not prefer to come to an arrangement with the new farmer. However the old farmer may leave one *engagé* in each of the said two posts to collect what is due him. These *engagés* shall be subsisted by the new farmer and may not under any pretext whatsoever carry on any trade. Or the old farmer may come to an arrangement with the new farmer respecting what is due him; or the new farmer shall collect the sums due at his own expense as he shall elect. In this last case one half of the credits recovered shall belong to the said new farmer, he being bound to remit to Detroit the other half of the said credits to the order of the old farmer.



Article 5e

Ne pourra L'officier qui sera detaché pour Commander audit Poste de Miamis y faire d'irectement n y Jndirectement aucun Commerce Sans quelque pretexte que ce Soit, pourra Seulement avoir quelques marchandises pour y acheter les vivres necessaires a Sa Subsistance.

Article 6e

L'Officier Commandant au dit Poste des Miamis accordera Toute Sa protection au fermier pour faciliter Son Commerce il Employra Egalement Son autorité pour chasser de tout L'Etendue du dit Poste tous les Coureurs de Bois Et fuyards qu'il fera arreter au besoin, Et dont les marchandises Seront Saisës, a la diligence du dit fermier ; Et déposés après Inventoire fait, Jusqu'à ce que Messieurs le Général, Et Intendant en ayent ordonné.

Article 7e

Le fermier Sera tenu de chauffer Et Loger L'officier Com-mandant, et de luy fournir les presents qu'ils sera a propos de

[Translation]

Article Fifth

The officer who shall be sent out to command at the said post of the Miamis may carry on no trade directly or indirectly under any pretext whatsoever. Only he may have some goods to buy the provisions necessary for his subsistence.

Article Sixth

The officer commanding the said post of the Miamis will accord every protection to the farmer to facilitate his trade. Similarly he shall make use of his authority to drive away from the whole extent of the posts all *coureurs de bois* and runaways whom if necessary he shall have arrested and whose goods shall be seized under proceedings by the said farmer. They shall be held after an inventory of them is made until Messieurs the general and the intendant have given directions.

Article Seventh

The farmer shall be required to supply the commanding officer with fire and lodging and to furnish him the presents which



faire aux Nations Sauvages du dit Poste, mais toujours avec moderation, Et Seulement pour les Entretiens dans les dispositions Convenables pour les françois, Et pour les Empescher de porter leur pelleteries a l'Etranger, les dits presents Independemment de ceux que le dit fermier fera luy même pour Engager les Sauvages a Chasser, Et traiter avec Luy; dans tous Ses Cas les presents En pelleteries, que pourront faire les Sauvages a L'officier Commandant, retourneront au fermier, Sans que le dit officier puisse en rien Exiger.

#### Article 8e

L'officier Commandant Sera tenû de se nourrir a ses frais Et depens, au moyen de quoy le fermier Sera obligé de luy porter dans Ses Canots, par chaque année, la quantité de quinze cens Livres pesant, En vivres, provisions, Et marchandises propres pour L'achat des vivres necessaires a Sa Subsistance Sur les Lieux, il fera Egalement porter gratis Sa personne, Sa Valise,

#### [Translation]

it will be proper to make to the Indian tribes at the said post but always with moderation and only to keep them in a proper disposition toward the French and to prevent them from carrying their peltry to foreigners; these presents are to be independent of those that the said farmer shall himself give to induce the Indians to hunt and to trade with him. In all these cases the presents of peltry which the Indians may make to the commanding officer shall revert to the farmer without the said officer being allowed to retain anything from them.

#### Article Eighth

The commanding officer shall be required to subsist himself at his costs and charges while the farmer shall be obligated each year to bring for the commandant in his canoes the quantity of fifteen hundred pounds weight in victuals, provisions, and such goods as are proper for the purchase on the spot of provisions necessary for his subsistence. The farmer shall also without charge bring the commandant himself, his bag and baggage, with

cassette, Et ustancils de voyage, tant pour aller au dit Poste, que pour En revenir

Article 9e

Si Sa Majesté Est obligé de faire quelque depense Extraordinaire dans le dit Poste des Miamis, Soit a L'occasion de la guerre, ou changement de quelque Village Sauvage, le fermier Sera tenû de fournir au Commandant Les marchandises necessaires pour faire Les presents qui Convien dront, les quelles marchandises seront payées par le Roy au dit fermier, a trente pour cent au dessus Du prise de L'Equipment.

Article 10e

Le dit fermier sera tenû de fournir a Ses frais un Interprete a l'officier Commandant

Article 11e

Le Susdit fermier aura seul a l'Exclusion de tous autres le privilege d'Etablir une ou plusieurs forges dans les dites postes.

[Translation]

his equipment for the journey both going to and returning from the said post.

Article Ninth

If His Majesty is obliged to make some extraordinary expenditures in the said post of the Miamis, whether on occasion of war or of the shifting of some Indian village, the farmer shall be required to furnish the commandant with the goods necessary to make the proper presents. For these goods the farmer shall be paid by the king at 30 per cent advance on the original cost.

Article Tenth

The said farmer shall be bound to furnish at his expense an interpreter for the commanding officer.

Article Eleventh

The said farmer shall have to the exclusion of all others the privilege of establishing one or more forges in the said posts of

des Miamis, Et de la riviere blanche, mais le Commandant pourra l'assujétir a En avoir une au dit Poste des Miamis pour Lusage Et la Commodité des Sauvages, mais toujours au profit du dit fermier

#### Article 12e Et Dernier

Au moyen des quelles Conditions le dit Sieur Charly St Ange S'Est volontairement Engagé a Exploiter les dits postes des Miamis, Et de la Rivierre Blanche, pour En Jouïr pendant le temps Et Espace de trois années Consecutives, a Compter du mois d'aoust prochain Jusqu á pareil terme de L'année mil sept cent cinquante a la Charge de payer Entre les mains de Monsieur le Général, au Mois d'octobre de Chaque année de la ditte Exploitation, Et a Commencer par celle cy, la Somme de trois mille Livres pour la ferme des dits deux postes; Et pour Sureté du prix de la ditte ferme le dit Sieur Charly St Ange a affecté et hypothéqué tous ses biens meubles Et Immeubles presens, Et avenir, au payement des quelles Sommes cy devant Stipulés il Consent

#### [Translation]

the Miamis and of Sandusky River. But the commandant may require him to have one at the said Miamis post for the use and convenience of the Indians but always for the profit of the said farmer.

#### Article Twelfth and last

In consideration of these conditions the said Sieur Charly-St. Ange has voluntarily agreed to exploit the said posts of the Miamis and the Sandusky River, and to enjoy them during the time and extent of three consecutive years counting from the month of August next until the same period of the year 1750, on condition of paying into the hands of Monsieur the general in the month of October of each year of the said period of exploitation, and beginning this year, the sum of three thousand livres for the farm of the said two posts; and for security for the amount of the said farm the said Sieur Charly-St. Ange has hypothecated and pledged all his goods movable or immovable, present or to come, for the payment of the said sums stipulated. He consents

d'Estre Contraint comme pour les propres Deniers Et affaires  
de Sa Majesté, fait A Montréal les Jour Et an que dessus &  
Signé CHARLY ST ANGE BEAUCOURT Et MICHEL  
Pour Copie MICHEL

VAUDREUIL TO MAUREPAS, September 19, 1747

[A N Colonies C13A 31:98]

MONSEIGNEUR

.....  
98v...

Depuis Jay appris par des chactas qui sont venus m'apporter  
une chevelure chikachas, que La partie de L'ouest S'opposoit a la  
destruction de ces traitteurs et vouloit les conserver malgré celle  
de L'Est qui m'a Envoyé ces deputés pour Sçavoir mes dernières

intentions, comme il est de L'interest de la Colonie <sup>99</sup> Que cette  
Nation n'ait aucuns commerce avec L anglois, Jay persisté dans les  
mêmes Sentimens et Je crois, Monseigneur, ne devoir point m'en  
departir Sans la mettre au hazard de courir bien des risques,  
nEstant pas douteux que les anglois ne parvinssent a nous

[*Translation*]

to be liable as for the actual money and property of His Majesty.  
Done at Montreal the day and year above stated and signed:  
CHARLY-ST. ANGE, BEAUCOURT, and MICHEL.

A true copy MICHEL

MONSEIGNEUR:

.....  
I learned by the Choctaw who came to bring me a Chicka-  
saw scalp that the western group were opposed to the destruction  
of these traders and wished to keep them in spite of the eastern  
group who sent me these deputies to learn my final intention.  
Since it is to the interest of the colony that this tribe should  
have no trade with the English, I have remained in the same  
opinion. I believe, Monseigneur, that I cannot depart from  
it without running many risks as there is no doubt that the

allier toutes les autres nations, des qu'ils auroient pour Eux Celle des chactas, il est aisé même de Juger des progres dont ils Seroient Capables par ceux qu'ils ont faits depuis La guerre parmy Les Nations du Nord et celles de la dependance des Jlinois, Suivant les avis que J'en ay Receu Le Mois d'aoust dernier ou Le Cher de Bertet m'a marqué qu'il s'Estoit faite une Conspiration presque general tant de la part des nations Jlinoises que de celles d'ouabache pour détruire les postes de ce Continent a la sollicitation des Anglois et par L Entremise des hurons et

99v

des Jroquois des cinq nations que Le Cher de Longueuil commandant au Detroit remarque avoir Levé Le Casseteste Sur le françois, m'ajoutant que les hurons nous ont tués cinq Voyageurs a Sandoské et nous ont declarés la guerre, qu'il y avoit toute apparence qu'ils S'en repentiroient S Estant Refugiés dans le petit Lac de Sandoské, d'ou ils Le menaçoient d'une prochaine jrruption a Sçavoir cependant S'ils Seront en Etat dela faire et S'ils ne Seront pas plutost assez occupés a segarder qu'au reste il

[Translation]

English would succeed in alienating all the other tribes from us once they had gained the Choctaw. It is even easy to judge what progress they might make from what they have accomplished since the war among the tribes in the north and those dependent on the Illinois, according to the information which I received in August last. The Chevalier de Bertet then informed me that there was an almost universal conspiracy on the part of the Illinois tribes as well as those of the Wabash to destroy the posts of that region at the request of the English and by the intervention of the Huron and of the Iroquois of the Five Nations. These last, the Chevalier de Longueuil, commandant at Detroit, informs me, have lifted the tomahawk against the French. He adds that the Huron have killed five of our *voyageurs* at Sandusky and have declared war on us; there was every appearance that they would repent of it, since they had taken refuge on the Little Lake at Sandusky from which they threatened him with a further attack. He added however that it was a question if they were in a position to make it and if they were not rather

Les attendoit et Se tenoit bien sur ses gardes, que leur dessein Etoit de tuer par trahison tous les françois et meme Leur missionnaire et Luy de L Emmener prisonnier aux Anglois, mais que La Conspiration S'estoit decouverte ce qui les avoit mis dans le Cas de ne pouvoir rien Entreprendre Jusqu'a Lors, celle trahison ne

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regardoit pas Seulement Le françois mais Encore les Jroquois du Sault St Louïs et Les hurons de Lorette qui Estoient pour Lors au Détroit et qui paroissoient bien disposés a S'En Venger, cet officier M'ajoute dailleur que ce coup de trahison a obligé les Miamis et Leurs Nations voisines a relascher chacunes dans leurs postes, Etant en chemin de Se rendre a Montreal et que L'on craignoit que Les Jroquois des cinq Nations ne fussent d'Intelligence avec les hurons comme L'on le pouvoit presumer par un Coup de Leurs gens revenants de Montreal Sur des habitants de la païs qui Ecarissoient des Bois Entre chambly Et Le fort St Frederik. Pour en revenir a La trahison dont Le Cher De Bertet a Eté menacé, il auroit Euë tout Lieu d'en craindre les

[*Translation*]

occupied in guarding themselves; for the rest he would await it and would stand on his guard. He said their plan had been to kill all the French by treachery, even their missionary, and him himself, or to carry him off a prisoner to the English; but the conspiracy had been discovered, which put them in the situation of being able to undertake nothing up to the present. This treason concerned not merely the French but also the Iroquois of Sault St. Louis and the Huron of Lorette who were at Detroit and who appeared disposed to revenge themselves. That officer adds further that this treacherous blow obliged the Miami and their neighbor tribes who were en route to Montreal to go back to their respective posts, and that it was feared the Iroquois of the Five Nations might have an understanding with the Huron. This might be inferred from an attack by their people returning from Montreal on the inhabitants of the country who were cutting timber between Chambly and Fort St. Frederick.

To go back to the treachery with which the Chevalier de Bertet was threatened, there would have been every reason to

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suites Si par hazard il ne L'Eut Découvert et n'eut pris d'aussy bonne precautions pour S'en garentir en Rassemblant tous les postes En Un et m'ayant Envoyé Jcy les principaux chefs des Nations Jlinoises qui avoient Reçeus a cet Effet des Colliers de la part des Jrroquois, que Cet officier Leurs a fait rendre, c'estoit Le mois dernier ou cette trahison devoit Se faire, mais Je compte quelle n'a point Euë Lieu d'autant mieux que la méche a Eté decouverte, et que le Convoy qui portoit Lapprovisionnement de ce poste doit y estre rendus a la fin D'aoust; ce poste Etoit pour lors au depourvû detout et restreint a 600£ de poudre n'ayant pû faire partir le Convoy plutost par raport au retardement du Vaisseau du Roy, qui comme Jay desja Euë l'honneur de Vous L'observer Monseigneur, conviendroît d'arriver En ce país tous Les ans en octobre, ou au plustard en Novembre, pour pouvoir profiter des

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Eaux hautes a faire L'approvisionnement des postes, les voyages en seroient bien plus Brefs, moins rudes et Exempts des maladies aux quelles ils Sont Sujets par raport aux chaleurs.

[Translation]

fear the result if he had not by chance discovered it and had not taken sufficient precautions to insure his safety by assembling all the different villages in one place, and by sending me here the principal chiefs of the Illinois tribes who had received belts for this treachery from the Iroquois which that officer made the chiefs give up. This treachery should have taken place last month, but I am counting on its not having happened all the more from its having been discovered, and from the fact that the convoy which brought the supplies for that post should have reached there at the end of August. At that time that post was bare of everything and reduced to six hundred pounds of powder; the convoy could not be sent off earlier on account of the delay of the king's ship which I have already had the honor to observe to you, Monseigneur, should arrive in this country in October each year or at the latest in November if one is to profit by high water in supplying the posts. The voyages would be much shorter, less trying, and immune from the sicknesses which are occasioned by the heat.



Nous Sommes toujours dans L'attente de L'Ennemis Sans  
 Jusqu'a present avoir appris les Veritables dispositions ou il peut  
 estre a nôtre Egard, Jay Euë l'honneur de Vous rendre Compte  
 Monseigneur, par le Chameaux de celles ou J Etois de m'opposer  
 aux Entreprises quil pourroit faire sur ce païs, Je ne laisserois pas  
 que d'y Estre Embarassé, n'ayant que de foible force a luy opposer,  
 manquant d'artillerie et demonde pour la Servir, ce qui me rassure  
 en cela est que Si nous avons a Craindre cette année quelques  
 Jrruptions de la part de ces Anglois, vous aurez Euë Monseigneur,  
 La bonté de m Envoyer les Secours que Jay Eu l'honneur de Vous  
 demander par la fregatte <sup>101v</sup> Lamutine.

102 Jay l'honneur d'estre avec un tres profond Respect Mon-  
 seigneur

Vôtre tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur

Vaudreuil

A LA NLLE ORLEANS Le 19. 7bre 1747.

[Translation]

We are always on the lookout for the enemy without having  
 up to now learned what their real intentions may be regarding us.  
 I had the honor to give you an account, Monseigneur, by *Le*  
*Chameau* of my preparations to oppose the expeditions that may  
 be sent against this country. I should be seriously embarrassed  
 by them, having to oppose to them only a weak force and lack-  
 ing artillery and men to serve it. What reassures me in this  
 respect is that if we had this year to fear incursions by the  
 English, you would have had the goodness to send me, Mon-  
 seigneur, the help which I had the honor of asking you by the  
 frigate *La Mutine*.

I have the honor to be with a very profound respect, Mon-  
 seigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL

NEW ORLEANS, September 19, 1747



MAUREPAS TO VAUDREUIL AND LE NORMANT, October 9, 1747

[A N Colonies B85:14]

Dupta.           aux mesmes.

A VERSAILLES le 9. 8bre 1747.

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S. M. a approuvé l'ordonnance que vous avez rendüe pour deffendre le transport des negres aux Illinois; et elle vous recommande de tenir exactement la main a son execution; mais comme la cessation des abus et des inconveniens qu'on a eu en vüe de prevenir par cette deffense, depend principalemt, ainsi que vous l'observez vous avez mis, de l'attention qu'on aportera a la Pointe coupée, aux Natchez, et aux Arkanças, a empecher le passage des negres, S. M. compte que M. de Vaudreuil aura donné sur cela les ordres convenables aux Commandans de ces trois Postes, et qu'il tiendra la main a leur exon.

[*Translation*]

Duplicate       To the same

VERSAILLES, October 9, 1747

His Majesty has approved the ordinance which you have issued forbidding the transportation of negroes to the Illinois, and he directs you to be strict in its enforcement. But since terminating the abuses and disadvantages which it is proposed to check by this prohibition depends principally, as you yourselves will observe, on the attention to be given at Pointe Coupée, at Natchez, and at the Arkansas for preventing the passage of negroes, His Majesty expects that M. de Vaudreuil will have given the proper orders on that head to the commandants of these three posts and that he will see that they are executed.

MAUREPAS TO VAUDREUIL, October 9, 1747

[A N Colonies B85:16]

Dupta a M. de Vaudreuil.

A VLES le 9. 8bre 1747.

M.

.....  
 J'attendrai que vous m'informies du succes de la visite qui a deü estre faite des mines qu'on avoit indiquées sur la Riviere a La Roche, par le Portugais qui a demandé a la faire a ses frais. Mais sans negliger la decouverte des mines des Illinois, il faut particulièrement s'attacher a la Culture des terres. il est bon que les habitans commencent a s'y livrer d'eux memes; et il n'est pas douteux qu'ils ne s'aperçoivent bientost des avantages et de la solidité d'un pareil Etablissement. Vous ne sauries, de vostre costé, veiller avec trop de soin a tout ce qui peut contribuer a en accellerer les progres.  
 .....

[Translation]

Duplicate To M. de Vaudreuil

VERSAILLES, October 9, 1747

MONSIEUR :

.....  
 I shall expect you to inform me of the success of the visit which the Portuguese asked to make at his own expense to the mines indicated on Rock River; but without neglecting the discovery of mines in the Illinois, it is necessary to pay especial attention to tilling the soil. It is a good thing that the inhabitants are beginning to do it of their own accord; and there is no doubt but that they will soon perceive the advantage and the soundness of such development. On your side you cannot watch too carefully over everything that may contribute to hasten this end.  
 .....

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LA GALISSONNIÈRE TO MAUREPAS, October 22, 1747

[A N Colonies C11A 87:260]

MONSEIGNEUR

Vous aurez vû, par le Journal combien plusieurs Nations Sauvages des Païs d'Enhaut se sont Ecartées de la tranquillité ou Elles avoient esté jusques a present. Les Presens des Anglois, les bruits qu'ils ont repandus et qui ont esté confirmes par la né-

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cessité ou l'on a esté de se servir d'Eux et de les menager, Les Menées des Cinq Nations Jroquoises, Celles des Saulteurs et pardessus tout, le manque de marchandises dans les Postes ont esté les principales Causes de ces Mouvements. Nous avons quelque lieu d'Espérer que les Convoys qui sont arrives a Missilimakinac, au Detroit &a auront retabli la tranquillité en partie Je Crois que je seray en Etat ce printemps de faire frapper un grand Coup sur la Nation des Saulteurs qu'on ne peut reduire que par un châtiment Eclatant qui, a ceque j'Espere, les soumettra et intimidera les autres. Je pense qu'un des meilleurs moyens

[*Translation*]

MONSEIGNEUR:

You will have seen by my journal how several Indian tribes of the upcountry have departed from the quiet in which they have remained up to the present. The presents of the English, and the rumors which they have spread abroad and which have been confirmed by the necessity in which we have been of making use of these Indians and of humoring them, the conduct of the Five Nations of Iroquois, that of the Chippewa, and above all the lack of goods in the posts have been the principal causes of this unrest. We have some reason to hope that the convoys which have arrived at Mackinac, at Detroit, and elsewhere will have partly reëstablished quiet. I believe that I shall be in a condition this spring to have a great attack made on the tribe of the Chippewa, who can only be reduced to order by a signal punishment which, as I hope, will subdue them and will intimidate the others. I think that one of the best ways of

de prevenir a l'avenir un pareil desordre seroit d'Etablir puissamment le Detroit En laboureurs: Par là ce Poste seroit en Etat de Subsister presqu'Entierement par luy même et de deffendre tous Ceux qui sont a sa portée. Je crois que C'Est le seul moyen

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d' Empecher les Anglois de s'Etablir sur la belle Rivière Etablissement Capable d'interrompre notre Communication avec le Mississipi qui est presqu'Egalement nécessaire aux deux Colonies. Mais rien n'avanceroit si promptement ce Poste que de se departir pour quelques années du produit qu'on en tire en faveur des habitans qui voudront s'y Etablir.

Je suis avec un tres profond respect Monseigneur

Votre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur

LA GALISSONIERE

[*Translation*]

forestalling in the future any similar disorder would be to settle a good number of husbandmen at Detroit. Thus that post would be in a condition to subsist almost entirely of itself and to defend all the posts which are nearby. I think that is the only way of preventing the English from establishing themselves on the Ohio River, an establishment quite capable of interrupting our communication with the Mississippi which is almost equally necessary to both colonies. But nothing would develop that post so rapidly as giving up for some years our revenue from it in favor of any inhabitants who will settle there.

I am with very profound respect, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

LA GALISSONIERE

MAUREPAS TO VAUDREUIL, October 25, 1747

[A N Colonies B85:20]

Dupta            A M. de Vaudreuil.

A FAU le 25. 8bre 1747.

M.

.....

Il seroit facheux que les dernieres demarches que les Chaoüanons ont deu faire pour terminer la guerre avec les Chicachas eussent esté sans succès. Mais si la voye de la conciliation devient inutile il faudra voir lorsque les circonstances le permettront quel party il pourra convenir de prendre pr les reduire de façon ou d'autre et les mettre hors d'état de troubler la Colonie. En attendant, vous ne sauries trop les faire harceler afin que s'ils ne se determinent pas a accepter les conditions que vous leur aves proposées, on puisse du moins parvenir a les affoiblir de plus en plus

A l'égard des Chaoüanons, vous devez ne rien negliger pour les empecher de se rapprocher des Anglois; Et s'ils ont pris le party de se joindre au detachment qui devoit partir des Illinois pour attaquer les Etablissements que les Anglois ont faits sur

[Translation]

Duplicate            To M. de Vaudreuil

FONTAINEBLEAU, October 25, 1747

MONSIEUR:

.....

It would be annoying if the recent measures which the Shawnee should have taken to end the war with the Chickasaw should have been unsuccessful, but if the method of conciliation proves useless, some course must be agreed on when circumstances will permit to bring them to submission in some way or another and to put it out of their power to trouble the colony. Meanwhile you cannot have them harried too much, so that if they decide not to accept the conditions you have proposed to them, you can at least succeed in weakening them more and more.

As far as the Shawnee are concerned you should neglect nothing to prevent them from making up to the English; and if they have decided to join the detachment which was to set out from the Illinois to attack the settlements the English have made

nos Rivières, ainsi que ceux de Philadelphie, il y a lieu de croire  
 20v  
 que, se trouvant par là engagés a la guerre, il sera moins  
 difficile de les retenir. Mais cette nation venant a se réunir toute  
 entière sur les terres qu'ils ont demandées, vous devez sentir  
 combien il sera difficile de pouvoir par la voye de la Louisiane  
 pourvoir a ses besoins de façon à la détacher entièrement des  
 Anglois; et c'est cette difficulté qui me feroit souhaiter qu'elle  
 prit le party d'aller faire son Etablissement au Detroit sur la pro-  
 position qui lui a été faite. J'attendrai que vous m'informiez  
 de ce qui se sera passé.

.....  
 A l'égard du fort que vous avez proposé d'établir sur Ouabache, par la Lettre commune que je vous ai écrite a ce sujet, le 30. avril de l'année dernière a vous et a M. Le Normant, je vous ai marqué que si les inconveniens que vous aviez représentés par rapport a la transplantation des différentes nations qui demandent a s'établir dans cet endroit, estoient effectivement a craindre, il faudroit bien se déterminer a prendre des mesures pour la

[Translation]

on our rivers as well as those of Philadelphia, there is reason to hope that when they thus find themselves engaged in the war they will be more easily held to our interests. But if this nation succeeds in uniting completely on the lands which they have demanded, you must perceive how difficult it will be to provide for their needs from the side of Louisiana so as to detach them entirely from the English; and it is that difficulty which makes me wish that they may decide to go and settle at Detroit as has been proposed to them. I will await information from you as to what happens.

.....  
 With respect to the fort which you have proposed to establish on the Wabash River, in the common letter which I wrote on that subject April 30 of last year to you and to M. le Normant, I indicated that if the disadvantages which you have represented as arising from the transfer of the various tribes who wish to settle there were really to be feared, it would indeed be necessary to decide to take measures for the construction of that fort.

construction de ce fort. Ainsi c'est a vous d'examiner le party qu'il convient de prendre. Les conjonctures ne sont pas favorables pour engager le Roy dans des depes de cette nature, et vous ne devez faire celle là qu'autant que vous la jugeres absolut indispensable.

.....

RAYMOND TO MAUREPAS, November 2, 1747

[A N Colonies C11A 89:225]

MONSEIGNEUR

Vôtre Grandeur Estant informée que les hurons du detroit et les yrocois au Sortir de la Rivière Blanche ont tué à Sandoske des françois: que ces mêmes Sauvages et autre nations: à Voyent Conserté En Semble d'enlever. le pere poitiers<sup>1</sup> missionnaire des hurons et Mr le chevalier de longoeuil, qui Commande au détroit de ce Rendre maître de ce fort et dan négorger les habittans; le projet de Ses Sauvages àjant Esté d'é Couvert. ce qu'y à hureusement fait manequer L'exécution;

[*Translation*]

Accordingly it is for you to consider as to the course which it is proper to take. Circumstances are not favorable for involving the king in expenses of that kind, and you should do no more than you consider absolutely indispensable.

.....

MONSEIGNEUR:

Your Greatness being informed that the Hurons of Detroit and the Iroquois at the mouth of Sandusky River have killed Frenchmen at Sandusky, that these same Indians and other tribes have plotted together to carry away Father Potier,<sup>1</sup> missionary to the Hurons, and M. le Chevalier de Longueuil, who commands at Detroit, in order to get possession of that fort and to massacre the inhabitants, knows further that the discovery of the plan of these Indians has happily caused it to fail of execution.

<sup>1</sup>Father Pierre Potier, 1708-1781. Jesuit missionary to the Hurons of Detroit, 1744-1781; he was at St. Joseph in 1751 and frequently visited the Illinois country. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 69:261, 289, 305-306; 71:175; *N. Y. C. D.*, 10:115.

Et C'est ce qui me fait prendre la liberté de de Vous  
 Supplier monseigneur d'observer que je Vous avois prédit la  
 Revolté et l'infidelitté des Sauvages des Continans du detroit;  
 Comme Votre Grandeur a dû le Remarquer par le mémoire  
 que j'ay Eu l'honneur de Luy Envoyer de niâgarâ â ce Suget  
 En 1745 ou je prenois la liberté de luy faire Remarquer tout le  
 mal qu'il j â Voit â Craindre pour les pajs den haut de la part  
 de tous les Commersan Anglois; qu'on a lessé Etablir dans la  
 Rivière Blanche Voisine du détroit et des autres postes; que  
 Ses anglois jnfailiblement Corromperoist et Gagneroist les nations  
 Sauvages qui habittent â Vec Eux Cette Rivière? et C'est ce qui  
 na pas manqué d'a River Comme je Vous la Vois predict jls onts  
 cy bien Su Sanfaire des Créâturre â leurs de Votions; que ce Sont  
 Ses mêmes Sauvages: qui par leurs Instigations ont tué les  
 françois â Sandoské: qui ont Voulus Surprendre le détroit: pour  
 y placer ces mêmes anglois; Comme jl y â tout lieu de le Croire  
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 qui ont porté leurs presens leurs Coliers, et leurs parôles;

## [Translation]

This is what makes me take the liberty of begging you, Monseigneur, to observe that I had predicted the revolt and the treachery of the Indians of the neighborhood of Detroit, as Your Greatness might have remarked by the memoir on that subject which I had the honor to send you from Niagara in 1745. In it I took the liberty of pointing out to you all the evil which was to be feared for the upcountry from all the English traders who had been allowed to establish themselves on Sandusky River close to Detroit and to other posts. I remarked that the English would certainly corrupt and gain all the Indian tribes who live with them on that river, which has not failed to happen. As I predicted to you, the English have been so well able to devote these Indians to them that it is these same Indians who, at their instigation, have killed the French at Sandusky and have tried to surprise Detroit in order to install these same English there. There is every reason to believe that they have carried the presents, belts, and messages of the English among all the Indian



chez toutes les nations Sauvages des Continans des pajs d'enhaut et quy ont Sy bien Reussi d'ans léurs négociations Et â leurs faires prendre le party de l'anglois que Les 8ta8as et Sauteurs de michilimaquinac ont Voulu Surprendre ce fort et ont Egorgé plusieurs françois En d'jfferens Endrois;

Vous obscerverez Je Vous Supplie Monseigneur. que la Source de tout le mal. et des troubles des pajs d'enhaut. Sort des anglois qu'on a lessé tranquille d'ans la Rivière Blanche; et que C'est la ou jl C'est fomenté; Et que par mon mémoire je prenois la liberté; de propauser â Vôte Grandeur les mojens Êficasse de les y En chasser. San occasionner au Roy au Cûnes dépençe de troupes ni dargent; je me Serois flatté d'avoir Reussy: le trouble Est trop grand; aujourdhuy. le mal devenu trop General et Les Sauvages trop déclarez En faveur de langlois pour l'entreprendre

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je ne suis parvenu â toutes Ses Connoissances que dans la Conduitte que J'ay Eu des d'jfferentes nations Sauvages pendant le tems que J'ay Commandé â niagarâ, ou je metois Uniquement

[*Translation*]

tribes of the upcountry and have so well succeeded in their negotiations and in making these Indians take the side of the English that the Ottawa and Chippewa of Mackinac have tried to surprise that fort and have murdered several Frenchmen in various places.

Observe I beg you, Monseigneur, that the source of all the evil and the troubles of the upcountry arises in the English who have been left unmolested on Sandusky River. There is where the difficulty has been fomented; by my memoir I took the liberty of proposing to Your Greatness the effectual means of driving the English away without occasioning the king any expenditure of troops or money. Then I would have flattered myself with the prospect of success. Today the difficulty is too great, the evil has become too general, and the Indians have too generally declared in favor of the English to undertake it.

I have attained to all this knowledge solely from the charge that I had over the various Indian tribes while I commanded at

attaché à Conoistre leurs politicques leurs d'jfferens jnterets et à de Couvrir leurs jntrigue et C'est ce qui mavoit fait prévoir. qu'jls Seroient Corrompus Et Gagnez par les anglois qui Commerce dans la Riviere Blanche quy nont d'autre Vûës que de Se Rendre maître de tous les pajs denhaut par le Seul moyen des Sauvages dont jls onts par adresse gagné l'esprit; je souhaite que le mal ne de Vienne pas plus grand mais Je nent Serois pas Surpris

L'unique moient de l'evitter et de par venir à Sa Surer la fidelitté de tous les Sauvages, la paixsible et Entiere pocestion. de tous les pajs denhaut; le Commerce Entier à Vec tous les

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Sauvages; quy En Sont les âbittans. Est dont: de leur auter toute Communicquation; à Vec les anglois? pour y par venir; et à Etablir ûne Solide tranquillitté dans tous les pajs d'enhaut; que Votre Grandeur fasse Convenir Langleterre dans le prochain traitté de paix à Vec Sette Couroune; qui les anglois âbandonneront et Donneront au Roy: pour toujours la posestion Entière du fort de Chouëguen qujls Renonceront au Cinq nations

[Translation]

Niagara, where I entirely devoted myself to learning their politics and their various interests and to discovering their intrigues. This is what made me foresee that they would be corrupted and gained over by the English who trade on Sandusky River who have no other intention but to make themselves masters of the upcountry by the sole means of the Indians whose minds they have gained by their address. I hope that the evil does not become greater, but I should not be surprised if it did.

The sole means of avoiding it and of succeeding in assuring ourselves of the fidelity of all the Indians with the peaceable and entire possession of all the upcountry and the entire trade with all the Indians who inhabit it is to deprive them of all communication with the English. To attain this end and to establish a permanent tranquillity in all the upcountry Your Greatness should make England agree in the next treaty of peace with that crown that the English will abandon and give up to the king forever the entire possession of the fort of Oswego; that they will

yrocoisses et d'avoir au Cuñes a finitté â Vec Eux ; qujls Resteront Sugets de Sa majesté?

qujls ne pourront faire aux Cuns Commerce directement ou indirectement dans toutes l'etendue et terre Circonvoizîne des lacs hontariô ; lac herrier, lac huron. Rivière Blanche et Belle Rivière ; que tous les anglois : qui font le Commerce dans les dittes Rivière Blanche et Belle Rivière et dans toutes leurs dependance et aux tres lieux Circonvoisin ; ce Retare ront. pour toujours. dans leurs

pajs San pouvoir <sup>227v</sup> jamais y Revenir faire aux Cuns Commerce, ny même Sous aux Cuns pretexte que ce puisse Aistre

par ce moyent tous les postes et pajs Denhaut Seront paisibles et En Surreté. le Commerce de Viendra double de ce luy que les francois y ont fait jusqua present et ne passera plus dans les mains des anglois

pour ce qui Regarde lisle Royale. les terres dela Cadie et autre lieux Je ne prendrais pas la leberté dan Rien dirre ; Vous Savez Monseigneur mieux que personne ce qui Convient ; pour la Surreté et La Vantage du pajs ; je Supplie tres humblement

[Translation]

give up the Five Iroquois Nations and have no relations with them and that these Indians shall remain subjects of His Majesty ; further that the English shall carry on no trade directly or indirectly in all the extent and territory adjacent to Lakes Ontario, Erie, and Huron, and to Sandusky and Ohio rivers ; that all the English who trade on the said Sandusky and Ohio rivers and in all their dependencies and other neighboring places shall return to their own country for good and shall not come back to carry on any trade or under any pretext whatsoever.

By this means all the posts in the upcountry will be peaceful and safe. The trade will be double what the French have carried on up to now and will no longer go into the hands of the English.

As to what concerns Cape Breton Island, the lands of Acadia, and other places, I will not take the liberty of saying anything. You know, Monseigneur, better than anyone what is proper for the safety and advantage of the country. I very humbly beg

Vôte Grandeur: de me pardonné. cy jôje luy faire qu'elques observation. pour ce quy Regarde les pajs denhaut: de Cette Colonie; mes je la Supplie En même tems de Remarquer qu'jl ni á que mon zele et Mon application pour le Servisse du Roy qui

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maporté á cette leberté Le Seul dézir luy faire ma court: de me méritter L'honneur de Sa protection: et de la Surer qui je suis á Vec Un tres profon Respec Monseigneur

Vôte tres humble et tres ôbeyssent Serviteur

DE RAYMOND

A QUEBEC le 2e 9bre 1747

MAUREPAS TO BUCHET,<sup>1</sup> December 11, 1747

[A N Colonies B85:32]

Au Sr Buchet.

A VLES le 11. Xbre 1747.

M. Le Normant vous ayant proposé pour la place d'Ecrivain principal aux Illinois, vacante par la mort du Sr La Louëre de

[Translation]

Your Greatness to pardon me for having made you some observations on what concerns the upcountry of this colony; but at the same time I beg to remark that it is only my zeal and my attention to the service of the king which have induced me to take this liberty. My sole desire is to pay my court to you, to merit the honor of your protection, and to assure you that I am with most profound respect, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

DE RAYMOND

QUEBEC, November 2, 1747

To Sieur Buchet

VERSAILLES, December 11, 1747

M. le Normant having proposed you for the place of *écrivain principal* of the Illinois, now vacant by the death of the Sieur la

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Buchet was serving as *garde magasin* at the Illinois as early as 1732 [A N Colonies C13A 15:171], though he did not receive his brevet until 1740. *Ibid.*, B 70:459v. See also, *post*, 295.

flaucourt,<sup>1</sup> S. M. a bien voulu approuver cette proposition; et je lui adresse vostre Brevet pour vous le remettre. Il doit en mesme tems vous establir son subdelegué dans ce Poste. Par la vous seres en etat de terminer les contestations qui pourront survenir entre les habitans, Et c'est à quoy vous devez vous apliquer dans un esprit de justice et de desinterressement, et sans aucune sorte de prevention. Je vous recommande aussi la regle et l'oeconomie convenables pour tout ce qui regarde les depenses du Poste.

MAUREPAS TO VAUDREUIL, February 23, 1748

[A N Colonies B87:1]

Dupta            au Même.

A VERSAILLES le 23 fer 1748.

M.

Sur les diverses observations que vous aves faites au sujet de la transmigration que les Chaoüanons ont demandée pour leur

[*Translation*]

Loëre de Flaucour,<sup>1</sup> His Majesty has been pleased to approve; and I am sending him your appointment to be transmitted to you. He should at the same time make you his subdelegate in that post. Thus you will be in a position to settle disputes which may arise among the inhabitants; and to that you must apply yourself in a spirit of justice and disinterestedness and without any partiality. I also recommend to you the proper system and economy in whatever concerns the expenses of that post.

Duplicate            To the same

VERSAILLES, February 23, 1748

MONSIEUR:

On the various observations which you have made on the subject of the migration that the Shawnee have proposed with a

<sup>1</sup> Louis Auguste de la Loëre Flaucour. Judge, principal clerk of marine and commissary at the Illinois, where he served from 1734 until his death in 1746. For his appointment as clerk, September 15, 1733, see A N Colonies B59:616.

etablissement sur la Riviere d'Oüabache, Le Roy a cru devoir vous autoriser à la favoriser. Mais il est revenu à S. M. que depuis la guerre il s'est assemblé dans cet endroit et aux environs, un nombre considerable de Sauvages de toutes les nations, lesquels forment une espece de Republique<sup>1</sup> sur laquelle dominent des Iroquois des 5. nations qui en font partie, et que les anglois fournissant presque en entier a ses besoins, il est à craindre qu'ils ne parviennent à la seduire: Inconvenient d'autant plus interessant qu'elle pourroit aisement interrompre la communicaõn entre La Louïsianne et le Canada, et même occasionner la perte de la plus-part des postes des deux Colonies.

Il est à croire que si la reunion de ces Sauvages est telle qu'on l'a representée, Vous aures senti de quelle consequence il est de parvenir a la rompre, et que vous aures pris de justes mesures pour cela. J'en ecris a M. le Cte de la Galissonnière, Commandant

[*Translation*]

view to establishing themselves on the Wabash River, His Majesty has decided he should authorize you to favor it. But it has come to His Majesty's attention that since the war there have assembled there and in the neighborhood a considerable number of Indians of all the various tribes who form a sort of republic<sup>1</sup> which is dominated by the Iroquois of the Five Nations who help to compose it, and which the English supply almost in entirety. We have therefore reason to fear that they may succeed in seducing it; and this would be the more serious as it might easily result in cutting the communication between Louisiana and Canada and even occasion the loss of most of the posts of these two colonies.

It is to be expected that if the assemblage of these Indians is as has been represented you will have perceived how important it is to break it up and will have taken the proper measures to that end. I am writing to M. le Comte de la Galissonnière, com-

<sup>1</sup> Sonnioto was probably meant. It was located on the west bank of the Scioto at its junction with the Ohio.

1v

General en Canada avec qui il faudra vous concerter sur cette affaire en lui rendant compte de vos idées et de vos operations.

Mais, en attendant que, sur le detail que vous aures soin de m'en faire aussy, je puisse vous envoyer de nouveaux ordres a cet egard, vous suspendres l'exécution du projet que le Roy avoit approuvé pour la construction d'un fort dans ces Quartiers là ; car, independamment de l'inconvenient qu'on fait envisager dans le nouvel etablissement des Chaoüanons et des autres Sauvages qui se sont reunis avec Eux, il y a d'autres considerations qui peuvent engager S. M. a revoquer l'approbation qu'Elle avoit donnée a l'exécution de ce projet. C'est sur quoy je m'expliqueray plus precisement dans une depêche commune que je me propose de vous ecrire, à vous et à M. Michel, sur les divers postes de la colonie, et particulierement sur celuy des Illinois et des autres qui sont les plus éloignés.

Je suis. M.

[*Translation*]

mandant general in Canada, with whom you should concert measures in this matter, informing him of your ideas and of your proceedings.

But expecting that, on the basis of the details that you will be careful to give me, I may be able to send you new orders on this point, you will hold up the execution of the plan which the king had approved for building a fort in those regions ; for quite apart from the inconvenience which can be foreseen in the new settlement of the Shawnee and of the other Indians who are united with them, there are other considerations which induce His Majesty to revoke the approval he had given for the execution of this project. On that I will express myself more exactly in a common dispatch. which I propose to write to you and to M. Michel on the different posts of the colony and especially on that of the Illinois and on the others which are more remote.

I am, Monsieur—



MAUREPAS TO LA GALISSONIERE, February 23, 1748

[A N Colonies B87:31]

Dupla A M. Le Cte de La Galissoniere.

A VLLES le 23. fer 1748.

M.

Les Sauvages Chaouanons, après avoir pendant long têmes habité au Detroit, prirent, il y a plusieurs années, le parti de quitter ce Poste et de s'aller establir du costé de la belle riviere; et ce fut sur des querelles qui survinrent entr'eux et les autres Sauvages qu'ils se determinerent a ce changement. Ces querelles ont esté terminées; mais ces Sauvages ont toujours conservé de l'éloignement pour le Poste.

M. Le Marquis de Beauharnois a pendant longtêmes negocié leur retour, mais entraînés par les Anglois, entre les mains de qui leur commerce avoit passé, toutes les demarches ont esté inutiles, quoiqu'en differens têmes ils ayent donné des esperances, tantost de reprendre leur ancienne demeure au Detroit, et tantost de s'en rapprocher seulement pour revenir sous la Domination

[Translation]

Duplicate To M. le Comte de la Galissoniere

VERSAILLES, February 23, 1748

MONSIEUR:

The Shawnee Indians, after dwelling for a long time at Detroit, decided a few years ago to leave that post and to go and settle in the direction of the Ohio River. It was as a result of the quarrels which arose between them and the other Indians that they decided on this change. These quarrels have been ended, but these Indians have always remained at a distance from this post.

M. le Marquis de Beauharnois has for a long time negotiated for their return; but as they have been seduced by the English to whose hands their trade had passed, all his measures have been useless. Nevertheless at different times they have held out hopes, sometimes of returning to their ancient habitation of Detroit and sometimes of returning near it solely to go back under French



françoise après avoir écarté entierement les Anglois. Mais il y a environ trois ans, et dans le têmes qu'ils paroissoient determinés à suivre ce dernier party et qu'ils l'avoient mesme fait annoncer a M. Le Mis de Beauharnois, ils prirent celui de s'en aller du costé des Illinois. Ils demanderent ensuite a M. de Vaudreüil Gouverneur de la Louisianne de faire construire un fort sur la Riviere d'ouïabache, ou ils offrirent de se rassembler tous et de s'y unir avec les Kikapous et Mascoutins, nations depuis longtêms attachés aux françois. Il parût alors d'autant plus convenable de favoriser cette transmigration, que les Chaouanons qui aiment naturellement les françois, sont d'un caractere doux et par là plus aizés à Gouverner que tous les autres, et qu'on couroit risque de les perdre pour toujours en refusant de s'y prêter.

Mais il est revenu que depuis la guerre il s'est joint a eux un nombre considerable de Sauvages de toutes les nations, lesquels

31v

forment une espece de republique, sur laquelle dominant des Iroquois des cinq nations qui en font partie, et que les Anglois fournissant presque en entier a ses besoins, il est a craindre qls

[*Translation*]

control after separating entirely from the English. But about three years ago, at the time when they seemed determined to follow this last course, and when they had even had it announced to M. le Marquis de Beauharnois, they made the decision of going off in the direction of the Illinois. They then demanded of M. de Vaudreuil, governor of Louisiana, to have a fort built on the Wabash River, where they offered to assemble themselves and to unite with the Kickapoo and Mascoutens, tribes long attached to the French. It seemed then all the more proper to favor this migration inasmuch as the Shawnee, who naturally like the French, are gentle in character and as a result easier to govern than all the others, and inasmuch as we ran a risk of losing them forever by refusing to coöperate in this project.

But it has been reported that since the war a considerable number of Indians of all the tribes have joined them, forming a sort of republic dominated by the Iroquois of the Five Nations who form a part of it and that as the English supply their needs

ne parviennent a la seduire; ce qui seroit d'autant plus facheux qu'elle pourroit aitement interrompre la Communication entre Le Canada et la Louisianne et mesme occasionner la perte de la plus-part des Postes des deux Colonies.

J'ecris a M. de Vaudreuil sur cette reunion afin qu'il travaille a la rompre si elle est telle qu'on l'a representée, et l'intention de S. M. est que dans ce cas, vous y concouries aussy de votre part. vous vous entendres sur cela avec M. de Vaudreuil qui vous rendra compte de ses Idées et de ses operations, et a qui il conviendra que vous fassies part aussy de vos vües, afin qu'il s'y conforme.

Je suis M.

VAUDREUIL TO MAUREPAS, March 20, 1748

[A N Colonies C13A 32:28]

MONSEIGNEUR

Les dernieres Nouvelles que Jay Reçu des postes des Illinois, m'ont fort tranquilise sur celles qui me parvinrent L'année

[*Translation*]

almost in entirety, there is reason to fear lest the English succeed in seducing them. This would be all the more annoying inasmuch as it might easily interrupt the communication between Canada and Louisiana and might even occasion the loss of the greater part of the posts of the two colonies.

I write to M. de Vaudreuil on the subject of this union in order that he may work to break it up if it is such as is represented, and His Majesty's intention is in that case that you on your part should coöperate. You will come to an understanding on that with M. de Vaudreuil, who will inform you of his ideas and his operations and to whom it will be fitting that you impart your views in order that he may conform himself to them.

I am, Monsieur—

MONSEIGNEUR:

The latest news which I have received from the posts of the Illinois has much reassured me after that which reached me last

derniere apres le depart de La flute le chameau, par lesquelles M. le cher de Bertet m'annonçoit que toutes les nations des Environs de cet Endroit et d'ouabache s'estoient soulevees a L'in-

28v

stigation des Anglois, qui avoient fait courir plusieurs Colliers par L Entremise des Iroquois et hurons comme J'ay Eu l'honneur de vous en rendre compte par cette flute. Ces Colliers avoient si bien operes que toutes les nations Illinoises avec celles de Ouabache et autres dans le party des Anglois devoient faire Irruption sur nos postes avec promesses de recompenses proportionnees aux belles actions que chacunes d Elles s Etoient promises de faire dans L'occasion Le Cher De Bertet attentif aux demarches des Villages sauvages Les voisins decouvrit La méche il n'en fallut pas d'avantage pour deconcerter le projet de nos Ennemis Et pour mieux y reussir il Engagea les principaux chefs des nations Illinoises a venir me voir Icy tous LEsperance de quelques recompenses ce qui eut son Execution et les Renvoyay bien contant Apres un sejour d'un Mois Icy m'ayant Assuré qu'ils N'avoient Jamais trempé Non plus que les Chaouanons et

[Translation]

year after the departure of the ship *Le Chameau*. Then M. le Chevalier de Bertet announced to me that all the tribes in the neighborhood of that place and of the Wabash had been stirred up at the instigation of the English who had sent about several belts by the agency of the Iroquois and of the Huron as I had the honor to tell you by that vessel. These belts had worked so efficaciously that all the Illinois tribes with those of the Wabash and the others in the English party were to make an attack upon our posts with promises of rewards proportioned to the brave deeds which each of them designed to do on this occasion. The Chevalier de Bertet, watchful of the movements of the Indian villages near him, discovered the plot. No more was necessary to disconcert the project of our enemies. In order to succeed the better, he induced the principal chiefs of the Illinois tribes to come to see me here, all hoping for the rewards which they received and which sent them away well satisfied after a month's stay here, assuring me that they had never been concerned in the

29

maskoutins Dans le projet des Anglois; a la recommandation que Jay toujours faite a Mr de Bertet de se defier de ces Chaouanons Etablis a la fourche D'ouabache Il les avoit regardé comme tres coupables en cette affaire, cependant depuis il est arrivé un chasseur qui m'a assuré avoir Receu d Eux mil marques d'attachement, en luy recommandant de Jours a autres de ne point faire chasse du coste de L Ennemy.

J'attends Incessamment le convoy des Ilinois, si J'apprend quelques Nouvelles Interessantes Jauray l'honneur, Monseigneur, de Vous en faire part par la flute du Roy qui doit Nous Venir.

Les Recoltes y ont Eté abondantes L'anneé derniere malgré le party que Mr Bertet prit En ce temps La de faire Rassembler tous les Villages francois en un, et de le faire Entourer de bonnes pallissades pour se mettre en Etat de deffense, il m a prevenu

29v

quil Retourneroit Incessamment a son poste a moins quil n'eut de Nouveause Avis a se tenir plus soigneusement sur ses gardes.

.....

[*Translation*]

plan of the English any more than the Shawnee or the Mascoutens. Because I have always impressed it upon M. de Bertet to beware of these Shawnee settled at the forks of the Wabash, he had regarded them as very culpable in this affair. Since then however a hunter has arrived here who assures me that he had received of them a thousand marks of attachment as they begged him day after day not to hunt in the direction of the enemy. I am expecting the Illinois convoy at any moment. If I get any interesting news I shall have the honor, Monseigneur, to communicate it to you by the king's ship which is due here.

Last year the harvests were abundant in spite of the course which M. Bertet took at that time of assembling all the French villages in one and surrounding it with good palisades in order to put himself in a state of defense. He has told me that he would return forthwith to his post at least unless he had a new warning to keep himself more carefully on his guard.

.....

MACHAULT<sup>1</sup> TO MAUREPAS, March 24, 1748

[A N Colonies C11A 92:368]

A VERSAILLES le 24. mars 1748.

Mo De Montaran<sup>2</sup> a reçu, Monsieur, il y a quelque tems de Quebec l'échantillon de Laine ou poil que j'ai L'honneur de vous adresser qui a été coupé, a ce que l'on pretend sur la tête d'un Boeuf Illinois.

Commes les Jnspecteurs des manufactures qui l'ont examiné, assurent qu'il pourroit être utilement employé à nos manufactures et singulierement de bas et de Chapeaux, j'ai cru, Monsieur, que dans le besoin ou nous sommes des matieres premieres destinées à ces usages, je ne devois pas négliger de tenter cette réssource quelque éloignée, et peut être quelque peu considerable qu'elle puisse être.

Je vous serai, Monsieur, tres obligé de vouloir bien y donner les mains, en me faisant venir une balle de cette Laine, afin que

[*Translation*]

VERSAILLES, March 24, 1748

M. de Montaran<sup>2</sup> received, Monsieur, from Quebec some time ago the sample of wool or hair which I have the honor of sending you which has been, as they claim, cut from the head of an Illinois buffalo.

As the inspectors of manufactures who have examined it assure me that it may be usefully employed in our manufactures, especially those of stockings and of hats, I have thought, Monsieur, that in our need for raw materials for these purposes I should not neglect testing this resource, however remote and perhaps unimportant it may be.

I shall be much obliged to you, Monsieur, if you will be good enough to assist me by sending me a ball of this wool in

<sup>1</sup> Jean-Baptiste Machault d'Arnouville, 1701-1794. In various ministerial positions after 1738. Keeper of the seals, 1750. July, 1754, minister of marine and colonies. Banished from court, February, 1757. Pease, *Anglo-French Boundary Disputes in the West (I.H.C., 27)*, xxxvi, n.

<sup>2</sup> Chief executive of the Company of the Indies, and in charge of its correspondence on its affairs in Canada with the ministry of marine and colonies.

je puisse la faire Éprouver, Et que je sois par la en etat <sup>368v</sup> de  
connoître, si elle a effectivement les propriétés qu'on lui attribue

J'ai L'honneur d'être tres parfaitement, Monsieur

Votre tres humble et tres Obeissant Serviteur

MACHAULT

MAUREPAS TO MACHAULT, April 1, 1748

[A N Colonies B88:41v]

A M. Le Cleur gal

A VERSAILLES le per avril 1748.

J'ai receu, M. la Lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de  
m'écrire le 24. du mois der avec l'échantillon qui y estoit joint de  
la laine de boeuf illinois qui a esté envoyé a M. de Montaran.

Il y a desja longtêms qu'on scait que cette espee de laine  
pourroit estre utilement employés dans nos manufactures; et si  
on ne leur en a pas procuré, c'est qu'il a esté impossible d'y  
parvenir. Les boeufs Illinois sont des boeufs Sauvages que les

[*Translation*]

order that I may have it tested and that I may accordingly be  
in a position to know if it really has the properties attributed  
to it.

I have the honor to be, Monsieur, very perfectly,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

MACHAULT

To M. le controller-general

VERSAILLES, April 1, 1748

I have received, Monsieur, the letter which you did me the  
honor to write me the twenty-fourth of last month with the in-  
closed sample of the wool of the Illinois buffalo which was sent to  
M. de Montaran.

It has been known for a long time that this sort of wool  
might be usefully employed in our manufactures; and the reason  
it has not been procured has been the impossibility of getting it.  
The Illinois buffalo are the wild cattle which the Canadians and

Canadiens et les Sauvages tüent dans leurs chasses et dans leurs voyages. on en trouve à la verité, en assez grand nombre dans la partie la plus eloignée de la Colonie; mais coe ils font la principale ressource pour la subsistance des Chasseurs et des Voyageurs, il est de leur interest de les menager. Chaque boeuf n'a d'ailleurs qu'une quantité assez mediocre de laine propre aux manufactures; en sorte qu'on ne sauroit en procurer tout d'un coup une certaine provision qu'autant qu'on se porteroit à detruire, ou du moins à diminuer beaucoup, cette espece de boeufs.

Dans la vüe de former un objet de comce de cette laine, j'ay en differens temps donné des ordres pour engager les haâns de Canada a elever de ces boeufs pour en multiplier l'espece; mais cela n'a pas reussi jusqu'à present; et je suis informé qu'il n'en reste qu'un ou deux dans la Colonie.

Ce detail doit vous faire juger, M. qu'on ne doit guere regarder cette laine comme un aliment sur lequel on puisse compter pour nos manufactures; J'ecris cependant a l'Intendant de Canada de tacher d'en procurer une balle et de prendre des eclaircissemnts

[Translation]

the Indians kill in their hunts and on their journeys. They are indeed found in great numbers in the most remote part of the colony. But as they are the principal means of subsistence for the hunters and the *voyageurs*, it is to their interest to preserve them. Moreover each buffalo has only a moderate quantity of wool fit for manufactures. Accordingly no means is apparent by which you could immediately procure a certain supply of it without destroying or at least much diminishing this sort of cattle.

With a view to making an article of commerce of this wool I have at different times given orders to set the inhabitants of Canada to raising these buffaloes to increase the breed. But up to now that has not succeeded; and I am informed that only one or two are left in the colony.

These facts would let you judge, Monsieur, that we can hardly regard this wool as a resource on which we can count for our manufactures. However, I am writing to the intendant of Canada to try to procure a ball of it and to get information as



sur ce que la Colonie pourroit en fournir a peu prez chaque année, en cas qu'elle soit jugée estre effectivemt propre à la destination qui vous a este indiqué.

On ne peut estre plus pft que je le suis. M.

votre très humble et très obt servr

MAUREPAS TO HOCQUART, April 1, 1748

[A N Colonies B87:50v]

Dupta

A M. Hocquart.

A VERSAILLES, le per Avril 1748.

La laine de boeuf Illinois pouvant, M. estre utilement employée aux manufactures, particulièrement à celles des bas et des chapeaux, M. Le Cleur Gal souhaiteroit d'en avoir une balle pour la faire éprouver. Je vous prie de prendre des mesures pour la procurer si cela est possible; et comme dans le cas ou elle sera jugée effectivement propre a ces manufactures, il conviendrait de constater ce que la Colonie pourroit en fournir a peu près chaque année, vous aures agreable de prendre sur cela des eclairecissemens et de m'en faire part.

Je suis, M. Entt a vous.

[*Translation*]

to what the colony can approximately furnish each year in case it be judged proper for the use which you have indicated.

One cannot be more perfectly than I am, Monsieur,

Your very humble and obedient servant

Duplicate

To M. Hocquart

VERSAILLES, April 1, 1748

Since, Monsieur, the wool of the Illinois buffalo may be usefully employed in manufactures, especially those of stockings and hats, the controller-general desires to have a ball of it to make tests. I beg you to take measures to procure it if that is possible; and since in case it is judged fit for such manufactures it will be well to determine approximately how much of it the colony can furnish each year, you will be good enough to get information on this and to communicate it to me.

I am, Monsieur, entirely yours.

MAUREPAS TO MACHAULT, April 17, 1748

[A N Colonies B88:51]

A M. le Coneur gal.

A VILLES le 17. Avril 1748.

J'ay reçu, M., la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'hr de m'écrire le 10. de ce mois. Il est vrai qu'on tue du costé de La Louise plus de boeufs Illinois que du costé de Canada; mais il ne faut pas croire que cette pre Colonie puisse fournir, du moins pr le present, de la laine de cette espece de boeufs en assez grande quantité pour en tirer un secours mesme modique pour la fabrique du Royaume. Ce n'est pas d'aujourd'hui qu'on a pensé a cet objet. il y a longtemps que j'en ai fait un article des instructions des offers chargés de l'admon de La Louise; mais l'exon des ordres qui ont esté donnés sur cela depend de plusieurs arrangements generaux qui ne sont pas l'ouvrage d'un jour. Il y a mesme quelques uns de ces arrangements, auxquels j'espere que vous voudres bien concourir lorsque des temps plus tranquilles et plus favorables pourront nous permettre d'y travailler.

J'ay l'hr d'estre très parft, M., vostre &a

[*Translation*]

To M. the controller-general

VERSAILLES, April 17, 1748

I have received, Monsieur, the letter you did me the honor to write me the tenth of this month. It is true that more Illinois buffaloes are killed on the side of Louisiana than of Canada; but it should not be believed that that first colony can furnish, at least for the present, wool of that species of cattle in sufficiently great quantity to obtain from it even a moderate assistance for the manufactures of the kingdom. It is not merely at the present time that that subject has been under consideration. Long ago I made it an article of the instructions of the officers charged with the administration of Louisiana; but the execution of the orders given on that subject depends on several general arrangements which are not the work of a day. There are some of these arrangements in which I hope you will be willing to concur when more tranquil and more favorable times will permit us to work to that end.

I have the honor to be very perfectly, Monsieur, yours, etc.

MAUREPAS TO VAUDREUIL, April 25, 1748

[A N Colonies B87:7]

Dupta a M. de Vaudreuil.

A VERSAILLES le 25. avril 1748.

M.

Dans l'instruction commune que je vous expedierai a vous et a M. Michel, lorsqu'au mois de Sepbre prochain il s'embarquera pour se rendre a La Louise, je me propose d'entrer dans les details de plusieurs objets qui peuvent estre susceptibles de changement dans l'admon gle de la Colonie. Mais il en est un sur lequel je suis bien aise de vous prevenir, afin que vous puissies par la pre occasion m'en dire vostre avis particulier.

Cet objet est le poste des Illinois. Vous saves qu'autrefois il dependoit immediatement du Canada et que ce n'est qu'en 1717. qu'il en a esté distrait pour estre uni et incorporé au gment particulier de La Louisianne. Les motifs de ce changement furent que, dans les vües que l'on avoit de favoriser les concessions de la compie d'occident, L'augon du païs des illinois pour cette dre

[*Translation*]

Duplicate To M. de Vaudreuil

VERSAILLES, April 25, 1748

MONSIEUR:

In a joint instruction which I will send to you and to M. Michel when in September next he embarks for Louisiana, I propose to enter into detail on several points in which it may be proper to change the general administration of the colony. But there is one on which I am very glad to give you advance notice so that you may by the first occasion give me your own opinion on it.

This point is the post of the Illinois. You know that formerly it was an immediate dependency of Canada and that it was only in 1717 that it was separated from Canada to be united and incorporated in the special government of Louisiana. The motives for this were that with our views of favoring the Company of the West the addition of the Illinois country to the latter

Colonie lui seroit d'autant plus avantageuse, que ce pais lui fourniroit de nouveaux alimens pour son comce, tant par la traite avec les sauvages, que par le produit de ses cultures. On fit envisager aussy l'exploitation des Mines coe une source abondante de richesse. Et l'on jugea qu'il y auroit plus de facilité a La Louise qu'en Canada pour faire valoir tous ces avantages.

Mais 1 La ppale raison qui determina alors, ne subsiste plus depuis que le Roy a repris la Colonie de La Louise, puis qu'il est indifferent pour le service de S. M. et pour l'Etat que ce soit cette Colonie ou celle de Canada qui profite des avantages que l'establissement des Illinois peut produire, et qu'il ne doit estre qon que de savoir quelle est celle a laquelle il peut en procurer de plus considerables ou qui peut en avoir le plus de besoin.

2 Si l'on entre dans l'examen des circes qui doivent concourir a la decision de cette qon, elles semblent se reunir toutes en faveur du Canada.

En effet le poste des illinois ne peut estre considere que coe un etablissement forcé pour La Louise. Il est eloigné de 400.

[*Translation*]

colony would be more advantageous for it since that country would furnish new materials for its commerce both by the Indian trade and by the produce of the fields. The exploitation of the mines there was also regarded as an abundant source of wealth. And it was judged that there was more opportunity for improving these advantages in Louisiana than in Canada.

But, 1: The chief reason which was then decisive no longer applies since the king has taken back the colony of Louisiana, and since it is a matter of indifference for the service of His Majesty and for the state whether it be that colony or Canada which profits by the advantages that the settlement of the Illinois may produce, and since further it should be only a question of knowing which colony can make the most out of the Illinois or which has the more need of it.

2: If one goes into the circumstances involved in the decision of this question, they all seem to join in favor of Canada.

In effect, the post of the Illinois can only by a forced interpretation be considered as one of the settlements of Louisiana.

lieües de la Nlle Orleans. Il ne sert qu'à diviser, et par consequent à diminuer les forces de cette Colonie. il occasionne une depense considerable au Roy pour l'entretien des deux compes qui y sont en garnison par les difficultés des transports, et il fait perir par là mesme raison beaucoup de soldats. Le produit de la traite des pelleteries avec les Sauvages passe pour la plus grande partie en Canada. Et l'on sait que les esperances qu'on avoit données par rapport aux mines se sont evanoüies, puisque tout s'est reduit a tirer quelque chose de celles de plomb.

En reunissant ce poste au Canada, La Louise y gagneroit d'abord les deux compies de troupes qui y sont et qui pourroient estre plus utilement employées pour la deffense des postes principx de cette Colonie. Le Roy epargneroit les depses que cette garnison y occasionne. Il suffiroit qu'on y envoyat de Canada un detachement de quelques soldats avec un offer pour y commander, et le fermier de la traite du poste, ou les traittans auxquels il seroit accordé des conges, seroient assujettés au transport des

[*Translation*]

It is four hundred leagues away from New Orleans. It only serves to divide and consequently to diminish the strength of that colony. It occasions considerable expense to the king for the maintenance of the two companies which are in garrison there by the difficulty of transportation, and for the same reason it causes the death of many soldiers. The product of the fur trade of the Indians goes for the most part to Canada. Moreover, it is known that the hopes formerly held out with respect to mines have disappeared, since it has all come down to getting something out of the lead mines.

From reuniting this post to Canada, Louisiana first of all would gain the two companies of troops which are there and which might more usefully be employed for the defense of the chief posts of that colony. The king would save the expenses which that garrison occasions. It would suffice to send from Canada a detachment of some soldiers with an officer to command them; the farmer of the post's trade or the traders to whom *congés* would be allowed, could be required to transport the requisite

7v

provisions nécessaires pour ce detachement et les autres besoins ainsy que cela se pratique pour les postes éloignés de Canada. En sorte que celuy cy loin d'estre a charge au Roy, pourroit au contraire augmenter les revenus de ceux de cette Colonie, qui seroit bien plus à portée de l'exploiter que La Louise, quoiqu'il soit plus éloigné de Montreal que de La Nlle Orleans, par l'usage ou l'on est en Canada de ces sortes de voyages.

Il ne paroît pas mesme que la privation des deux compes de troupes pour la garnison peut estre d'aucun inconvenient par raport a la sureté du poste. Outre que les françois y sont en nombre suffisant pour n'avoir rien a craindre de la part des Sauvages, il est a croire que ceux cy seront mieux contenus et plus tranquilles sous le commandement immediat d'un offer de Canada, puis ql est certain qu'ils craignent beaucoup plus les françois et sauvages de ce païs là que ceux de La Louise

La distraction du poste ne sauroit nüire non plus a la defense de la Louisianne. Les haïns des illinois ne peuvent guere

[*Translation*]

provisions for that detachment and the other necessities as is done with the remote posts of Canada. Thus the post, far from being an expense to the king, might on the contrary increase the revenues of that colony which would be in a much better position to exploit it than Louisiana, even though it is farther from Montreal than from New Orleans; for in Canada they are accustomed to journeys of this sort.

It does not even appear that the withdrawal of the two companies of troops from the garrison might lead to any disadvantage with respect to the safety of the post. Apart from the fact that the French there are sufficiently numerous to have nothing to fear from the Indians, it is to be expected that the latter would be better behaved and more quiet under the immediate command of an officer from Canada since it is certain they are much more afraid of the French and Indians of that country than of those of Louisiana.

The withdrawal of that post should not interfere either with the defense of Louisiana. The inhabitants of Illinois can hardly

estre a portée d'y contribuer. Et si les occasions s'en present-oient, L'offer de Canada qui y commanderoit seroit toujours obligé d'exer les ordres qui lui seroient donnés par le geur de La Louise sur cela.

Il n'y a que l'article des farines que cette dre Colonie tire des Illinois qui puisse meriter attention. Mais cette branche de comce qui est la seule dont elle profite ne pourra-t-elle pas toujours se continuer nonobstant la reunion du poste au Canada? et les convois qui servent a transporter ces farines ne pourront-ils pas toujours se faire a l'ordre?

Il est vrai que les mses qui ne manqueront pas d'y estre envoyées de La Louise pourront occasionner des discussions par rapport a la traite du poste. Mais n'y aura-t-il pas des arrange-mens a prendre pour concilier toutes choses a cet egard?

C'est sur toutes ces reflexions et sur celles que vous pourres y ajouter, que je desire que vous me marquies vostre sentiment, sur la qon de savoir s'il convient de reünir les Illinois au Canada. Si vous vous determinez pour cette reünion, vous aures agreable

[*Translation*]

be in a situation to contribute to that defense. And if the occasion permitted, the officer from Canada who commanded there could always be required to execute the orders given him by the governor of Louisiana on that point.

It is only the matter of the flour which the last colony obtains from the Illinois which may merit attention. But as to that branch of commerce which is the only one from which it profits, could Louisiana not continue to enjoy it despite the reuniting of that post to Canada? As for the convoys which serve to transport this flour, could they not continue as before?

It is true that the merchandise which will continue to be sent from Louisiana may occasion difficulties with respect to the trade of the post. But could not steps be taken to arrange matters in that regard?

It is on all these reflections and on those which you may add that I desire that you should give me your opinion on the question as to whether it is proper to reunite the Illinois to Canada. If you decide for this reunion you will be good enough to in-



de m'expliquer les arrangements qu'il vous paroitra a propos de faire tant pour la Colonie de Canada que pr celle de La Louise par raport a l'exploitaõn du poste. Et supposé que vous pensies qu'il doit rester dependant de vostre gment parter, vous examinerez, s'il vous plaist, quelles mesures il peut y avoir a prendre pour diminuer les depses immenses et les autres inconveniens qu'il occasionne, et vous m'en rendres compte. J'en ecris aussy a M. le Cte de La Galissoniere.

Je suis.

MAUREPAS TO LA GALISSONNIÈRE, April 25, 1748

[A N Colonies B87:51]

Dupta a M. le Cte de la Galissonniere

A VERSLLES le 25. avril 1748.

M.

Vous n'ignorez sans doute pas que le poste des Illinois etoit autrefois dependant immediatement du gouvernemt gñal de Canada, et que ce n'est qu'en 1717. &a

[Translation]

dicatè to me the arrangements which it may seem to you proper to make, both for the colony of Canada and that of Louisiana with respect to the exploitation of that post. And supposing that you think it should remain dependent on your special government, you will examine if you please what measures may be taken to diminish the enormous expenses and the other disadvantages which it occasions, and you will give me an account of them. I am writing also to M. le Comte de la Galissonnière.

I am—

Duplicate To M. le Comte de la Galissonnière

VERSAILLES, April 25, 1748

MONSIEUR:

Without doubt you are aware that the post of the Illinois was formerly immediately dependent on the general government of Canada and that it was only in 1717, etc. [The rest as in the let-

Le reste comme à M. de Vaudreuil, Gouverneur de La Louisie  
fo 7. jusqu'au der article, auquel il faut substituer ce qui suit.

C'est sur ces reflexions et sur celles que vous pourres y  
ajouter, que je vous prie d'examiner s'il convient en effet de  
reunir les Illinois au Canada ou de laisser ce poste dependant de  
La Louisianne. En me faisant part de votre sentiment sur cela,  
vous aures agreable de m'expliquer aussy les nouveaux arrange-  
mens que vous jugeres devoir être faits en conseqce du parti que  
vous proposerez. J'en ecris aussi à M. de Vaudreuil, Geur de La  
Louisianne; Et lorsque j'aurai reçu votre reponse et la sienne, je  
prendray les ordres du Roy sur ce sujet et je vous les feray savoir  
a l'un et à l'autre.

Je suis pft M. obt

VAUDREUIL TO MAUREPAS, May 24, 1748

[A N Colonies C13A 32:63]

MONSEIGNEUR

Par Les dernieres nouvelles qui me sont Venuës des Jllinois  
par le convoy qui a apporté Jcy beaucoup de farines, Mr de

[*Translation*]

ter to M. de Vaudreuil, governor of Louisiana, up to the last  
paragraph for which the following is to be substituted.]

It is on the basis of these reflections and of those which you  
will be able to add that I beg you to examine whether in fact it  
is expedient to reunite the Illinois to Canada or to leave that post  
dependent on Louisiana. In communicating to me your opinion  
on that, you will be good enough also to explain to me the new  
arrangements which you think should be made in consequence of  
the course which you may propose. I am writing on this subject  
also to M. de Vaudreuil, governor of Louisiana, and when I shall  
have received your reply and his I shall take the king's pleasure  
on that subject and will communicate it to you both.

I am perfectly, Monsieur, . . . .obedient—

MONSEIGNEUR:

In the latest news which has come to me from the Illinois by  
the convoy (which has brought much flour), M. de Bertet informs

Bertet me marque que Jus qu'a present les Nations de ce côté la

n'ont point Encore parû S'estre Entierement declareé <sup>63v</sup> En  
 faveur des Anglois, et pour mieux S'assurer de celles qui Sont  
 domicilieres en cet Endroit, il En á engagé les principaux a Venir  
 me Voir, et il m'en est arrivé cinq, par Ce Convoy qui m'ont faites  
 de grandes protestations d' attachement, ce commandant m'ajoute  
 que Malgré Ces Considerations il Se tiendra toujours en garde de  
 ce côté la, Je L'inviteray á continuer quoyque Je Ne Voye pas  
 qu'il ait rien a Craindre de Leur part, ces Jllinois aujourd'hui ont  
 même plus de Sujet a nous Menager que Jamais, ayant fait des  
 Jncursions chez les chaouanons Etablis Sur ouabache, il Leur est  
 même arrivé depuis peur de Leur faire un outrage qui est  
 Jrreconciliable parmy les Sauvages en ce qu'ils ont été Bruler

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Leur Village, deterrer Leurs morts pendant que ces chaouanons  
 Etoient en chasse, qui depuis ont Usé de represaille, Sont Venus  
 Sur Eux leur faire des chevelures et des Esclaves en plain Jour,  
 Sans avoir faites aucunes Jnsultes aux francois ny aux negres;

[*Translation*]

me that the tribes of that region by no means appear as yet to  
 have declared entirely for the English. To assure himself the  
 better of those domiciled at that place, he has induced the chief  
 men to come to see me, and five have arrived by this convoy who  
 have made me great protestations of attachment. The com-  
 mandant adds that in spite of these conditions he will always be  
 on his guard. I will desire him to continue so although I do not  
 see that there is anything to fear on that side. These Illinois  
 today have more reason than ever to court us, as they have made  
 attacks on the Shawnee who are settled on the Wabash. A little  
 while back they even committed an outrage on them which among  
 the Indians is past atonement by burning their village and dig-  
 ging up their dead while the Shawnee were on their hunt. Since  
 then, the Shawnee have made reprisals and have come among  
 them to take scalps and slaves in full daylight without having  
 offered any insults to the French or the negroes. This is an

C'est une marque que ces chaouanons n'ont point le coeur malfait comme Mr. Bertet Se L'est persuadé en Joignant a ces Jllinois quelques francois et cela fondé Sur trois Voyageurs qui Etoient allé en chasse de Leur costé quil a crû avoir Eté deffaits par ces chaouanons, tendis quils en ont été bien traittés et qu'ils Sont arrivés Jcy L'hiver dernier avec beaucoup dhuiles et de Suifs, ce commandant m'ayant paru n'avoir pas pour cette Nation assez de

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Menagement Je fis partir aussitost L'arrivée de ces chasseurs une occasion pour les Arkansas afin de Luy en donner avis et Luy faire Sçavoir Mes Jntentions a LEgard de ces chaouanons dont Le Nommé chartier L'avoit assuré n'avoir rien a craindre mais qui depuis L'outrage qui leurs a Eté faite par les Jllinois et Peanguichias, n'ont rien négligé pour S'en Venger, et L'on jgnore Jusqu'a present ou ils Se Sont retirés, Jl Seroit à Souhaitter que ce fut du Côté du Détroit comme Je les y avois fait Engager, peut estre Aussy auront ils été Se Joindre a Un Village de Leur

[*Translation*]

indication that these Shawnee are not ill-disposed as M. Bertet persuaded himself that they were when he sent some French with these Illinois; he based his opinion on the case of three *voyageurs* who had gone to hunt in their direction and who he thought had been cut off by these Shawnee; whereas on the contrary they were well treated and came here last winter with much oil and fat. As this commandant does not seem to me to use enough tact with this tribe, I sent off immediately on the arrival of these hunters an express for the Arkansas to inform him and to let him know my intentions with respect to the Shawnee. Their chief, named Chartier, had assured me that we had nothing to fear, but that since the outrage committed upon them by the Illinois and the Piankashaw, they have omitted nothing to avenge themselves. At present it is not known where they have gone. It would be desirable that it should be in the direction of Detroit as I had induced them to do. Perhaps also they may have gone to join a village of their people established some years back at

gens Etablis de puis plusieurs années aux Abekoutchis<sup>1</sup> quoy quil en Soit leur proximité ne pouvoit nous estre qu'onereux par la

difficulté de leur fournir <sup>65</sup> Leurs Besoins et porter beaucoup d'ombrage aux Nations Jllinoises et de Ouabache qui n'ont rien négligés au pres de Mr De Bertet pour les Luy rendre Suspect.

Quant aux decouvertes de Mine que le portugais devoit faire Sur la riviere a la Roche, le temps Et Les Circonstances ne Luy ont point Encore permis Mr Bertet me marque quil doit y retourner et que ces découvertes ne prejudicieront en rien a la Culture des terres de ce país la, L'Exploitation ne pouvant en estre prochaine et que dailleurs Son principal objet Sera toujours dy Engager les habitans, Je Luy recommanderay quil ne Sçaurait Veiller avec trop de Soin a tout ce qui peut contribuer á en accellerer Les progrès.

J ay Eté flatté d'apprendre que Sa Majesté ait <sup>65v</sup> approuvé

[Translation]

Abikudshi.<sup>1</sup> Wherever it may be their nearness can only be burdensome to us on account of the difficulty of supplying their needs and will give much umbrage to the Illinois and Wabash tribes who have neglected nothing with M. de Bertet to make him suspicious of them.

As to the mine which the Portuguese should have searched out on Rock River, time and circumstances have not yet allowed it.

M. Bertet informs me that he is to return there and that these discoveries will not prejudice in any way the cultivation of the land in that country inasmuch as the mine cannot be exploited in the near future. Moreover his principal object will always be to engage the inhabitants in agriculture. I shall assure him that he cannot watch too carefully over everything which may contribute to accelerating its progress.

I have been pleased to learn that His Majesty approved the

<sup>1</sup> The site of this village was near the Coosa River in the present Taladega County, Alabama. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, 1:2.

La permission que J'avois donnée L'année dernière au Sr de La Gautrais<sup>1</sup> qui est arrivé Jcy par La fregate la megere.

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A l'égard du fort projeté Sur ouabache, Je prendray Le party de Le differer Jusqu'à L'année prochaine puis que les Conjonctures d'a present Ne Sont point assez favorables pour Engager le Roy dans des depenses de cette Nature Et Je crois pouvoir

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d'autant mieux le faire que ce retardement Ne prejudiciera en rien au bien du Service d'Jcy a L'année prochaine, mais J'auray l'honneur de Vous observer Monseigneur, quil Seroit de Conséquence de differer plus longtems cet Etablissement en ce que Les Anglois pourroient bien a la fin nous prevenir a Cet Egard, et pour lors il ne Seroit pas facile de les en faire deguerpir, il y a Longtemps que nous en Sommes Menacé.

Je Vais en attendant vos ordres Monseigneur, marquer a Mr

[Translation]

leave that I gave last year to the Sieur de la Gautrais,<sup>1</sup> who arrived here by the frigate *La Megere*

With respect to the fort planned on the Wabash, I shall defer it to next year since circumstances at present are not sufficiently favorable for involving the king in expense of that sort. And I believe I can the better do this as that delay will prejudice in nothing the good of the service here for next year. But I shall have the honor to observe to you, Monseigneur, that it would be serious to defer that settlement longer as the English may very well in the end forestall it, and once they did, it would not be easy to make them give it up. We have long been menaced with it.

While awaiting your orders, Monseigneur, I am going to indicate to M. de Bertet to make sure of the Kickapoo and the

<sup>1</sup> Pierre René Harpain de la Gautrais. Cadet at Rochefort; ensign in Louisiana; lieutenant, October 1, 1740; captain, February 1, 1754. A N Colonies D2C4. Married Therese Neveu, widow of Girardeau. *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, 18:449, 450. He was dispatched with a convoy to the Illinois March 27, 1740. *L'Archiviste...de Québec pour 1922-1923*, 177. He was active in the service of the British in West Florida after 1763. See C. W. Alvord and C. E. Carter: *The Critical Period, 1763-1765 and Trade and Politics, 1767-1769* (I. H. C., 10, 16), index.

De Bertet de L'assurer entierement des Kikapoux Et maskoutins qui avoient promis de Venir SEtablir en cet Endroit, et une Nation comme celle La Sera Suffisante pour Nous Couvrir en cet Endroit. A LEgard du Sr Olivier<sup>1</sup> a qui vous avés Euë la Bonté

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Monseigneur, de procurer la place de Grandvoyer de cette Colonie et celle d'arpenteur general des quelles Je N'ay que des tres humbles obligations a Vous rendre, va faire de Son mieux pour Remplir les Vuës que vous avez Euës en Luy accordant ces Employs, Ils Exigent Effectivement beaucoup de soin, aussy Est il dans les Sentiments de ne rien negliger pour Justifier Monseigneur, les témoignages que Jay Euë l'honneur de Vous rendre de Sa Conduite.

Jay lhonneur d'estre avec un tres profond Respect Monseigneur

Votre tres humble Et tres obeissant Serviteur

VAUDREÜIL

A LA Nlle ORLEANS Le 24e May 1748.

[Translation]

Mascoutens who have promised to come and settle in that place. A tribe like that will be sufficient to cover us at that point. With respect to the Sieur Olivier,<sup>1</sup> for whom you had the goodness, Monseigneur, to procure the place of *grand voyer* of this colony and that of *arpenteur général*, for which I can only offer you my humble thanks, he will do his best to carry out the views you have had in according him these positions. In truth they call for much care, and he is disposed to omit nothing to justify, Monseigneur, the favorable testimony I had the honor to give you regarding his conduct.

I have the honor to be with very profound respect, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL

NEW ORLEANS, May 24, 1748

<sup>1</sup> Pierre-François-Olivier de Vezin. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire*, 3:411.



D'AUBERVILLE<sup>1</sup> TO MAUREPAS, June 15, 1748

[A N Colonies C13A 32:196]

MONSEIGNEUR

.....  
197...

Le convoy des Illinois est arrivé jl y après d'Un mois et a mis 1 abondance en farine. M. de Vaudreuil compte le faire partir a la fin de ce mois; j'ay fait mettre les trois Batteaux qui doivent y servir en bon Etat, et toutes les munitions et marchandises a Envoyer dans Les differents postes sont en Etat destre chargé; mais si les Secours que vous avés eû la bonté de nous annoncer

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nous manque nous serons reduits aux Expedients pour pourvoir du service.

J'ay l'honneur destre avec un très profond Respect Monseigneur

Votre tres humble et très Obeissant Serviteur

D'AUBERVILLE

A LA NOUVELLE ORLEANS le 15 juin 1748

[*Translation*]

MONSEIGNEUR:

.....  
The convoy from the Illinois arrived here almost a month ago and brought a plentiful supply of flour. M. de Vaudreuil counts on sending it back at the end of this month. I have had the three bateaux which are to be used put in good condition. All the munitions and merchandise to be sent to the various posts are ready to be loaded. But if the help which you have had the goodness to announce to us fails us, we shall be reduced to expedients to provide for the service.

I have the honor to be with very profound respect, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

D'AUBERVILLE

NEW ORLEANS, June 15, 1748

<sup>1</sup> Vincent Guillaume le Kenichel d'Auberville. Held various administrative posts in Louisiana including that of intendant. Died March 14, 1757. Villiers du Terrage, *Les Dernières Années*, 76.

## MEMOIR FOR THE KING, September 6, 1748

[A N Colonies C13A 32:241]<sup>1</sup>.....  
242...

Par rapport aux autres nations de la Colonie, M. de Vaudreuil rend compte que les Anglois étoient parvenus à engager celles des environs des Illinois à détruire les françois qui se trouvent dans cette partie, ainsy que leurs établissemens; mais que le Cher de

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Bertet qui y commande ayant decouvert la conspiration, en avoit empêché l'effet; en sorte qu'on eseroit que la tranquillité seroit bientost retablie.

M. de Vaudreuil observe qu'on ne peut attribuer ces differents mouvements des Nations Sauvages qu'au peu de forces des garnisons des postes françois, et au bruit que les Anglois ont repandu que le Roy n'avoit plus de vaisseaux.

[Translation]

.....  
With respect to the other tribes of the colony M. de Vaudreuil reports that the English had succeeded in inducing those in the neighborhood of the Illinois to destroy the French in that region as well as their settlements; but that the Chevalier de Bertet, who commands there, having discovered the conspiracy, had prevented its execution in such sort that it was hoped that tranquillity would soon be restored.

M. de Vaudreuil observes that these different movements of the Indian tribes can be ascribed only to the small force of the French garrisons and to the reports which the English have spread that the king had no more ships.

<sup>1</sup> This is indorsed as submitted to the king and is dated September 6, 1748.

BIGOT TO MAUREPAS, October 19, 1748

[A N Colonies C11A 92:108]

MONSEIGNEUR

M. douville cy devant commandant aux miamis m'a présenté un memoire des effets qu'il avoit laissé au fort ou il commandoit et que les miamis furent piller pendant son absence ayant été mener a montreal par l'ordre du general des sauvages des environs.

j'ai refusé d'acquiter son memoire mais je luy ai promis de vous l'adresser (il est cy joint) et de demander vos ordres pour le payement. c'est un officier fort pauvre et qui, en effet, a perdu dans le pillage

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec un profond respect Monseigneur  
Vôtre très humble et très obeissant serviteur

BIGOT

A QUEBEC le 19 8bre 1748

[Translation]

MONSEIGNEUR:

M. Douville, formerly commandant of the Miamis, has presented me a memoir of the possessions which he had left at the fort where he commanded, and which the Miami pillaged during his absence; he had by order of the general, gone to escort the Indians of the neighborhood to Montreal.

I have refused to liquidate his memoir, but I have promised to send it to you (it is annexed) and to ask your order for payment. This officer is very poor and really has lost in the pillage.

I have the honor to be with profound respect, Monseigneur,  
Your very humble and very obedient servant,

BIGOT

QUEBEC, October 19, 1748

MAUREPAS TO VAUDREUIL, November 4, 1748

[A N Colonies B87:15]

Dupta            a M. de Vaudreuil.

A FAU le 4. 9bre 1748.

M.

Je reponds a vos Lettres des 20. mars et 24. may drs.

Si l'espece de conspiration dans laquelle on a pretendu que toutes les nations des Illinois et d'Oüabache avoient trempé pour faire perir les françois des Postes de la Colonie avoit quelque fondement, il est fort heureux que M. Le cher de Bertet soit parvenu a la decouvrir; et quoique par là ce projet se trouvât rompü et qu'une partie de ces nations se deffendit d'y avoir eu part, il y a lieu de croire que cet officer se sera tenu toujours sur ses gardes de façon ce pendant a ne leur point laisser juger qu'il craignit trop de leur part. Au moyen du reſtabliſſement de la Paix conclüe avec les Anglois, il faut esperer qu'il ne sera plus question de ces sortes d'aventures. En tout cas, il vous

[Translation]

Duplicate            To M. de Vaudreuil

FONTAINEBLEAU, November 4, 1748

MONSIEUR:

I reply to your letters of March 20 and of May 24 last.

If the sort of conspiracy to cut off the French of the posts of the colony in which it has been claimed that all the nations of the Illinois and the Wabash had dabbled had any foundation, it is quite fortunate that M. le Chevalier de Bertet obtained knowledge of it; and although as a result the project was broken up and a part of these tribes denied having any share in it, there is reason to believe that that officer will have been on his guard in such a fashion as not to let them believe that he feared too much from them. As a result of the reëſtabliſhment of peace with the English it must be hoped that there will no longer be any question of occurrences such as this. In any case it will

sera bien plus aisé de les demesler et d'en prevenir les suites, et le Roy ne peut que s'en raporter a vostre prudence sur cela.

J'ai esté fort aise d'apprendre que la derniere recolte des bleds avoit esté abondante aux Illinois, malgré la precaution qu'avoit prise M. de Bertet de rassembler tous les françois dans un seul Village pour leur sureté; Vous aures Vu par ma depesche du 25. avril dernier, qu'il est question de savoir s'il ne seroit pas plus convenable de reünir ce Poste au Canada que de le laisser dependant de la Louisianne. Mais quelque soit le party

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que l'on prendra a cet egard, les habitans conserveront toujours a la Louisianne le debouché de leurs farines. il faut mesme voir s'il n'y auroit pas des moyens de les exciter à multiplier leurs cultures en augmentant ce debouché, soit par quelque preference dans la vente de ces farines a La Lne ou autrement; Et c'est un objet que je souhaite que vous examinies avec M. Michel pour m'en rendre compte conjointement avec lui.

[*Translation*]

be much more easy for you to deal with them and to forestall their results, and the king can but rely on your prudence to that end.

I have been very glad to learn that the last harvest of wheat had been abundant in Illinois, and that in spite of the precaution which M. de Bertet had taken of assembling all the French in one village for their safety. You will have seen by my dispatch of April 25 last that it is necessary to decide whether it might not be more fitting to reunite that post to Canada than to leave it dependent on Louisiana. But whatever the course that will be taken in that respect the inhabitants will always retain the outlet for their flour in Louisiana. It will even be necessary to see if there is not some means of stirring them up to enlarge their sowings by improving their market whether it be by granting them some preference in the sale of their flour in Louisiana or otherwise; that is an object which I wish you to examine with M. Michel and to report to me conjointly with him.

Je vous parle des Sauvages chaouanons dans une autre despesche a laquelle je me refere; mais S. M. ne changera rien aux ordres que je vous ai donnés de sa part sur la construction que vous avies proposée d'un fort sur la Riviere d'ouïabache qu'autant qu'elle jugera de voir le faire par l'examen des eclaircissemens que vous m'enverres en consequence de la Lettre que je vous ai ecrite a ce sujet le 23. fer der.

Je suis M.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR MICHEL, December 9, 1748

[A N Colonies B87:27]

Memoire du Roy pour Servir d'Instruction au Sr Michel commissaire général de la Marine, ordonnateur de La Louisianne.

A VILLES Le 9. Xbre 1748.

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Il n'a point été jusqu'à present été établi d'autre tribunal ni de jurisdiction inferieure dans la Colonie; mais comme le pays

[Translation]

I write you concerning the Shawnee Indians in another dispatch to which I refer you; but His Majesty will change nothing in the orders that I have given you on his behalf as to your proposed construction of a fort on the Wabash River until he shall judge that it should be done on examining the information which you will send me as a result of a letter which I wrote you on this subject February 23 last.

I am, Monsieur—

Memoir of the king to serve as instructions to the Sieur Michel, *commissaire général de la marine, ordonnateur* of Louisiana

VERSAILLES, December 9, 1748

Up to now no other tribunal of inferior jurisdiction has been established in the colony; but as the country of the Illinois which

des illinois qui a et  joint   la Louisianne se trouve dans un grand  loignement, il a et  plac  un Ecrivain principal qui reside dans le lieu principal, et lequel en qualit  de subdelegu  de l'ordonnateur de la Colonie juge les proc s et les differens qui surviennent parmi les habitans.

.....  
 Lu Culture du froment a fort bien reussi aux illinois. il se fait des envois considerables de farines de ces quartiers a la nouvelle orleans; et le Sr michel ne scauroit donner trop d'attention   favoriser cet objet.

MAUREPAS TO MICHEL, December 16, 1748

[A N Colonies B87:32v]

a M. Michel.

A VERSLLES le 16. Xbre 1748.

La laine du boeuf Illinois pouvant, M.  tre utilement employ e aux manufactures, particulierement   celles des bas et

[*Translation*]

has been annexed to Louisiana is very far off, an * crivain principal* has been placed there who resides in the chief settlement and who in quality of subdelegate of the *ordonnateur* of the colony judges suits and disputes which arise among the inhabitants.

.....  
 The growing of wheat has succeeded very well in the Illinois. Considerable shipments of flour are made from those regions to New Orleans; the Sieur Michel cannot give too much attention to encouraging this development.

To M. Michel

VERSAILLES, December 16, 1748

Inasmuch, Monsieur, as the wool of the Illinois buffalo may be usefully employed in manufactures, especially those of stock-



des chapeaux, j'avois écrit à M. Bigot, intendant en Canada, de tâcher d'en procurer une balle que M. le Contrôleur general Souhaite d'avoir pour pouvoir la faire éprouver. Cet intendant n' en trouvant pas dans la Colonie, il a pris le parti de demander à M. de Bertet, commandant aux Illinois, d'en faire rassembler, et d'envoyer à la Louisianne celle qu'on aura pu trouver. a Votre arrivée dans la Colonie vous aurez soin de vous informer de ce qui s'est passé sur cela; Et si M. de Bertet en a envoyé vous profiteres de la premiere occasion de me la faire passer. Et comme dans le cas ou elle sera jugée effectivement propre aux Manufactures, il conviendrait de constater ce que la Colonie de la Lne pourroit en fournir à peu prez chaque année, vous aures agreable de prendre sur cela des éclaircissemens et de m'en rendre compte.

[*Translation*]

ings and hats, I had written to M. Bigot, intendant in Canada, to try to procure a ball of it which M. the controller-general desires to have in order to have it tested. That intendant finding none in the colony decided to ask M. de Bertet, commandant of the Illinois, to collect some and to send to Louisiana what could be found. On your arrival in the colony you will take care to inform yourself of what has been done as to that; and if M. de Bertet has sent some you will profit by the first occasion to send it to me. And since in case it shall be judged fit for manufactures it will be necessary to determine approximately what the colony of Louisiana can furnish each year, you will be good enough to get information on this and to give me an account of it.

MAUREPAS TO BERTET, December 23, 1748

[A N Colonies B87:33]

a M. Le cher de Bertet.

A VLES le 23. Xbre 1748.

J'ai receu M. vostre Lettre du 25. avril der.

M. de Vaudreuil m'a rendu compte de tout ce qui s'est passé de la part des nations sauvages des environs de vostre Poste. Quoique le bruit qui s'estoit repandu du dessein qu'on pretendoit que quelques unes d'entr'elles avoient medité d'entreprendre de detruire les françois qui sont dans ce poste ne se soit point trouvé fondé, on ne peut qu'approuver les precautions que vous avies prises pour mettre les françois a l'abri d'estre surpris; et il y a lieu d'esperer que la tranquillité n'aura pas tardé a estre restablie.

J'ai ecrit a M. de Vaudreuil et a M. Michel nouvel ordeur de la Louisianne d'examiner les moyens qui pourroient contribuer a favoriser les Cultures aux Illinois. Vous pouvez leur proposer de vostre costé ceux que vous juges convenables; et sur le compte qu'ils me rendront a ce sujet, je verrai ce qu'on

[Translation]

To M. le Chevalier de Bertet

VERSAILLES, December 23, 1748

I received, Monsieur, your letter of April 25 last.

M. de Vaudreuil has given me an account of everything that has occurred among the Indian tribes in the neighborhood of your post. Although the plan which it was bruited about that some of them had considered for destroying the French in that post may have proved to be without foundation, the precautions you have taken to protect the French against a surprise cannot but be approved; there is reason to hope that tranquillity will soon be restored.

I have written to M. de Vaudreuil and to M. Michel, the new *ordonnateur* of Louisiana, to examine the means which may contribute to encouraging agriculture at the Illinois. You can propose to them on your part such things as you think proper; and on the reports which they will make me on this subject I

pourra faire. Mais je compte qu'a present que nous avons la paix, je pourrai me trouver en estat de procurer des fauxsauniers<sup>1</sup> pour la Louisianne, et je donnerai pour lors des ordres pour que ceux qui pourront estre propres a multiplier les Cultures aux Illinois soient envoyés dans ce Poste; car ce sont les cultures qui sont l'objet auquel vous devez, comme je vous l'ai toujours re-commandé, donner une attention de preference. Par raport aux

33v

mines, j'attends le resultat que vous m'avez annonce des visites que le Portugais qui estoit aux Illinois avoit desja faites et qu'il devoit faire encore de celles de ces mines qui paroissoient meriter le plus d'attention. Mais il ne doit estre question d'entreprendre l'exploitation d'aucune de ces Mines qu'autant l'on sera assuré du succes, et que ces sortes d'entreprises ne pourront pas nuire aux progres des cultures.

J'ignore si cette année il aura esté accordé des conges en Canada pour aller aux Illinois; mais il est question d'un arrangement par raport auquel j'attends des eclaircissemens que j'ai

[Translation]

will see what can be done. But I consider that now that we have peace I may find myself in a position to get salt smugglers<sup>1</sup> for Louisiana, and I will accordingly give orders that those who may be suited to increasing agriculture at the Illinois may be sent to that post; for these are the pursuits to which you should as I have always indicated to you give preferential attention. With respect to the mines I await the result which you have announced to me of the journeys which the Portuguese who had been at the Illinois had already made and of those he had still to make to such of the mines as seemed to merit the most attention. But there should be no question of undertaking the exploitation of any of these mines until we are assured of success; and enterprises of this sort must not hinder the progress of agriculture.

I do not know whether this year *congés* have been allowed in Canada for the Illinois. But an arrangement is under consideration in that respect on which I await the information which

<sup>1</sup>*Faux sauniers* were evaders of the salt monopoly. The proposal was to transport them to Louisiana to build up the colony.

demandés a M. de Vaudreuil; et je prendrai ensuite les mesures nécessaires pour que les habitants puissent recevoir chaque année les provisions dont ils ont besoin.

MAUREPAS TO BIGOT, April 11, 1749

[A N Colonies B89:10]

Dupta a M. Bigot.

A VLES le 11. avril 1749.

10v

J'ai fait part a M. Le Cleur gal de ce que vous m'avez marqué concernant la laine de boeuf Illinois. J'avois bien prévu la difficulté qu'il y auroit d'en tirer de Canada; et c'est par cette raison qu'en vous écrivant sur cela, j'ai en mesme téms envoyé des ordres a La Lne pour tacher d'en avoir par cette voye. Vous avez bien fait d'en écrire de vostre costé a M. Le chr de Bertet.

Il seroit au surplus à desirer, sur ce que vous marquez des avantages qu'il y auroit a elever des boeufs de cette espece, qu'il

[Translation]

I have asked of M. de Vaudreuil; and I shall then take the necessary measures in order that the inhabitants may receive each year the provisions that they need.

Duplicate To M. Bigot

VERSAILLES, April 11, 1749

I have communicated to M. the controller-general what you have reported to me concerning the wool of the Illinois buffalo. I had indeed foreseen the difficulty that there would be in getting it from Canada, and it is for that reason that writing you on that subject I have at the same time sent orders to Louisiana to try to get it by that means. You have done well on your side to write to M. le Chevalier de Bertet.

On what you report as to the advantages of raising cattle of this species, it would be desirable to find inhabitants in Canada

se trouvât des habitans en Canada qui voulussent se donner des soins pour cela; et s'il n'estoit question pour les y engager que de certaines facilites, je ne serois pas eloigné de les leur procurer.  
Je suis, M., Ent. à vous.

ROUILLÉ<sup>1</sup> TO LA JONQUIÈRE, May 4, 1749

[A N Colonies B89:66]

a M. Le Mis de La jonquiere.

A MARLY Le 4 may 1749.

M.

Je reponds aux Lettres de M. Le Cte De La Galissonnière des 24. 7bre 23. 8bre et 8. 9bre ders concernant les Sauvages.

Par la premiere de ces Lettres il a rendu compte de ce qui regarde Les Chaoüanons; et il observe que le defaut de Mses et l'antipatie que la pluspart des autres nations ont pour eux les ont determinés à se partager en deux bandes, dont l'une s'est

[*Translation*]

willing to take pains to that end. If certain facilities were all that were necessary to induce them to do so, I should not be indisposed to procure them.

I am, Monsieur, entirely yours.

To M. le Marquis de la Jonquière

MARLY, May 4, 1749

MONSIEUR:

I reply to the letters of M. le Comte de la Galissonnière of September 24, October 23, and November 8 last concerning the Indians.

By the first of these letters he has given an account of the affairs of the Shawnee, and he observes that the lack of merchandise and the antipathy of most of the other tribes for them have determined them to divide into two bands, one of which has

<sup>1</sup>Antoine-Louis Rouillé, Comte de Jouy. Minister of marine, April 26, 1749—July 28, 1754; minister of foreign affairs, July 28, 1754—June 25, 1757. Pease, *Anglo-French Boundary Disputes in the West* (I. H. C., 27), xxv, n.

establie a sonontio ou elle forme une espece de republique avec un assez grande quantité de mauvais sujets de differentes nations qui s'y sont retirés, et l'autre a pris le party de s'en aller du costé des Cherakis.

Par les Lettres de M. de Vaudreuil Gouverneur de la Lne on a apris que cette derniere bande aprez avoir remonté une partie de la Riviere des Cherakis s'étoit déterminée à aller joindre les Alibamons où il paroissoit qu'elle se comportoit bien. Et coe ce Geur ajoute que la querelle qu'elle avoit eu avec les Illinois avoit esté terminée il y a lieu de juger qu'on n'a rien à craindre de sa part.

Il n'en est pas tout à fait de mesme de celle qui s'est retirée à sonontio. il est à craindre en effet que le mauvais exemple des Sauvages qui se sont associés avec elle et dont le Geur de la nouvelle York s'est servi pendant la guerre pour soulever les nations et pour faire des incursions sur les françois, n'entraîne cette bande à quelque mauvais party; et il seroit par cette raison fort à desirer de pouvoir la réunir au reste de sa nation, soit en

[*Translation*]

established itself at Sonnioto, where it forms a sort of republic with a considerable number of bad characters of different tribes who have withdrawn thither, while the other band has decided to go off in the direction of the Cherokee.

By the letters of M. de Vaudreuil, governor of Louisiana, we learn that this last band, after having partly ascended the Tennessee River, had decided to go and join the Alibamu, where according to appearances it was behaving properly. And as that governor adds that the quarrel that the band had with the Illinois had been ended, there is reason to think that we have nothing to fear from it.

It is not altogether the same with the band which has gone off to Sonnioto. Actually there is reason to fear that the bad example of the Indians associated with it, of whom the governor of New York made use during the war to stir up the tribes and to make raids upon the French, may draw that band into some evil courses. It would for that reason be much to be desired if it could be reunited to the rest of the tribe either in Canada or

Canada où à la Lne. C'est une negociation sur laquelle il convient que vous vous concerties avec M. de Vaudreuil. Cette

66v

nation par sa Valeur et sa docilité seroit une des plus Utiles. Mais pour la ramener il faut la placer à portée de pouvoir lui procurer ses besoins et de la proteger contre les autres nations qui voudroient l'inquieter. C'est là un arrangement qui exige des soins particuliers de vostre part.

Quant à l'espèce de republique qui s'est formée à Sonontio. Si vous parvenes à determiner les chaouanons à la quitter, elle se trouvera affoiblie au point de n'en avoir plus rien à craindre. En tout cas, Le Roy a fort approuvé le party qu'a pris M. Le Cte De La Galissoniere d'écrire au Geur de la Nlle York que s'il continuoit de se servir des Sauvages qui la composent pour faire faire des incursions sur les françois, il s'en vengeroit du costé de sa Colonie, et il y a lieu de croire que cela le contiendra.

Par la Lettre du 23. 8bre M. De La Gallissonière a rendu compte de ce qui s'est passé de la part de la plus part des nations

[Translation]

Louisiana. That is a negotiation upon which it is fitting that you should concert measures with M. de Vaudreuil. That nation on account of its valor and its docility would be one of the most useful, but in order to bring it back it is necessary to place it in a position in which it can procure what it needs and to protect it against other tribes that might wish to molest it. That arrangement demands especial pains on your part.

As to the kind of republic which has been formed at Sonnioto, if you succeed in inducing the Shawnee to leave it, it will be so far weakened that we shall have nothing more to fear from it. In any case the king has very much approved the course which M. le Comte de la Galissonière has taken of writing to the governor of New York that if he continues to make use of the Indians of that settlement to make raids on the French, he, La Galissonière, would retaliate on the side of that colony. There is reason to suppose that this will check him.

By the letter of October 23 M. de la Galissonière has given an account of what has happened with respect to most of the



des pays d'en haut qui, à l'Instigation des Anglois s'estoient portées à assassiner plusieurs françois, et du parti qu'il a pris d'envoyer au Detroit et a Michilimakinac de gros detachemens avec les convoys préparés pour les differens Postes. S. M. à esté fort aize d'apprendre le bon effet qu'avoient produit la presence de ces detachemens. elle a d'un autre costé esté très satisfaite de la bonne conduite du Sr de St Pierre, Capne commandant à Michilimakinac qui par sa fermeté est parvenu à obliger les nations de son commandement à livrer les meurtriers des françois et à ramener toutes ces nations à demander grace. Le Sr cher de Longueuil paroît s'estre également bien conduit au Detroit. Mais

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il est facheux que ces meurtriers soient parvenus a s'évader. Leur punition auroit prouvé un exemple propre à contenir tous les Sauvages; et vous sentirez, sans doute, par les connoissances que vous devez prendre de ce qui s'est passé, combien il est necessaire d'en faire pour pouvoir s'assurer de ceux dont les dispositions sont mauvaises ou equivoques. En general, vous

[*Translation*]

tribes of the upcountry who at the instigation of the English were induced to assassinate several Frenchmen; he has rendered an account also of the course which he took of sending to Detroit and Mackinac large detachments with the convoys prepared for the various posts. His Majesty has been very glad to hear of the good effect which the presence of these detachments has produced. Otherwise he has been very well satisfied with the good conduct of the Sieur de St. Pierre, captain commanding at Mackinac, who by his firmness has succeeded in forcing the tribes of his command to give up the murderers of the French and in inducing all these tribes to ask for pardon. The Sieur Chevalier de Longueuil appears to have conducted himself equally well at Detroit. But it is annoying that these murderers should have succeeded in escaping. Their punishment would have proved a fit example to check all the Indians; and you will doubtless feel from the information which you should acquire of what has happened, how necessary it is to inflict chastisement in order to be sure of those whose dispositions are bad or dubious. In general

trouverez les officiers disposés à terminer les querelles avec les sauvages par la voye de la conciliation; mais il est certain, et l'expérience l'a dans tous les têmes justifié, qu'on ne parvient à les contenir que par des exemples de severité bien placés; et vous ne devez point negliger des occasions d'en procurer.

Enfin par la Lettre du 8. 7bre M. De La Galissonnière informe de l'arrivée des nations iroquoises à Quebec, à l'exception de celle des anniés, laquelle dans les premières années de la guerre avoit pris party pour les Anglois. S. M. n'a pû qu'approuver la conduite de M. De La Galissonnière avec ces Sauvages, Vous apprendrez qu'il a esté question dans leurs conferences de la pretention des anglois tant sur eux que sur leurs terres. ils regardent ces terres coe faisant partie de leurs possessions et les Iroquois coe sujets de la Grande Bretagne. Ces Sauvages pretendent estre et sont effectivement independans de toutes les nations, et leurs terres leur apartiennent incontestablement. Dans tous les têmes ils se sont revoltés contre la pretention des anglois; M. Le Cte De La Galissonniere paroissoit les avoir determinés à soutenir leurs

[*Translation*]

you will find the officers disposed to end disputes with the Indians by means of conciliation; but it is certain, and experience in all time justifies it, that you cannot check them save by well placed examples of severity; and you should neglect no occasions for procuring them.

Finally by the letter of September 8 M. de la Galissonnière informs us of the arrival of the Iroquois nations at Quebec with the exception of the Mohawks, who in the first years of the war had taken the side of the English. His Majesty cannot but approve the conduct of M. de la Galissonnière with these Indians. You will learn that in conferences with them the question arose of the claims of the English over both them and their lands. The English regard these lands as a part of their possessions and the Iroquois as subjects of Great Britain. These Indians claim to be and in effect are independent of all nations, and their lands incontestably belong to them. At all times they have rebelled against the claims of the English; M. le Comte de la Galissonnière appears to have induced them to maintain their rights; and there

droits; et il y lieu de croire qu'ils s'y seront portés avec d'autant plus de chaleur qu'on estoit desja informé que depuis peu ils

67v  
avoient traité les Anglois d'Orange et de Corlak avec le der mepris. coe ces Sauvages estoient encore à Quebec lors du depart des derniers navires, vous serez informé de la suite de ce qui se sera passé avec eux. il y a aparence que vous les verrez vous mesme cette année. vous estes desja informé de leurs vûes qui tendent à se maintenir dans la neutralité qui depuis longtêms fait la baze de leur Politique. Mais si à l'occasion de ce qui se sera passé entr'eux et les anglois on pouroit les determiner a detruire le Poste de Chouegüen qui est sur leurs terres, ce seroit en retirer un service fort utile à tous egards.

Par raport aux annies, depuis un coup qu'en 1747. le Sr cher de La corne<sup>1</sup> a fait sur eux, ils n'ont plus entrepris de faire des

[*Translation*]

is reason to think that they will conduct themselves with the more warmth since we were already informed that they had a little before treated the English of Albany and Schenectady with the utmost contempt. As these Indians were still at Quebec at the departure of the last ships, you will be informed of the sequel of what occurred with them. There is some likelihood that you will see them yourself this year. You are already informed of their views which tend toward maintaining a neutrality which for a long time has been the basis of their policy. But if on the occasion of what may have passed between them and the English they could be induced to destroy the post of Oswego, which is on their lands, that would be obtaining from them a service most useful in all respects.

With respect to the Mohawks, since an attack which the Sieur Chevalier de la Corne<sup>1</sup> made on them in 1747, they have

<sup>1</sup> Pierre, Chevalier de la Corne. Like De la Colombière and Dubreuil, the son of Jean-Louis de la Corne, Sieur de Chapt, major of Three Rivers. A Pierre, however, does not appear in Tanguay's list [*Dictionnaire*, 3:285-286] of the children, unless he is to be identified with the one listed as Louis-Luc, who like the Chevalier was drowned in 1761. In 1728 an acknowledgment of debt to Louis, Chevalier de la Corne by *voyageurs* for a trip to the Illinois was accepted in the name of the wife, Marianne Hubert,

incursions contre les françois. Leurs frères avoient demandé leur grace; et il y a aparence que M. de La Galissoniere la leur aura accordée. En tout cas, ce sera à vous de vous conduire tant par raport à ces Sauvages, qu'à l'égard de tous les autres, suivant les circonstances. S. M. ne peut que s'en raporter à vostre prudence sur cette partie essentielle de vostre administration. Mais elle desire que vous evitiez autant que vous pourres, toutes les altercations qui pourroient avoir des suites et occasionner des depes, dont l'objét est toujours considerable dans ces sortes de cas.

Je suis pft, M.

[Translation]

not attempted any more raids against the French. Their brothers have demanded pardon for them; and there is some likelihood that M. de la Galissonière will have accorded it to them. In any case it will be for you to conduct yourself both with respect to these Indians and to all others according to circumstances. His Majesty can only refer that essential part of your administration to your prudence. But he desires that you avoid as much as possible all altercations which may have sequels and occasion expenses, a very important object in matters of this sort.

I am perfectly, Monsieur—

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whom Tanguay lists as the wife of Louis-Luc. *L'Archiviste... de Québec pour 1929-1930*, 269. November 2, 1748 the Chevalier signed as Pierre de Chapt, escuyer, Chevalier de la Corne, captain. *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, 22:349. He commanded in a brilliant success in Acadia in February of 1747 and in June of the same year repulsed the Mohawks from the Island of Montreal. *N.Y.C.D.*, 10:81-83, 91-92. He received the Cross of St. Louis, May 23, 1749. *Canadian Archives*, 1905, volume 1, part 6, p. 119. From 1753 to 1755 he commanded the posts of the Sea of the West. Royal Society of Canada, *Transactions*, 1906, section 1, pp. 78-80; A N Colonies C11A 119:320v. During these years Louis, Chevalier de la Corne, hired a number of *engagés* for Grand Portage and the Post of the West. *L'Archiviste... de Québec pour 1931-1932*, 243-288, *passim*. The Chevalier de la Corne served in the campaign on the New York frontier and was drowned in the *Auguste*. *L'Archiviste... de Québec pour 1928-1929*, 9 *et seq.*; *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, 7:207.

D'AUBERVILLE TO ROUILLÉ, May 9, 1749

[A N Colonies C13A 33:115]

MONSEIGNEUR

115v...

J'ai Eu L'honneur de vous rendre compte par ma lettre du 4. du courant que nous avons appris par une voiture arrivéé des Illinois que M Le Chever de Bertet qui y Commandoit y étoit mort, cette nouvelle vient de se confirmer par des lettres que nous venons de recevoir de ce poste par la voye des arkansas, nous avons appris aussi que la recolte à esté tres mauvaise cette année et que les farines Seront très Rares; cest pourquoy Permettez moy

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Monseigneur, de vous représenter de rechef que nous en Sommes bien court et que Si vous n'avez agréables den ordonner un Envoi promptement M Micheel Se trouvera bien Embarrassé pour fournir a la Subsistance non Seulement des troupes mais encore a la depense que les Sauvages occasionnent journellement tant a la Nouvelle Orleans quala Mobile ou elle est tres considerable.

[Translation]

MONSEIGNEUR:

I had the honor to inform you by my letter of the fourth of this month that we had learned by a boat from the Illinois that M. le Chevalier de Bertet, who commanded there, was dead. This news has just been confirmed by letters which we have just received by the Arkansas. We have also learned that the harvest was very bad this year and that flour is very scarce. For this reason permit me, Monseigneur, to represent to you once more that we are very short and that if you have not been pleased to order a prompt shipment, M. Michel will be much embarrassed to furnish subsistence not merely to the troops but also for the consumption that the Indians occasion daily, both at New Orleans and at Mobile where the consumption is very great.

Jai Lhonneur destre avec un tres profond Respect Mon-  
seigneur

Votre tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur

D'AUBERVILLE

A LA Nlle ORLEANS le 9 May 1749

ROUILLÉ TO LA JONQUIÈRE AND BIGOT, May 14, 1749

[A N Colonies B89:76]

Dupta            a Mrs De La jonquiere et Bigot.

A MARLY le 14. May 1749.

MRS

Dans tous les teîns on a regardé le Detroit comme un Poste interessant; et il l'est effectivement non seulemt par sa position relativement aux nations Sauvages qu'il met à portée de contenir, mais encore pour empecher les usurpations des anglois, et pour les vivres qu'il fournit aux voyageurs de tous les autres Postes du Sud. il est encore un des plus avantageux pour la traite des Pelleteries.

[*Translation*]

I have the honor to be with very profound respect, Mon-  
seigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

D'AUBERVILLE

NEW ORLEANS, May 9, 1749

Duplicate            To MM. de la Jonquière and Bigot

MARLY, May 14, 1749

MESSIEURS:

At all times Detroit has been regarded as an important post. Actually it is so not merely from its position with respect to the Indian tribes which it serves to check, but also as it hinders the encroachments of the English and furnishes provisions to the *voyageurs* of all the other southern posts. It is moreover one of the most useful posts for the fur trade.

On s'est prêté jusqu'à present aux differens arrangemens qui ont esté proposés pour parvenir à peupler ce Poste d'habitans propres à cultiver les terres et le mettre à l'abri de toute incursion de la part des Sauvages; mais il est jusqu'à present arrivé que la pluspart de ceux en faveur de qui ces arrangemens ont esté faits se sont uniquement livrés à la traite et ont abandonné le Poste dès qu'on les a privé de cet objet. On a regardé coe un moyen efficace de remedier à ces inconveniens l'establissement d'un commandant sedentaire qui, intéressé à ce qui pourroit contribüer à l'accroissement du Poste, ne seroit occupé que de ce qui devoit y concourir. Mrs de Beauharnois et hocquart avoient jugé cet arrangemt fort convenable; mais ils avoient pensé que l'exon devoit en estre remise à la paix; Et M. Le Cte de La Galissoniere à qui il a esté communiqué pensant egalemt qu'il doit avoir lieu, S. M. s'est déterminée à l'approuver. Elle a en mesme têmes fait choix du Sr de Celoron capne pour remplir ce commandem<sup>76v</sup> auquel elle a accordé le Grade de Major avec les

[*Translation*]

Up to now we have complied with the various arrangements proposed for settling that post with inhabitants fit to cultivate the soil and to secure it from any Indian raid. But up to now it has happened that most of those for whom such arrangements have been made have given themselves up solely to trade and have abandoned the post when they have been deprived of that pursuit. We have thought it a useful means of remedying these difficulties to establish a permanent commandant who, interested in the growth of the post, would be concerned only with what might work to that end. MM. de Beauharnois and Hocquart had judged this arrangement a very proper one; but they thought that the execution of it should be postponed to the peace; and M. le Comte de la Galissonière, to whom this was communicated, thinking likewise that it should be done, His Majesty has resolved to approve it. He has at the same time chosen the Sieur de Céloron, captain, to take this command, to whom he has allowed the grade of major with the prerogatives of the major of the



prerogatives de celui du Poste des Illinois. Il jouïra en cette qualité de 1200# d'apens outre la gratiffõn ordre de 3000# à prendre sur le produit des conges qui seront expedies pour l'exploitation du Poste.

M. Le Cte De La Galissoniere ayant proposé aussi de donner a ce commandant l'autorité sur les Postes des Miamis, de la Riviere blanche, et des ouyatanons ou des nations d'ouabache, S. M. a approuvé cette propon et M. Le Mis de La jonquiere pourra lui expedier les ordres necres en consequence. je joins icy son brevet de major.

Vous devez faire sentir à cet offer combien il doit estre flaté d'une pareille marque de confiance, et l'attention continuelle qu'il doit apporter à y repondre convenablemt. Il doit d'abord avoir pour objet de maintenir les nations du continent dans des dispositions convenables; Et coe le moyen le plus sur d'y parvenir est de fortiffier le Poste en habitans sedentaires, il ne doit rien negliger de tout ce qui pourra contribüer à y en procurer le plus

[Translation]

post of the Illinois. He will enjoy in this quality 1,200 livres of allowances in addition to the ordinary gratification of 3,000 livres to be deducted from the produce of the *conges* which will be given out for the exploitation of the post.

M. le Comte de la Galissonière having proposed also to give this commandant authority over the posts of the Miamis, of Sandusky River, and of Ouiatanon or of the Wabash tribes, His Majesty has approved this proposal. M. le Marquis de la Jonquière can send him the necessary orders in consequence. I annex his brevet as major.

You should make this officer understand how much he should be flattered by such a mark of confidence and the continual attention which he should give to showing himself worthy of it. He should first of all have as an end the maintenance of the tribes of the region in a proper frame of mind. And since the surest means of attaining that end is to strengthen the post with settled inhabitants, he should neglect nothing that may contribute

grand nombre qu'il sera possible. S. M. desire que de vostre costé vous concouries à cet objet; s'il y a des arrangemens particuliers à prendre pour engager des habitans à aller former des établissemens dans le Poste, vous pourrez les proposer; et M. Le Mis de La jonquiere concertera d'ailleurs avec M. Bigot l'Instruction qu'il aura à donner au Sr de Celoron sur la conduite qu'il doit tenir à tous egards.

M. Le Cte De La Galissoniere a jugé pareillemt ql conviendrait de mettre un commandt sedentaire à Michilimakinac, lequel auroit l'autorité sur tous les Postes du nord; mais il a en mesme têmes observé que la difficulté d'avoir des vivres dans ce liu là devoit fe remettre l'établissemt à un autre têmes. ce sera à vous d'examiner la party ql peut y avoir à prendre à cet egard; et j'attendrai que vous m'en rendies compte.

Je suis pft.

[*Translation*]

to getting the largest number possible. His Majesty desires that on your side you coöperate to that end. If there are special arrangements to be made to induce inhabitants to go and make settlements at that post, you can propose them; and M. le Marquis de la Jonquière will concert, moreover, with M. Bigot, the instructions which he will have to give to Sieur de Céloron on the conduct which he is to follow in all respects.

M. le Comte de la Galissonière has similarly judged it proper to put a permanent commandant at Mackinac who would have authority over all posts in the north; but he has at the same time observed that the difficulty of getting provisions there must postpone the establishment to another time. It will be for you to examine the course which is to be taken in that respect, and I shall expect you to render me an account of it.

I am perfectly—

## CHAPTER II

### THE EXPEDITION OF CELORON AND ITS RESULTS

LA GALISSONNIÈRE TO ROUILLÉ, June 26, 1749

[A N Colonies C11A 93:143]

MONSEIGNEUR

Les Anglois aiant fait dès l'automne derniere du coté de l'Acadie principalement quelques mouvemens prematurés et aiant du coté des Lacs tenu aux Sauvages beaucoup de discours tendant a les engager a la revolte j'ai cru devoir prendre quelques mesures pour Suspendre au moins jus qu'a de nouveaux ordres l'effait  
143v  
de leur mauvaise volonté.

En consequence j'ai envoyé d'une part le S. de Boishebert<sup>1</sup> au bas de la riviere de St jean avec un petit detachement pour rassurer les habitans contre les menaces du S. Gorham<sup>2</sup> officier

[*Translation*]

MONSEIGNEUR:

Since the English last autumn made some unseasonable movements, chiefly in the direction of Acadia, and since they also on the side of the lakes had much speech with the Indians tending to induce them to revolt, I have thought that I should take measures to check the results of their ill will, at least until I received new orders.

Consequently on one side I have sent the Sieur de Boishébert<sup>1</sup> to the lower part of the river St. John with a small detachment to reassure the inhabitants against threats of the Sieur Gorham,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Charles Deschamps de Boishébert. Baptized February 13, 1727. Ensign expectative recommended for promotion in 1741. A N Colonies C11A 75:238v. Lieutenant in 1748. His services generally in Acadia. In 1764 he asked a passport to return to Canada. *Canadian Archives*, 1905, volume 1, part 6, pp. 104, 356.

<sup>2</sup> John Gorham. Native of Massachusetts. Served in Acadia and on the Louisburg expedition, becoming colonel on his father's death. He re-

anglois envoié par M. Mascarene<sup>1</sup> pour faire renouveler a ces habitans un Serment de fidelité qu'ils n'ont jamais dû preter. Jl écrit en même tems a M. Mascarene je joins ici ma lettre et Sa reponse

Du coté des Lacs j'ai envoié le S. de Celoron avec un detachement de deux cens françois et de trente sauvages. jl a ordre

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d'aller dans la Belle Riviere ou Riviere oyo et de la descendre en partie tant pour chasser les hurons qui ont assassiné des françois et ramener quelques autres sauvages qui Se Sont écartés de leur devoir que pour éloigner les Anglois qui viennent trafiquer dans ces cantons ou jl Se proposoient d'établir cette année un poste.

Cette Riviere qui tombe dans le Oüabache et de là dans le Mississipi est Sans doute a la france et Si les Anglois S'y établissoient elle leur donneroit entrée dans tous nos postes et leur ouvreroit le chemin du Mexique.

[*Translation*]

the English officer who was sent by M. Mascarene<sup>1</sup> to make these inhabitants renew an oath of fidelity that they should never have been obliged to take. I wrote at the same time to M. Mascarene. I annex my letter and his answer.

On the side of the lakes I have sent the Sieur de Céloron with a detachment of two hundred Frenchmen and thirty Indians. He has orders to go to the Beautiful River or Ohio River and descend it, both to drive out the Hurons who have assassinated the French and to win back some other Indians who have departed from their duty, as well as to remove the English who come to trade in those regions where they proposed this year to establish a post.

This river which falls into the Wabash and thence into the Mississippi indubitably belongs to France, and if the English were to establish themselves there it would give them entry into all our posts and would open to them the way to Mexico. I have

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turned to Annapolis and in 1749 was appointed on the governor's council at Halifax. *N. Y. C. D.*, 10:90.

<sup>1</sup> Paul Mascarene, 1684-1760. Lieutenant-governor of Annapolis, 1740-1749.

j'ai donné ordre au S. de Celoron de prendre de nouveau possession, et je l'ai chargé de la bien examiner et de voir les établissements qu'on y pourroit faire.

je luy ai donné pour aumonier le R. P. Bonecamp<sup>1</sup> jesuite et Mathematicien qui pourra donner des connoissances plus exactes et plus detaillées qu'on n'en a eu jusqu'ici de cet pays là et de ceux par ou le Detachement passera en allant et en venant.

La nécessité d'avoir de pareilles connoissances m'a engagé a envoyer au Detroit le S. De Lery fils<sup>2</sup> et a Missilimakinak le S. de Lotbiniere<sup>3</sup> jls n'ont point d'autre mission que d'observer tout ce qui peut etre utile au Service et d'en dresser des Memoires

le P. Bonecamp a fait faire pour le S. de Lery et pour luy des

[Translation]

given orders to the Sieur de Céloron to take possession anew, and I have charged him to examine the region well and to see what settlements might be made there.

I have given him as chaplain the Reverend Father Bonnecamp,<sup>1</sup> Jesuit and mathematician, who will afford us more exact and detailed information than we have hitherto had of those regions as well as those by which the detachment will pass going and coming.

The necessity of having similar information has induced me to send to Detroit the Sieur de Léry, *fils*,<sup>2</sup> and to Mackinac the Sieur de Lotbinière.<sup>3</sup> They have no other mission than to observe everything that may be useful to the service and to draw up memoirs. Father Bonnecamp has had made for the Sieur de Léry and for himself instruments to take the elevations and has

<sup>1</sup> Father Joseph Pierre de Bonnecamp, Jesuit, 1707-1790. Professor of hydrography in the Jesuit college at Quebec. He was dispatched to the upcountry in 1753 [*Ordonnances des Intendants*, 3:179] and was at Chautauqua in 1754. *L'Archiviste... de Québec pour 1926-1927*, 364.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph-Gaspard Chaussegros de Léry, baptized July 21, 1721, died 1797. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire*, 3:44. Served as engineer of the king. His "Journals," published in *L'Archiviste... de Québec*, 1926-1927, 1927-1928, 1928-1929, are a valuable source.

<sup>3</sup> Michel Chartier de Lotbinière, baptized April 12, 1723. Ensign in 1742. Engineer of the king in 1755. Captain and Chevalier of St. Louis. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire*, 3:30.

instrumens pour prendre hauteur et les a divisés, mais le S. de Lotbiniere a gradué le Sien luy meme, et j'ai beaucoup de confiance a Son travail.

Pour entrer dans les dispositions ou je vous ai vû a l'égard du Detroit j'y ai envoyé dès ce printems quelques familles montantes a environ 45. personnes et j'ai donné au S. de Sabrevois qui y a été relever M. le Cher de Longueuil les instructions qui m'ont parû les plus convenables pour augmenter cet etablissement.

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Celuy des illinois qui n'est pas moins important vient de perdre M. le Cher de Bertet mort le 9. janvier, c'étoit un Excellent officier ainsi que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous le marquer l'année derniere, Si vous luy choissés un Successeur parmi ceux de cette Colonie je n'en connois point qui y fut plus propre que le sr de Celoron

Je suis avec un très profond respect Monseigneur

Votre très humble et très obeissant serviteur

LA GALISSONIERE

[*Translation*]

graduated them, but the Sieur de Lotbinière has graduated his own, and I have much confidence in his workmanship.

To enter into the arrangements which I have taken with respect to Detroit, I sent this last spring some families amounting to about forty-five persons, and I have given to Sieur de Sabrevois, who is there to relieve M. le Chevalier de Longueuil, instructions which appear to me proper for augmenting that establishment.

That of the Illinois, which is not less important, has just lost M. le Chevalier de Bertet, who died the ninth of January. He was an excellent officer as I had the honor to indicate to you last year. If you were to choose a successor to him from this colony, I know no one who would be more fit for it than the Sieur de Céloron.

I am with very profound respect, Monsieur,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

LA GALISSONIERE

ROUILLÉ TO VAUDREUIL, June 30, 1749

[A N Colonies B89:10]

a M. de Vaudreuil.

A VERSAILLES le 30 Juin 1749.

M.

Le Roy a bien voulu accorder au Sr Cher de Sabran<sup>1</sup> une place de Lt reformé dans les troupes de la Louisianne. Cet offer doit s'embarquer dans un nre de La Rochelle pour se rendre dans la Colonie. Vous aures agreable de lui remettre, à son arrivée, sa lettre de service que je vous envoie, et de le faire reconnoitre dans son employ. Et coe sa famille a demandé qu'il puisse servir sous les ordres de M. le Cher de Bertet, S. M. approuvera que vous le fassiez passer par la pre occasion aux Illinois, si vous ne trouves pas d'inconvenient à lui donner cette destinaõn. Au surplus je vous prie de me rendre compte de la conduite qu'il tiendra dans la Colonie.

Je suis.

[Translation]

To M. de Vaudreuil

VERSAILLES, June 30, 1749

MONSIEUR:

The king has been pleased to allow the Sieur Chevalier de Sabran<sup>1</sup> a place as half-pay lieutenant in the troops of Louisiana. That officer is to embark in a ship from La Rochelle to go to the colony. You will be good enough to give him on his arrival his letter of service which I send you and to induct him in his post. And as his family has asked that he might serve under the orders of M. le Chevalier de Bertet, His Majesty will approve your sending him to the Illinois by the first occasion, if you do not find it inexpedient to assign him there. Moreover I beg you to give me an account of his conduct in the colony.

I am—

<sup>1</sup> Little is known of the Chevalier de Sabran. He was lieutenant in the Regiment of Talleyrand, and lieutenant half-pay, April 21, 1749. The list of officers of Louisiana contains only the laconic notation, "a quitté," "left the service." A N Colonies D2C4.



MICHEL TO ROUILLÉ, August 6, 1749

[A N Colonies C13A 34:110]

MONSEIGNEUR,

J'ay apris, en arrivant ici, la mort de M. De Bertet commandant aux Illinois, qui n'a Sans doute pas Eu le tems de Faire  
 110v  
 dessendre la laine de boeuf Illinois, que vous aviés fait demander pour M. le Controlleur général. J'Ecris par le Convoy au Sr Buchet Ecrivain principal aud. lieu, d'en faire preparer une balle, ramassée en bonne Saison; et de la faire dessendre par le Convoy de l'année prochaine, n'estant pas possible de l'avoir avant ce tems à cause de la difficulté des transports

Il ne faut pas douter que le Duvet de cette peau ne Soit employé utilement à la fabrication des chapeaux, en le mêlant, à cause de Sa trop grande finesse avec quelque chose de plus fort, et qui luy donne du Corps: Mais on ne Sçauroit constater la quantité qu'on en pourroit tirer des postes, Cela ne peut dependre

111  
 que du prix qu'on y metra, de la quantité qu'on en demandera ou du debouché certain qu'on y trouvera, qui metra les français

[Translation]

MONSEIGNEUR:

On my arrival here I learned of the death of M. de Bertet, commandant at the Illinois, who doubtless did not have time to send down the wool of the Illinois buffalo which you requested for M. the controller-general. I am writing by the convoy to the Sieur Buchet, *écrivain principal* of that place, to procure a ball of it, gathered at the right season and to send it down by the convoy of next year. It is not possible to obtain it before that time on account of the difficulty of transportation.

It cannot be doubted that the nap of this skin can be employed usefully in making hats, mixing it, on account of its too great fineness, with something stronger which will give it body; but it is not possible to estimate the quantity that can be obtained from the posts. That can only be determined by the price put on it, the quantity demanded, or the certain outlet that may be

et les Sauvages dans le goût de la Chasse de ces bettes et les  
Excitera à en pèller les peaux pour Envoyer ici la tonçure à  
moins de fraix.

Je Suis avec un profond Respect, Monseigneur,  
Votre tres humble et très obéissant Serviteur

MICHEL

A LA NLE ORLEANS Le 6. aoust 1749.

VAUDREUIL TO ROUILLÉ, August 26, 1749

[A N Colonies C13A 33:57]

MONSEIGNEUR

J'ai reçu la depesche du 4. 9bre dernier.

Le Convoy arrivé des Jlinois a l'ordinaire avec beaucoup de  
farines et de pelleteries m'a aporté La confirmation de la mort de  
Mr de Bertet du 7. janvier de cette année. Le Sr Benoist qui y  
57v  
commande par jnterim me marque que les Sauvages de ce  
Quartier sont tous bien tranquiles et paroissent très contents; et  
que les Nations Ozages et Ayauvois Soupçonneés d'avoir tué deux

[*Translation*]

found for it which will give the French and the Indians the in-  
clination to hunt these beasts and will induce them to shear their  
hides and to send the shearings here at less expense.

I am with profound respect, Monseigneur,  
Your very humble and very obedient servant,

MICHEL

NEW ORLEANS, August 6, 1749

MONSEIGNEUR:

I received the dispatch of November 4 last.

The convoy, arrived from the Illinois as ordinarily with a  
great deal of flour and peltry, has brought me the confirmation  
of the death of M. de Bertet January 7 of this year. The Sieur  
Benoist, who commands there in the interim, informs me that  
the Indians of that region are all very quiet and appear quite  
satisfied; and that the Osage and Iowa tribes, suspected of hav-

françois coureurs de bois et fort mauvais Sujets ont envoyé plusieurs Chefs pour Se disculper et le prier de me demander grace pour Eux. Comme il ne convient Point d'augmenter le nombre de nos Ennemis pour de legeres Causes, et que d'un autre Coste, quand le Cas Sembleroit l'exiger, nous ne serions pas en Etat de faire la guerre Surtout aux Ozages qui sont a plus de 200 lieües de nos Etablissemens dans le Voisinage des Espagnols, j'ai écrit au sr Benoist de profiter des bonnes dispositions des uns

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et des autres en les assurons que j'oublerois le passé et que je voulois bien de Nouveau les prendre en amitié.

Je n'ai rien a ajouter a ma Lettre du 2. 9bre dernier en reponse a la depêche du 25. avril précédent sur la proposition de réunir le poste des Jlinois au Canada nous entirons toujours quantité de farines; cette Culture n'y est point du tout negligée, et je suis persuadé qu'elle se seroit multipliée considerablement, S'il n'étoit survenu depuis 2. ans des maladies Epidemiques qui ont emporté bien des habitans.

[Translation]

ing killed two French *coureurs de bois* and very ill fellows, have sent several chiefs to excuse themselves and to beg him to ask me to pardon them. As it is not expedient to increase the number of our enemies for slight causes, and as on the other hand even if the case seemed to require it we would not be in a condition to make war, especially on the Osage, who are more than two hundred leagues from our settlements in the neighborhood of the Spaniards, I have written to the Sieur Benoist to profit by the good disposition of both tribes in assuring them that I would forget the past and that I was willing to receive them anew in friendship.

I have nothing to add to my letter of November 2 last in reply to the dispatch of the previous April 25 on the proposal of reuniting the post of the Illinois to Canada. We draw thence at all times a quantity of flour; that species of production is not in any way neglected, and I am persuaded that it would be much increased if, in the last two years, epidemic diseases had not carried off a good many of the inhabitants.

Je reponds a la depêche en chiffre du 2. janvier der  
 JI n'est point encore Venu a Ma Connoissance que les Anglois

58v

ayent tenté de former des Etablissemens sur les terres qui  
 dependent de cette Colonie vers la partie du Nord, mais comme  
 ils ne manqueront point de tenir la chose Secrette, s'ils ont quelque  
 dessein, j'en ai prévenu Le Sr Benoist a qui j'ay recommandé de  
 mettre tout en Usage pour estre Surement jnformé de ce qui  
 auroit raport a de pareilles entreprises afin de les faire Echoüer  
 et j'aurai attention de rendre un Compte exact des avis que je  
 pourrois avoir a ce Sujet.

J'ai L'honneur d'estre avec un profond respect Monseigneur  
 Votre tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur

VAUDREUIL

A LA NLEE ORLEANS Le 26. Aoust 1749

[*Translation*]

I reply to the dispatch in cipher of January 2 last.

It has not yet come to my knowledge that the English have  
 tried to make settlements on the lands pertaining to this colony  
 to the north; but since they will not fail to keep the thing secret  
 if they have any such plan, I have warned the Sieur Benoist, to  
 whom I have recommended taking all necessary steps to be surely  
 informed of such enterprises in order to insure their failure. I  
 shall take care to give an exact account of the information I may  
 obtain on this subject.

I have the honor to be with a profound respect, Monseigneur,  
 Your very humble and very obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL

NEW ORLEANS, August 26, 1749

RAYMOND TO LA JONQUIÈRE, September 4, 1749

[A N Colonies C11A 93:62]

Copie de la Lettre de M. de Raymond Commandant aux Miamis, Ecrite a M Le Marquis de la Jonquiere. AUX MIAMIS le 4. 7bre 1749.

MONSIEUR,

On vous a marqué que la bande des Miamis retirée a la riviere a la Roche, demandoit a revenir dans ce poste, elle en paroît fort éloignée, les Anglois népargnent rien pour les y retenir et pour y attirer le reste de ceux qui sont icy. le prix excessif des marchandises francaises, dans ce poste le grand marché que leur fait L'Anglais Et les gros presents qu'ils font aux nations les a entierement disposés en leur faveur et les portent a Se retirer chez eux; Nous avons fait la paix avec l'anglois, cependant Jl ne cesse dans ce pays Cy de travailler a nous faire la guerre, par le moyen des Sauvages, et de les porter a une revolte generale contre les français, dans le dessein quil ont de parvenir a se rendre maitres de tous les pays d'Enhaut, Jl est

[Translation]

Copy of the letter of M. de Raymond, commandant of the Miamis, to M. le Marquis de la Jonquière, MIAMIS, September 4, 1749 .

MONSIEUR:

You have been informed that the band of Miami that has withdrawn to the Great Miami River was asking to return to this post, but it seems very far from doing so. The English spare nothing to keep them and to draw away the remainder of those who are here. The excessive price of French goods in this post, the great bargains which the English give, as well as the large presents which they make to the tribes, have entirely disposed those tribes in their favor and induce them to go off to the English. We have made peace with the English, but in this country they do not cease working to make war on us by means of the Indians and to bring them to a general revolt against the French in pursuance of their plan of making themselves masters of all

Inutile de se flatter que les Sauvages Soient bien disposés en  
 nôtre faveur, Il ny a que de l'aparence <sup>62v</sup> La plus trompeuse,  
 Ils sont plus mal intentionnés que Jamais. Il Se repend un bruit  
 Sourd que toutes les nations de ce pays travaillent a une Con-  
 spiration genal contre les français dans les postes du pays d'En-  
 haut.

Il n'est rien de plus Certain que les Anglois ont fait porter  
 et distribuer gratis dans 70 ou 80 Villages qui sont dans tous  
 les cotés de la belle riviere 40 chevaux chargés de poudre, une  
 grande quantité de sabres, et des balles 300 anglois rependus dans  
 tous les Villages. Trois forts quils ont construits en differents  
 endroits, dans lesquels Il y a des officiers, des pierriërs et des  
 mortiers a grenade. Ils ont donné a Nicolas deux pierriers et  
 deux de ses petits mortiers, Ils ont dit a toutes les nations. Aiant  
 appris la marche de M de Celoron, Le françois vient Sur vous  
 pour vous chasser d'Jcy, nous vous deffendrons, mais Si le  
 français veut se battre, nous nous battons avec vous contre luy.

[*Translation*]

the upcountry. It is useless to flatter one's self that the Indians  
 are well disposed in our favor. There is only the most deceptive  
 appearance of it. They are worse intentioned than ever. A  
 secret report is spread around that all the tribes of this country  
 are working in a general conspiracy against the French of the  
 upcountry posts.

Nothing is more certain than that the English have brought  
 and freely distributed in seventy or eighty villages scattered  
 throughout all the territory of the Ohio River forty horses loaded  
 with powder, a great number of sabers, and bullets. There are  
 three hundred English scattered throughout all the villages. They  
 have constructed three forts in different places in which there are  
 officers, swivels, and grenade mortars. They have given Nicolas  
 two swivels and two of these little mortars. They have said to  
 all the nations, on learning of the march of M. de Céloron, "The  
 French are coming upon you to drive you away. We will defend  
 you, but if the French wish to fight, we will fight with you

Les Cha8anons repondirent, Le franais ne marche qu'une poign e de monde, JI ne vient que pour demander pardon aux nations qui les ont frap s

Les nations sont cependant dans L'inquietude de voir marcher les franois, ce qui les Jette dans une grande mefiance qui ne peut produire qu'un tr s mauvais effect.

Je fairay mon possible pour faire revenir les mauvais Miamis, Le pied froid qui est le grand chef de toute cette nation, m'a dit

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qu'il ne pensoit pas qu'on les puisse faire sortir d'avec les Anglois qui leur donnoient toutes leur marchandises a bas prix. M. Dubuisson<sup>1</sup> m'assure que c'est un honn te homme, Sur qu'on

[Translation]

against them." The Shawnee replied, "The French are marching only with a handful of people. They only come to ask pardon of the tribes that have attacked them."

The tribes however are disquieted to see the French march, and it throws them into a great distrust which can only produce a very bad effect.

I will do everything possible to make the bad Miami return. Le Pied Froid, who is the great chief of that whole tribe, has told me that he did not think that they could be made to leave the English, who gave them all their goods at a low price. M. Dubuisson<sup>1</sup> assures me that this chief is an honest man on whom

<sup>1</sup> Louis-Jacques-Charles Dubuisson, baptized July 22, 1709. Son of Charles Renaud, Sieur Dubuisson, 1664-December, 1739, lieutenant of troops and major of Three Rivers. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire*, 6:539, 545. The identification is made from the statement that Louis Dubuisson's father died of grief at his son's being accused of the homicide of M. de Chambly. A N Colonies C11A 74:36v. Louis, who had been an ensign *en second en expectative* since 1736 was given the rank in 1741, on being cleared of his crime. A N Colonies B72:365. He was serving as ensign at Niagara in 1743. *Ibid.*, C11A 79:147. In 1747-1749 he was in command at the Miamis. *Ibid.*, C11A 116:155, 155v, 158v; 119:95, 98, 101, 115, 125, 130, 163. He was serving at Chautauqua in 1754 as a lieutenant. In 1759 he was recommended for a captaincy. *L'Archiviste...de Qu bec pour 1923-1924*, 37; 1926-1927, 357, 368. Frequently as Dubuisson is mentioned, his Christian name is nowhere given and can be established only by reference to the dates in Tanguay and by fitting them with events.



peut compter, Je le crois, S'il Est vray qu'il y ait d'honnêtes gens  
chez les Sauvages.

Jay l honneur d'être avec un tres profond respect Monsieur,  
Votre très humble et tres obeissant serviteur

signé DE RAYMOND.

pour Coppie LAJONQUIERE

RAYMOND TO LA JONQUIÈRE, September 5, 1749

[A N Colonies C11A 93:64]

Copie de la Lettre du S. de Raymond Commandant aux  
Miamis, Ecrite a M. Le Marquis de la Jonquiere. AUX MIAMIS  
ce 5. 7bre 1749.

MONSIEUR

Depuis mes lettres Ecrites, le Piedfroid Grand des miamis,  
le chef de guerre, et les anciens sont venus ce matin, qui m'ont  
fait un grand détail des nouvelles qui se débitent par tout, il peut  
y avoir du vray et du faux et Voicy en gros le precis de ce  
qu'elles contiennent.

[*Translation*]

one can rely. I believe it, that is, if it is true that there are honest  
men among the Indians.

I have the honor to be with very profound respect, Monsieur,  
Your very humble and very obedient servant,

Signed: DE RAYMOND

A true copy LA JONQUIÈRE

Copy of a letter of the Sieur de Raymond, commandant of  
the Miamis, to M. le Marquis de la Jonquière, MIAMIS, Septem-  
ber 5, 1749

MONSIEUR:

Since my letters were written, Le Pied Froid, who is great  
chief of the Miamis, came this morning with the war chief and  
the old men to tell me in great detail the news which is being told  
everywhere. This news may be partly true and partly false;  
the following in general summarizes it.

Qu'il y a des pavillons, des Colliers, des Calumets, des branches de porcelaine rougië, et des Couvertes de drap rouge et noire qui Courrent chez toutes les nations des pays d'Enhaut, et qui traînent une Conspiration generale pour y detruire tous les françois, pour n'avoir sur leur terre que leur frere l'Anglais, que l'automne ne se passeroit pas, Sans qu'il y eut des françois de tués, Que Je devois etre attaqué dans le poste des Miamis, que la trahison etoit toute faite, qu'ils avoient avertis des la premiere, qu'on n'avoit pas voulu les croire. que toutes les nations du detroit

64v

etoient de cette trahison, Et que sous pretexte d'aller En hivernement, qu'ils devoient aller dans la belle riviere pour l'Execution du projet, que M de Celoron avoit été baffoué, qu'on avoit haché Son pavillon, et qu'il ne Sortiroit pas de la belle riviere, Sans qu'il y eut des françois de tués.

Ce discours a été Suivi de trois couvertes de drap et de 4 Branches de porcelaine que le Chef de guerre reçut hier au soir de la part de la bande de la Demoiselle qui luy demandoit du

[*Translation*]

There are flags, belts, pipes, strings of red wampum, and blankets of red and black cloth which are being carried through all the tribes of the upcountry and which imply a general conspiracy to destroy all the French so that the Indians may only have on their land their brothers, the English. The autumn would not pass without Frenchmen being killed; I was to be attacked in the Miamis post; the treason was all prepared; they had warned us from the first, but we had not been willing to believe them; all the tribes of Detroit were in this conspiracy, and under pretext of going to their winter dwellings, they were going to the Ohio River for the execution of the plan; M. de Céloron had been flouted. They had cut down his flag, and he would not leave the Ohio River without Frenchmen being killed.

This speech was followed by three cloth blankets and four strings of wampum which the war chief received yesterday evening from the band of La Demoiselle to ask his help. He gave

Secours, qu'il ma présenté, Et JI m'a remis les 4 branches de porcelaine cy jointes, qui ont été accompagnées de grandes et belles promesses de fidelité sur lesquelles Je ne fais aucun fond, et qu'ils avoient le coeur françois et mourroient avec luy, Et Jls m'assurerent et tous les Chefs qu'ils Envoyoient une parolle a la demoiselle et a Sa bande, pour luy dire qu'ils refusoient Sa parolle quils ne vouloient pas eouter, quils ne vouloient point tremper dans Sa trahison, et la preuve quil luy en donnoit C'est qu'il avoit remis a son pere les 4 branches de porcelaine Et qu'ils estoient tous devouës aux français.

Les susdittes 4 Branches de porcelaine sont Celles Cy jointes que Jay retiré quon portoit du coté de La riviere St Joseph. Quoyque le Pied froid et sa bande paroissent bien intentionnés,

Je ne m'y fie pas Et je Suivray le conseil qu'il ma donné <sup>65</sup> Qui est de me bien garder et de fortifier le fort, Ce qui n'est guerre possible, a moins den faire un Neuf.

[*Translation*]

them to me, and he turned over to me the four strings of wampum inclosed, all being accompanied with large and fine promises of fidelity in which I put no trust. They say they have French hearts and will die with us, and they assure me and all the chiefs that they are sending a message to La Demoiselle and to his band to tell them that they reject his message and do not wish to listen to it; they do not wish to dabble in his treason, and the proof which they give him is that they have turned over to their father the four strings of wampum and that they are entirely devoted to the French.

The four strings of wampum mentioned are those which accompany this which I secured when they were brought from the direction of St. Joseph River. Although Le Pied Froid and his band appear well disposed, I do not trust them, and I will follow the advice which he gave me which is to be on my guard and to fortify the fort, which last is scarcely possible, at least without making a new one.

Jay lhonneur detre avec un tres profond respect Monsieur  
Votre tres humble et très obeissant serviteur  
signé DE RAYMOND.

pour Coppie LAJONQUIERE

VAUDREUIL TO ROUILLÉ, September 22, 1749

[A N Colonies C13A 33:79]

MONSEIGNEUR

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Ce pays etant malheureusement entourré desauvages, tandis que je m'occupois a faire echouër les mauvais desseins des Chactas revoltés et a empescher leurs jncursions sur le bas de cette Colonie, Les Chicachas et Abekas sont venus l'attaquer dans le haut et ont frappé le 10. de May sur les françois etablys aux Akanças, y ont tués six hommes et ont fait huit esclaves tant femmes qu' Enfans. Ce parti qui, a enjurer par les marques qu'il a laissé, etoit de 150. hommes qui se sont dits Chicachas, Abekas et Chactas <sup>83v</sup> a perdu trois de ses guerriers et n'en

[Translation]

I have the honor to be with profound respect, Monsieur,  
Your very humble and very obedient servant,  
Signed: DE RAYMOND

A true copy LA JONQUIÈRE

MONSEIGNEUR:

This country unhappily being surrounded by Indians, while I was busy frustrating the evil designs of the revolted Choctaw and preventing their incursions in the lower colony, the Chickasaw and Abihka came to attack the upper colony. May 10 they attacked the French settled at the Arkansas, killed six men, and made eight prisoners, both women and children. This party which, to judge by the marks which it left, consisted of 150 men who called themselves Chickasaw, Abihka, and Choctaw,

auroit pas été quitte a si bon marché, si les arkanças s'y fussent trouvés; mais malheureusement pour nos françois ces sauvages ont été obligés de s'Eloigner de cinq lieües du fort pour trouver des terres propres a Ensemencer, leurs anciens deserts ayant été noyés par les grandes crües d'Eau, Ce qui a donné le Temps aux Ennemis de faire leur Coup avant que les Arkanças en aient pû estre avertis. Après cette expedition le parti ennemy a descendu le fleuve et S'est arrêté au dessus des Natchez dans un endroit qu'on apelle la teste de mort<sup>1</sup> et y a été aperceu par un petit Convoy de Voyageurs qui montoient aux Jlinois Les Ennemys qui etoient a terre de l'autre Costé du fleuve ont fait leur possible pour engager nos françois a les y aller trouver ils ont mis un pavillon françois, ont batu la Caisse a la façon françoise, les ont

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invité a aller Sçavoir des Nouvelles, ont tiré plusieurs Coups de fusil a poudre pour assurer leur pavillon. mais Voyant que tous leurs Stratagêmes etoient jnutils, et que les françois se méfioient d'Eux, ils ont fait plusieurs decharges de Coups de

[Translation]

lost three of its warriors and would not have got off so easily if the Quapaw had been there; but unhappily for our French, these Indians have been obliged to go five leagues from the fort to find lands fit for cultivation, their former deserts having been flooded by the high water. This gave the enemy the time to make their attack before the Quapaw could be warned of it. After this expedition the enemy party went down the river and stopped above Natchez at a place called La Tête de Mort<sup>1</sup> and was perceived there by a small convoy of *voyageurs* who were going up to the Illinois. The enemy who were on shore on the other side of the river did everything possible to induce our French to come to them. They put out a French flag, beat the drum in French fashion, invited them to come and hear the news, and fired several gunshots to call attention to their flag. But finding that all their stratagems were useless and that the French distrusted them, they fired several volleys of ball but

<sup>1</sup>La Tête de Mort was approximately at the present Louisiana-Arkansas boundary.

fusil a balles, mais jnutilement, aucun d'Eux n'ayant été ny tué ny blessé. Ces voyageurs persuadés que C'estoient des Ennemis, pour leur donner le Change ont fait semblant de Continuer leur route, ont mis a terre a l'entree de la Nuit Comme pour Camper et sur la minuit se sont rembarqués dans leurs voitures, les ont attacheés toutes ensemble, et après avoir gagné Le milieu du fleuve, ils se sont laissés deriver en silence, ont passé devant L'Ennemy sans qu'il setoit aperceu de leur retraite et sont venus aux Natchez puis a la pointe Coupée et enfin a la Nlle Orleans ou ils sont arrivés Le 26 may. Cette nouvelle a jetté la Terreur parmi nos habitans. on s'est jmaginé que tous les Chactas mécon-

84v

tens s'etoient joints aux Chicachas et Abekas pour venir ravager les habitations qui sont le long du fleuve la pointe Coupeeé jusqu'a la Nlle Orleans et cela paroissoit d'autant plus Vraisemblable qu'on assuroit avoir Veu trois Anglois a la teste de ce parti ennemy. pour rassurer un peu les esprits, Comme il n'y avoit pas longtemps que j'avois été Visiter les Costes des Allemands et de la pointe Coupeé, j'ai envoyé mes Ordres pour qu'on

[Translation]

uselessly, no one being killed or wounded. These *voyageurs*, persuaded that they were enemies, in order to put them on a false scent appeared to continue their course and landed at night-fall as if to camp. At midnight they reëmbarked in their vessels, lashed them all together and after having gained the middle of the stream let themselves drift silently. Thus they passed the enemy without his perceiving their retreat and came to Natchez, then to Pointe Coupée, and finally to New Orleans, where they arrived May 26.

This news spread terror among our inhabitants. They imagined that all the malcontent Choctaw had joined the Chickasaw and Abihka to come and ravage the settlements along the river from Pointe Coupée as far as New Orleans. This seemed the more likely since it was confidently said that three English were seen at the head of the enemy party. To calm people's minds a little as I had not long before been to visit Les Allemands and Pointe Coupée, I sent my orders to fortify certain places

fortiffiat Certains endroits qui m'avoient parus devoir etre les plus exposés en cas d'attaque et pour qu'on y Veillat plus particulieremt et j'ai fait dire aux Thonicas et aux Arkanças de se rendre a notre fort des Natchez les premiers en remontant le fleuve en pirogues et les autres en le traversant vis a vis chez Eux et parcourant les bords du Mississipy, Visitant tous les

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bayoues et petites rivières jusqu'aux Natchez, Cequi a été executé ponctuellement. Les Thonicas au nombre de 30. se sont rendus les premiers aux Natchez ou ils ont resté deux mois, envoyant de temps en temps des partis roder a quelques lieües du fort sur le chemin des Chicachas ou ils ont pris quelques Chactas de la partie du Ouest qui etoient Venus en chasse de ce Costé la et qu'on accusoit d'estre Venus autour du fort pour y surprendre des Soldats de la garnison ou quelques uns de nos sauvages domiciliés.

Les Arkanças au nombre de 40. s'y Sont aussi rendus a la fin de juillet après avoir visités la riviere des Yazoux ou ils ont brulé 16. pirogues qu'ils ont trouveés cacheés. Ce sont

[*Translation*]

which seemed to me to be the most exposed in case of attack, and to keep watch at them with especial care. I also had the Tunica and the Quapaw told to come to our fort at Natchez, the first ascending the river in pirogues and the others crossing it opposite their village and scouting along the banks of the Mississippi, visiting all the bayous and little rivers as far as Natchez.

This was exactly done. The Tunica to the number of thirty were the first to reach Natchez, where they remained two months, sending from time to time raiding parties out some leagues from the fort on the Chickasaw path where they took some Choctaw of the western party who had come to hunt on that side and who were accused of having come about the fort to surprise the soldiers of the garrison or some of our domiciled Indians.

The Quapaw to the number of forty also reached there at the end of July after having visited the Yazoo River, where they burned sixteen pirogues which they found cached.



Vraisemblablement celles dont se sont Servis les Chicachas et Abekas pour aller faire Coup aux Arkanças, etant toutes en bon Etat et matacheés de rouge et les memes que nos Voyageurs

85v

ont rencontrées a la teste de mort, ce qui m'a fait conjecturer que ce parti ne devoit pas etre si Considerable qu'on L'avoit fait d'autant plus que le Commandant des Alibamous m'a marqué qu'il n'etoit composé que de Chicachas et Abekas, que ces derniers avoient avec Eux quatre prisonnieres françoises qu'ils se proposoient de Conduire a la Caroline, et que les Chicachas avoient vendu les 4. autres a des traitteurs Anglois qui sont etablis Chez eux, et a la Sollicitation des quéls ce mauvais Coup s'etoit fait sur nous; cequi a si fort jndigné les Alibamons et les Kaouïtas qu'ils m'ont fait dire par l'offer qui Commande dans le fort que nous avons chez les premiers qu'ils se proposoient de retirer Ces prisonnieres françoises pour me les renvoïer, et que si les Chicachas faisoient difficulté de les rendre, ils les leur enleveroient de force. je Souhaite qu'ils executent

[*Translation*]

Probably these are the ones which the Chickasaw and Abihka used to attack the Arkansas as they were all in good condition, marked with red, and the same ones which our *voyageurs* had met at La Tête de Mort. This made me conjecture that that party could not be so large as it had been reported, the more so since the commandant at the Alibamu informed me that it was composed only of Chickasaw and Abihka and that these last had with them four French prisoners whom they proposed to take to Carolina and that the Chickasaw had sold the four others to English traders who were settled among them, at whose solicitation this ill attack was made on us. This so much outraged the Alibamu and the Kawita that they had me told by the officer who commands in the fort that we have among the first named, that they proposed to get these French prisoners and send them to me; if the Chickasaw made difficulties about giving them up they would take them away by force. I hope they execute their plan, but I am afraid the English who are among

leur projet, mais j'aprehende que les Anglois qui sont parmi eux ne les en detournent. il est Surprenant que les Anglois ne S'etudient dans ce Continent qu'a soulever les sauvages contre nous et cela en temps de paix Comme en temps de guerre ; aussi n'ay je pû me dispenser d'en marquer mon étonnement au Gouverneur de la Caroline par raport surtout aux traitteurs qui Viennent aux Chactas qui ne paroissent tirer de Cette nation d'autre profit que de l'jndisposer contre nous, puisque toutes les fois qu'ils y Viennent ils y sont ou pillés ou tués

Les Arkanças a l'occasion du desastre arrivé aux françois m'ont demandé qu'on reculat le fort et qu'on le Mit auprès de leurs Villages. Comme Cette nation nous a toujours été fidelle, et qu'elle nous donne Continuellement des preuves de son attache-  
86v  
ment par les frequentes jncursions qu'elle fait sur les Chicachas et Chactas revoltés dont elle m'a aporté plus de 25. Chevelures j'ai Consenti a leur demande et j'ai ordonné qu'on batit le fort proche un Ecor ou Ces sauvages se sont etablis,

[Translation]

them may deter them. It is surprising that the English only labor in this country to turn the Indians against us and that in time of peace as well as in time of war. Accordingly I have not been able to dispense with indicating my astonishment to the governor of Carolina, especially with respect to the traders who come to the Choctaw who do not seem to draw any other profit from that tribe than disposing them against us, since every time they come there they are either pillaged or killed.

The Quapaw on the occasion of the disaster to the French have asked me that we move our fort back and put it among their villages. As that tribe has always been faithful to us and has continually given us proof of its attachment by the frequent raids that it makes on the Chickasaw and the revolted Choctaw, from whom they have brought me more than twenty-five scalps, I consented to their request, and I ordered that the fort be built near a bluff where these Indians are settled, persuaded that there

persuadé que le Garnison et les habitans étant la ne seront plus exposés aux Surprises de l'Ennemy; Le Convoy des Illinois est parti dicy le 10. du mois dernier et quoi qu'il soit fort et en Etat de repousser les ennemis qu'il pourroit rencontrer sur le fleuve, pour plus grande Sureté et ne pas retarder sa Marche j'ai fait Commander 30. Thonicas qui l'escorteront jusqu'aux Natchez ou il trouvera 50 Arkanças qui l'accompagneront jusqu'à leurs Villages ou ce Convoy doit S' arrester pour y Laisser l'aprovvisionnement du poste: je me flate qu'avec Ces précautions il se rendra heureusement a sa destination.

.....  
88...

Les Chaouanons ne se sont point dementy jusqu'a present de la Neutralité qu'ils ont toujours observé. je n'ai pû les Voir l'année derniere a la Mobille, mais je me propose, lorsque je Serai sur le point d'y aller, de leur faire dire de Venir m'y trouver afin de sonder leurs Veritables Sentimens. je dois représenter que, S'ils perseverent a Vouloir tirer leurs besoins de Chez nous,

[*Translation*]

the garrison and the inhabitants will no longer be exposed to surprises on the part of the enemy.

The Illinois convoy left here the tenth of last month; it was strong and in condition to repulse any enemies whom it might meet along the river; but for greater safety and in order not to retard its march I had directed thirty Tunica to escort it as far as the Natchez, where it will find fifty Quapaw who will accompany it as far as their villages, where the convoy should stop to leave the supplies for the post. I flatter myself that with these precautions it will arrive in good order at its destination.

.....

The Shawnee up to now have not abandoned the neutrality which they have always observed. I could not see them last year at Mobile, but when I am about to go there, I propose to have them told to come to seek me that I may sound their true sentiments. I must represent to you that if they persist in wishing to get what they need of us, it will be indispensable to send

il sera indispensable d'envoyer incessamment les limbourgs a la façon Angloise que j'ai demandé pour Eux.

Quant aux dépenses que les sauvages<sup>88v</sup> occasionnent, je vous prie Monseigneur d'estre persuadé que je suis tres reservé a cet egard, et que je ne ferai que Celles aux quelles je Serai absolument forcé.

Quoi que nous soyons en paix avec les Anglois, pour les raisons dont j'ai rendu Compte je n'ai pas pensé qu'il fut prudent de relascher icy le traitteur Anglois que je marquois par ma lettre du 8. may dr avoir été fait prisonnier par nos sauvages d'ouabache. je le fais embarquer sur la flute le Parham et je donne ordre au Sr Large de ne le débarquer que dans un port de france ou il prendra ensuite telle destination qu'il Voudra.

J'ay l'honneur d'estre avec un profond respect, Monseigneur  
Votre tres humble et Tres obeissant serviteur

VAUDREÜIL

A LA NLE ORLEANS le 22. 7bre 1749

[*Translation*]

immediately the limbourgs of English fashion which I have asked for them.

As to the expenses which the Indians cause, I beg you, Monseigneur, to be persuaded that I am very careful in this respect and that I shall incur none that I am not absolutely obliged to.

Although we are at peace with the English, for the reasons which I have given you I have not thought it prudent to release at this point the English trader whom I indicated by my letter of May 8 last had been made prisoner by our Wabash Indians. I am having him embarked on the ship *Le Parham*, and I am giving orders to Sieur Large to land him only in a French port whence he may go wherever he wishes.

I have the honor to be with profound respect, Monseigneur,  
Your very humble and very obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL

NEW ORLEANS, September 22, 1749

RAYMOND TO LA JONQUIÈRE, October 11, 1749

[A N Colonies C11A 95:375]

Extrait des lettres Et nouvelles Envoyées a M Le Marquis de la Jonquiere par le S. De Reymond Commandant aux Miamis. par sa lettre du 11. 8bre 1749.<sup>1</sup>

MONSIEUR

Depuis le départ de M de Celoron Jay assemblé le Pied froid et Sa bande pour leur parler en conseil, ce que je n'avois pas encore fait, aiant voulu auparavant examiner leur conduite et penetrer dans leur Jntention, un des chefs de guerre nomme le Signe<sup>2</sup> et tous les Jeunes gens l'ont très mauvaise, la plupart des autres chefs et des Anciens ne l'ont pas meilleure en voicy la preuve, les branches de porcelaine que J'avois retiré de leur mains que Je vous ay Envoyé par M Dubuisson par lesquelles la Demoiselle leur demandoit du Secours pour fraper Sur le francais le moment après qu'ils me les Eurent remises, Jls les

[Translation]

Extract from the letters and news sent to M. le Marquis de la Jonquière by the Sieur de Raymond, commandant of the Miamis, by his letter of October 11, 1749<sup>1</sup>

MONSIEUR:

Since the departure of M. de Céloron I have assembled Le Pied Froid and his band to speak to them in council, which I had not yet done, having wished previously to examine their conduct and penetrate their designs. One of the war chiefs, called Le Cigne,<sup>2</sup> and all the young men have been very ill-disposed. Most of the other chiefs and the old men have been no better. Here is the proof of it. The strings of wampum which I got out of their hands and which I sent you by M. Dubuisson by which La Demoiselle asked their help in attacking the French were replaced by others the moment after they had been given

<sup>1</sup>The indorsement indicates this was to be put with a letter of La Jonquière of 1750, the exact date not being given.

<sup>2</sup>Le Cigne, as above stated, the war chief of Le Pied Froid's band of the Miami. Despite the fact he was said to be ill-disposed, De Villiers counted on him to bring back Le Pied Froid's band from the Great Miami.

ont remplacé par d'autres et les ont fait courrir de village en village chez les autres nations pour leur demander le Secours que leur demandoit la Demoiselle C'est le Chef de Tepiconneaud qui m'en a averty.

Sur cet avis Jay envoyé cherché hier le pied froid qui est venu Seul tous Son village etant party pour leur hivernement,

375v

Je luy ay vivement reproché leur mauvaise conduite et leur trahison, et je luy ay parlé d'un ton severe et Si Sec que Je pourrois Esperer d'avoir lieu d'etre content de leur conduite dans la Suitte, tout Sauvage tout Coquin et presque point de fond a faire Sur leur promesse.

Le pied froid est veritablement porté pour les français, mais il est sans credit dans Son village et n'est plus Ecouté.

Cy joint Sont les parolles que je leur ay dittes dans le conseil que Jay tenû et la reponse qu'ils m'ont faites, Je souhaite qu'ils la mettent en pratique, Jy apporteray tous mes Soins.

Le 5. de ce mois Le Gris chef du village de Tepiconneaud

[*Translation*]

me; and they are now being carried from village to village among other tribes to ask of them the assistance which La Demoiselle asked of the Miami. It is the chief of Tippecanoe who has warned me of this.

On this information I sent yesterday for Le Pied Froid, who came alone, his whole village having set off to their winter quarters. I warmly reproached him for their evil conduct and their treason; I spoke to him in a severe tone and so sharply that I hope to have reason to be content with their conduct in the future. Every Indian is a rascal, and practically no reliance can be put on their promises.

Le Pied Froid is indeed well disposed to the French, but he is without influence in his village and is no longer listened to.

Annexed are the words which I spoke to them in the council which I held and the answers which they made me. I hope that they put them in practice. I will take all possible pains to that end.

The fifth of this month Le Gris, chief of the village of

est arrivé icy avec une partie des gens de Son village, Cy joint sont les parolles qu'il m'a dittes en conseil et la reponse que je luy ay faite.

Ce Chef s'est fort deffendû Sur l'accusation qu'on a porta contre luy qu'il avoit reçu un collier pour fraper Sur le français Je Suis tout disposé a croire qu'il dit vray puisque cest le seul village qui n'a jamais voulu tremper dans aucune mauvaise affaire et qui ont resté toujours Si fidelle que le pere et le beupere de ce jeune Chef ont toujours averty des mauvais desseins de leur nation et des autres nations leurs voisins et ont toujours remis les mauvais colliers qui ont été portés dans leur village S'ils S'etoient desrangés et qu'ils eussent été corrompus ce ne Seroit que depuis le printems dernier que le jarrest beupere de ce jeune Chef a été poignardé.

La Demoiselle fait tous Ses efforts pour l'attirer avec Son village a la riviere a la Roche, Les Syatanons et P8tet8atamis travaillent de leur coté a l'attirer chez eux, C'est ce qui m'a déterminé Joint a la fidelité dans laquelle S'est toujours conduit

[Translation]

Tippecanoe, arrived here with a party of the people of his village. Annexed are the words which he spoke to me in council and the reply I made to him. This chief strenuously denied the accusation brought against him that he had received a belt to strike the French. I am entirely disposed to believe that he is speaking the truth since this is the only village which has never been disposed to meddle in ill affairs and which has always remained so faithful that the father and the stepfather of this young chief have always warned us of the evil plans of their tribe and of other neighboring tribes and have always sent back the bad wampum belts which have been brought to their village. If they have altered and have been corrupted it can only be since last spring when Le Jarret, stepfather of the young chief, was stabbed.

La Demoiselle puts forth all his efforts to draw him to the Great Miami River along with his village. The Wea and Potawatomi work on their side to draw him to them. It is this as well as the fidelity with which that band of



cette bande des Miamis a lever leur village de Tepiconneau pour le plaçer icy aupres du fort français Icy Je pense aussi que c'est

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le moyen de faire revenir la Demoiselle Je ne dois avoir reponse de leur deliberation que ce printems, au rêtour de leur hivernement. Si elles n'étoient pas conformes aux esperances quils m'ont donné et aux dispositions dans lesquelles ils Sont partis de faire ce que je voudray, Je travailleray afrais nouveaux a eteindre leur feu de Tepiconneau pour l'allumer icy.

RAYMOND ON THE MIAMI, October, 1749

[A N Colonies C11A 95:379v]<sup>1</sup>

.....  
Le Pied froid est le grand Chef de tous les Miamis. Cette nation est divisée en plusieurs bandes, La première est celle du pied froid.

La Seconde c'est celle de la Demoiselle qui reste a la riviere a la Roche avec les Anglais, c'est cette bande qui pilla les fran-

[*Translation*]

the Miami have always conducted themselves, which has decided me to move their village of Tippecanoe and establish it here near the French fort. I think also that that is the way to make La Demoiselle return. I can not expect to hear the result of their deliberation until this spring on their return from their winter quarters. If they have not conformed themselves to the hopes which they have given me and to the disposition to do what I wish in which they left, I will put forth new efforts to extinguish their fire at Tippecanoe in order to kindle it here.

.....  
Le Pied Froid is the great chief of the Miami. This nation is divided into several bands, the first being that of Le Pied Froid. The second is that of La Demoiselle, which remains at Great Miami River with the English. This is the band which

<sup>1</sup> Inclosed in the above letter. Indian councils of October 6, 1749 and October 8, 1750 have been omitted.

cais dans le fort des Miamis et les fit prisonniers et mit le feu au fort apres le Pillage

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La 3e bande reste a Tepiconneaux a 15 a 20. Lieuës d'Jcy, elle a pour chef le nommé Le Gris Jeune homme qui ne Gouverne point Sa bande par Luy meme, n'ayant point encore l'Experience, elle est conduite par un ou deux chef. Ce jeune chef a reçu ce printems une medaille du Roy et de très gros presents par M Le Cher de Longueuil au Detroit. M de Carqueville<sup>1</sup> m'ecrit qu'il a accepté de la part de la Demlle un collier pour fraper sur le français.

aux Environs des Poutet&atamis a la riviere st Joseph Il y a 5. a 6 cabannes des Miamis qui Se sont detachés de la bande du Gris et qui depuis quelques années habitent ces endroits.

[Translation]

pillaged the French at the Miamis fort, made them prisoners, and set fire to the fort after the pillage.

The third band remains at Tippecanoe, fifteen to twenty leagues from here. It has for chief the person named Le Gris, a young man who does not govern his band himself, not yet having had any experience; it is guided by one or two chiefs. This young chief received this spring one of the king's medals and very large presents from M. le Chevalier de Longueuil at Detroit. M. de Carqueville<sup>1</sup> writes me that he has accepted from La Demoiselle a wampum belt to strike the French.

In the neighborhood of the Potawatomi at the St. Joseph River there are five or six cabins of Miami who have separated from the band of Le Gris and who for some years have lived in those parts.

<sup>1</sup> Claude Drouet, Sieur de Carqueville, 1718-1755, who made his escape from Dartaguiette's defeat. A N Colonies C13C 4:202-205. May 8, 1747 he married Marguerite de Couagne at Montreal. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire*, 3:451. He was commissioned ensign February 28, 1748. *Canadian Archives*, 1905, volume 1, part 6, p. 104. August 11, 1748 he signed at St. Joseph on his way to Ouiatanon where he commanded till sometime in 1751. A N Colonies C11A 116:159, 401v; 119:26,27. He was serving on the Ohio in 1754. The burial register at Fort Duquesne records the death, July 9, 1755, of M. Denicheville, esquire, Sieur de Carqueville, lieutenant about thirty-three years of age. *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, 19:196.

LA JONQUIÈRE TO ROUILLÉ, November 12, 1749

[A N Colonies C11A 93:58]

MONSEIGNEUR

Il est arrivé hier au Soir un courrier de Montréal qui ma été dépêché par M Le Baron de Longueuil pour me faire parvenir les lettres du S. de Raymond commandant aux Miamis.

Le compte que cet officier me rend des mauvaises dispositions ou sont les nations sauvages pour les françois est Si intéressant que je crois devoir vous <sup>58v</sup> Envoyer copie de ses lettres en dattes des 4. et 5. 7bre ainsi que des parolles des Anglois de Chouaguen aux Sauvages, qui m'ont été Envoyées par le S. de Sabrevois Commandant au détroit.

J'aurois fort Souhaité avoir eu cet avertissement il y a environ deux mois parceque J'aurois pu prendre les arrangements possibles, pour arreter, et en tout cas repousser avec violence les Entreprises que les dits sauvages pourront faire Sur nos postes.

Ce qui me rassure, C'est que des mon arrivée pour prévenir

[*Translation*]

MONSEIGNEUR:

Yesterday evening a courier arrived from Montreal who was sent me by M. le Baron de Longueuil to bring me the letters of the Sieur de Raymond, commandant at Miamis.

The account that that officer gives me of the bad disposition of the Indian tribes toward the French is so interesting that I think it best to send you copies of his letters dated the fourth and fifth of September as well as of the speech of the English of Oswego to the Indians which was sent me by the Sieur de Sabrevois, commandant of Detroit. I would have much desired to have had this information two months ago because I could then have made the necessary arrangements to check, or in any case to repel by force, the attempts which the Indians in question may make on our posts. What reassures me is that since my arrival, in order to forestall any accidents, I have given specific

tout accident, Jay donné des ordres prècis a tous les Commandants des postes de se tenir en mēfiance, et en etat de deffense en cas de necessité.

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J'attendray avec impatience l'arrivée de M. de Celoron pour être informé de L'évenement de toutes choses. des le petit printems Je prendray les mesures les plus convenables, pour que tous les postes de ce gouvernement, Soient en sureté.

Je vois qu'il est très important que je fasse partir en même tems un détachement plus considerable que celui que le S. de Celoron commende, parce qu'il est essentiel de faire la loy aux nations qui nous sont rebelles, et de les forcer malgré qu'elles en aient, a rentrer dans leur devoir.

Et Supposé que (comme on me le marque) les Anglois Se Soient ingerés d'établir des forts et des magasins, Je pour voyeray aussi a la destruction des dits forts et magasins, en leur

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Signifiant qu'ils n'ont aucun droit de faire les dits etablissemens sur nos terres.

[*Translation*]

orders to all the commandants of the posts to be on their guard and in a state of defense in case of necessity.

I shall await with impatience the arrival of M. de Céloron in order to be informed of how everything has turned out. Early in the spring I shall take the most proper measures to put all the posts of this government in security.

I see it is very important for me to send off at the same time a larger detachment than the one commanded by the Sieur de Céloron because it is essential to lay down the law to the tribes which have rebelled against us and to force them even in spite of themselves to go back to their duty. And in case the English, as I am informed, have presumed to establish forts and warehouses, I shall also see to the destruction of the forts and warehouses in question, signifying to them that they have no right to make those establishments on our territory.

Mais a ce propos Je dois vous reiterer les representations que Jay deja eû l'honneur de vous faire, Sur le peu de troupes que Jay: dans la pluspart des postes. on est obligé d'envoyer des habitans qui coutent très chers au Roy, Sont insubordonnés et incapables de faire une Expedition, tandis que le Soldat vit avec Sa Solde S'aguerrit tous les jours, en impose et remplit ses fonctions, quand on le commande. Je vous Suplie donc, Monseigneur, avec de nouvelles instances de donner vos ordres pour qu'on travaille a faire de bonnes et nombreuses recruës pour completer nos troupes et augmenter les Compagnies.

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Je n'ay eû aucune nouvelle positive de M de Celoron, on craint beaucoup pour luy, et voila tout ce qu'on en dit.

Je Suis avec un très profond respect Monseigneur  
Votre très humble et très obeissant Serviteur

LAJONQUIERE

[*Translation*]

But in this connection I must repeat the representations that I have already had the honor to make to you on the small number of troops that I have in most of the posts. We are obliged to send inhabitants who cost the king very much, and who are insubordinate and incapable of going on expeditions, while the soldier lives on his pay, every day becomes a better soldier, inspires respect, and does his duty when he is commanded. I beg you then, Monseigneur, once more to give your orders that they set about getting good and numerous recruits to complete our troops and fill up our companies.

I have no positive news of M. de Céloron. We have serious fears for him, and that is all that can be said.

I am with very profound respect, Monseigneur,  
Your very humble and very obedient servant,

LA JONQUIÈRE

## ENGLISH INTRIGUES WITH THE INDIANS

[A N Colonies C11A 93:61]<sup>1</sup>

Parolles des Anglais de Chouaguen au nommé Tahaké huron en luy donnant un Collier pour les hurons du détroit pour Nicolas Orotony chef des hurons rebels

Ecoutez, Tahaké, voicy ce que tu dira de nôtre part a Sasetaredry, et c'est ce qu'il reconnoitra par la figure de ce collier dont je te fais porteur.

Mes freres les hurons, Je vous parle en general pour vous dire que je ne suis point Surpris que la guerre ait interrompu le commerce que nous avions ensemble, Je Sçay que vous n'avez pu faire autrement, mais a present que la paix est generalement faite, Jespere que vous viendrés, comme cy devant, traiter avec moy, vous trouverés L'abondance chez moy et Le bon marché.

J'en dis de meme a Nicolas en le remerciant par ce meme collier du party qu'il a pris d'Employer le Cassetete d'Onontio

## [Translation]

Speech of the English at Oswego to the Huron named Tahoké when a wampum belt was given him for the Hurons of Detroit for Nicolas Orontony, chief of the rebel Hurons

"Listen, Tahoké, this is what you are to say from us to Sasetaredry, and this is what he will understand from the design of this belt of which I make you the bearer.

"My brothers, the Hurons, I speak to you generally to tell you that I am not at all surprised that the war should have interrupted the trade that we had with each other. I know that you could not do otherwise, but now that peace is generally made, I hope that you will come as formerly to trade with me. With me you will find plenty and at low prices.'

"I say the same to Nicolas, thanking him by this same belt for the course which he has taken of killing Onontio with his

<sup>1</sup> Inclosed in the above letter.

pour le tuer luy meme, C'est bien fait, mais J'Exige de luy qu'il vienne me voir, mes magasins sont a luy.

Ce Collier a été rendu a M De Sabrevois

T.S.V P.M.

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Les Chaoenons de sonnioto aux quatre deputés que M de Sabrevois a Envoyé a M de Celoron par 3 branches de porcelaine

Nos Cadets les Outaoüois du Detroit, ditte a nôtre pere votre Commandant, que nous le remercions de vous avoir envoyés icy pour nous dire les nouvelles.

Nous avons trouvés tout ce que M de Celoron nous a dit, fort juste, et nous promettons d'aller voir Onontio ce printems.

Tout ce qui nous repugne, C'est qu'on veuille nous separer de L'anglois qui fait aujourd'huy nôtre Seule resourçe

Cecy s'est dit lors que M de Celoron n'y etoit plus.  
pour Coppie LAJONQUIERE

[*Translation*]

own tomahawk. That is well done, but I require of him that he come to see me. My warehouses are his."

This belt was given up to M. de Sabrevois

Turn the page if you please, Monsieur.

The Shawnee of Sonnioto with three strings of wampum to the four deputies that M. de Sabrevois sent to M. de Céloron.

"Our younger brothers, the Ottawa of Detroit: say to our father, your commandant, that we thank him for having sent you to tell us the news.

"We found all that M. de Céloron told us very true, and we promise to go and see Onontio this spring. The only thing which repels us is that they wish to separate us from the English who today are our sole resource."

This was said when M. de Céloron was no longer there.

A true copy LA JONQUIERE



## ENGLISH OVERTURES TO THE MIAMI

[A N Colonies C11A 97:406]<sup>1</sup>

Parolles des iroquois et hurons Rebelles de la belle riviere  
aux misâmis qui avoient estés en chasse dans cette riviere

Mes freres voila un present De Couverte de drap rouge que  
nous vous faisons, Sur Lequel nous y mettons La hache de  
Langlois que nous vous presentons et que nous vous prions de  
recevoir pour fraper sur ônotio

Reponse que Les misâmis disent avoir fait  
Mes freres nous nacceptons point La hache de Langlois pour  
fraper sur notre pere; il ne nous a jamais fait De mal, nous ne  
tirons nos besoins que de Luy; ainsy nous nè voulons point de  
la hache que vous nous présentés, nous ne sommes icy que pour  
faire notre chasse, et nous En retourner Dans nos villages.

Reponse, que jai faitte aux misâmis  
Mes Enfans je vous remercie des nouvelles que vous maprenés  
de Cequi se passe dans la belle riviere dou vous sortés; vous avés

## [Translation]

Speeches of the Iroquois and the rebel Huron of the Ohio  
River to the Miami who had been hunting on that river

"My brothers, here is a present which we make you of a  
blanket of red cloth. On it we put the tomahawk of the English  
which we present to you and which we request you to receive to  
strike Onontio."

Answer which the Miami said they made:

"My brothers, we do not accept the tomahawk of the English  
to strike our father. He has never done us harm and we get  
what we need from him. Accordingly we do not at all desire  
the tomahawk which you present to us. We are only here to  
hunt and to return to our villages."

Answer which I made to the Miami:

"My children, I thank you for the news which you give  
me about what is happening on the Ohio River, whence you came.

<sup>1</sup>The origin of this paper cannot exactly be determined. Possibly it comes from De Raymond.

Eû de Lesprit davoïr refusé La hache de Langlois qui vous a esté présentée par Les iroquois et hurons de La belle riviere; cest par La reponse que vous me dites Leurs avoir faite que je vous Reconnois pour Les vrais Enfans Donontio; Si vous Leussiés accepté, vous vous seriés attiré La Colere et La Vangeansse de votre pere, qui Est prestte de tomber Sur Leurs têtes, sils ne changent bientot de Conduitte et Sils ne se repentent de Lavoïr acceptée, il est tems quils La rejettent Sils veuillent avoir graces et quils viennent trouver Leurs pere pour Luy demander, et Luy donner Des preuves de Leurs Repentir.

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il est bon et toujours prest a recevoir Ses Enfans qui Reconnoissent Leurs fautes, et viennent se jeter avec confiance entre ses bras.

Langlois de qui ils ont pris Le partie Demande Lui même La paix a votre pere onontio, Sil Luy accorde Langlois Les abandonnera sur Le champ, ou jront ils? dequoy deviendront ils? qui Leurs donnera Leurs besoins tous Les chemins de la terre

[*Translation*]

You were wise to have refused the tomahawk of the English which was offered you by the Iroquois and the Huron of the Ohio River. By the answer which you tell me you made them, I recognize you as true children of Onontio. If you had accepted it, you would have drawn upon you the anger and vengeance of your father, who is ready to fall upon their heads if they do not soon change their conduct and repent of having accepted the tomahawk. It is high time that they rejected it if they wish to be pardoned, and they must come to see their father to ask pardon and to give him proofs of their repentance. He is good and always ready to receive his children who acknowledge their faults and come to throw themselves with confidence into his arms. The English whose side they have taken is himself asking peace from your father Onontio. If Onontio accords it the English will abandon them immediately, and where will they go? What will become of them? Who will supply their needs?

quils ont brouilliés, Leurs Seront fermés; ou se sauveront ils? Si votre pere Leve Sur Eux son cassetètes, ils seront tous exterminés.

Dites Leurs Donc mes parolles; je vous Les dis pour que vous Leurs repetiés, et pour que vous Leurs donniés de Lesprit pour y penser;

Dites Leurs aussy que je Les plains et que je Les prens En pitié, que je Les invite tous Devenir me trouver; jiray moy même audevant deux pour Leurs donner La main et Les amener auprès de mon feu; que je Leurs donneray un de mes chefs pour Les mener a Leurs pere pour recevoir Leurs pardon, et La paix, quil est prest de Leurs accorder pour vû quils viennent La Demander; retenés bien mes parolles et Leurs repetés

Vous voies vous même un grand nombre des 5. nations auprès de moy qui Reste continuellement auprès de mon feu; vous avés trouvés Les chemins Libres, ils Les trouveront comme vous Sils viennent Ecouter La parolle de Leurs pere

[*Translation*]

All the paths of the land which they have disturbed will be closed to them; where will they take refuge? If your father raises his tomahawk against them they will be exterminated.

"Tell them then my words; I tell them to you in order that you may repeat them and that you may give them the wisdom to reflect. Tell them also that I have compassion on them and that I pity them; that I invite them all to come to seek me. I myself will go to meet them to lend them my hand and to bring them beside my fire. I will give them one of my chiefs to conduct them to their father to gain their pardon and the peace which he is ready to accord them provided they come to ask it. Remember well my words and repeat them to them.

"You yourselves see the great number of the Five Nations about me who remain continually by my fire. You have found the paths open. They will find them as you did if they come to hear the word of their father."

## PROPOSED COLONY IN THE ILLINOIS

[A N Colonies C13A 33:219]

Memoire Sur La Louïsiane<sup>1</sup>

par M. le Bailly Mesnager

La paix générale dont jouït actuellement la France, la met plus à portée que j'ai jamais de profiter des avantages qu'elle a sur les autres Nations, ils sont trop sensibles pour que j'entreprenne icy de les détailler, je me retranche donc sur un seul article et prétends faire connoître non seulement l'utilité que le Royaume retireroit de l'exécution de mon projet, mais encore considérant l'avenir, l'indispensable nécessité où l'on se trouve de l'exécuter aujourd'hui.

Pour remplir le but que j'ai en vue, je propose d'établir une Colonie sur le fleuve mississipi à l'embouchure de la Rivière Ouïabache.

[Translation]

Memoir on Louisiana<sup>1</sup>

By M. le Bailly Mesnager

The general peace which France enjoys at present puts her more in a position than ever to profit by the advantages which she has over other nations. They are too evident for me to undertake to detail them here. I will limit myself then to one article only and undertake to make known not merely the benefit the kingdom may derive from the execution of my project but also, in consideration of the future, the indispensable necessity in which we find ourselves of executing it today.

In order to fulfil the end which I have in view, I propose to establish a colony on the Mississippi River at the mouth of the Wabash.

<sup>1</sup>No clue has been found to the circumstances in which this plan was proposed. There is no evidence that it ever had serious consideration. The indorsement indicates the memoir was inclosed in a letter dated December 17, 1749 of M. Poisson, father of the Marquise de Pompadour, and refers it to the general index.

Voicy Les principaux avantages que la France retireroit de cet établissement.

Les Terres étant très bonnes dans cette Partie, La Culture en seroit aisée, il y vient de toutes Espèces de grains et de fruits, S'il étoit Bésin on y établiroit des Magazins pour les temps de Guerre, qui Seroient d'un grand Secours pour le Canada, et la Louïsiane.

Sur les Bords de la Riviere Oüabache il y a D'exelants paturages, qui attirent une grande quantité de Boeufs Sauvages, Les Cuirs en Sont bons l'on peut faire usage de leur Laine et ce Commerce feroit un objet très considerable.

On tiendrait Les Sauvages voisins en respect, habitant parmy Eux on gagneroit encor Davantage Leur confiance, qui nous est d'une grande nécessité, et aussitôt qu'ils Scauront que le François S'est rendu fort par un bon Etablissement en cette partie et qu'il peut les inquiéter dans leurs chasses ils perdront Lenvie de Commercer avec les Anglois, et apporteront leurs pelleteries.

[*Translation*]

These are the principal advantages which France would derive from this settlement.

The lands being very good in that region, their cultivation would be easy. All sorts of grain and fruit may be had there, and if there were need, magazines might be established for use in time of war which would be a great assistance to Canada and Louisiana.

On the banks of the Wabash River there are excellent pastures which attract a great number of buffaloes. Their hides are good; their wool could be used; and this trade would be a very considerable resource.

The neighboring Indians would be kept in respect. By living among them we would further gain their confidence, which is very necessary to us; and as soon as they know that the French have strengthened themselves by a good settlement in that region and that the French can disturb them in their hunts, they will lose the desire of trading with the English and will bring us their peltry.

Cet Etablissement qu'on pourroit regarder avec Juste raison comme le Magasin général du Centre des Terres, assureroit la Communication entre La Louïisiane et le Canada, et Seroit a portée de faire tout le Commerce avec les Sauvages de Loüest et du Nord du fleuve Mississipi

De même Les Nations de Lest trouveroient une bien plus grande commodité avenir chercher leurs nécessités dans la Colonie proposée, parce qu'elles pourroient Descendre par les Rivieres Doÿo et Doïabache qui Sont n'avigables en tout temps, au lieu qu'elles Sont obligées d'aller chëz les Anglois Par terre.

Les françois établis dans cette partie pourroient donner leurs Marchandises au moins au même prix que Les Anglois qui Sont a Quanesse<sup>1</sup> et Sur La Riviere des Cheraquis, car ces derniers Sont obligéz de faire deux cent Lieuës par terre dans les montagnes Et chemins affreux au lieu que par le fleuve mississipi qui est n'avigable en tout temps, on feroit venir les marchandises par

[*Translation*]

This establishment that with good reason could be regarded as the general storehouse of the interior of the land would assure the communication between Louisiana and Canada and would be in a situation to carry on all the trade with the Indians west and north of the Mississippi River.

Similarly the tribes of the East would find it much easier to come in search of their needs in the proposed colony because they could descend the Ohio and Wabash rivers which are navigable at all times instead of being obliged to go among the English by land.

The French established in this region could offer their merchandise at least at the same price as the English who are at Quanesse<sup>1</sup> and on the Tennessee River, for the latter are obliged to go two hundred leagues overland in the mountains and on frightful trails instead of by the Mississippi River which is navigable at all times. Merchandise could come from New Orleans,

<sup>1</sup> There were English traders, ordinarily from South Carolina, in most of the Cherokee villages. Quanesse was on the Hiawasee River somewhere near the southeastern corner of the present state of Tennessee.

la Nouvelle Orleans et les fraix de transport Seroient bien peu de chose en comparaison de ce qu'il en Coute aux anglois.

Ayant un fort établissement à L'embouchure Doüabache l'on pouroit pousser de petits forts dans les Endroits qu'on panseroit

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en avoir bésain ils Seroient Soutenuës, assureroient la tranquillité, et La france se mettroit en état de profiter tant des avantages d'un Commerce de Pelleterie, de Cuirs, et de Laines, mais Encor par la Suite ouvrir les Mines de Plomb qui ne Sont pas Eloignéz, et pousser même un jour avenir jusqu'à celles de Cuivre qui Sont Connuës Sur les Rivieres, Verte, de bon secours, et de Michécaco.<sup>1</sup>

On Seroit à portée de découvrir le Continant de Louëst, dont nous n'avons qu'une idée très imparfaitte, et étant amis avec les Sauvages de cette partie, Remonter jusqu'aux Sources du Mississipi et du Missouri quil nous importe tant de Connoître.

[*Translation*]

and the expenses of transportation would be inconsiderable in comparison with the cost to the English.

Having a strong settlement at the mouth of the Wabash, we could push small forts into the places where they were thought necessary. They would be sustained, would assure tranquillity, and France would be in a situation to profit both by the advantages of trade in peltry, leather, and wool, and also in the future by opening up the lead mines which are not distant and even at some later time by going on to the copper mines which are known to be on the Green, Bon Secours and Michécaco rivers.<sup>1</sup>

We would be in a situation to discover the continent of the west of which we have but a very imperfect idea, and being friends with the Indians of that region ascend as far as the sources of the Mississippi and Missouri which it is so important for us to know.

<sup>1</sup> Bellin's map of 1755 shows the Michecaco as a tributary of the Illinois, flowing into it from the north a little beyond 39° latitude and 94° longitude. Possibly it might be Crooked Creek, Spoon River, Copperas Creek or Kickapoo Creek. The existence of copper mines in the Illinois country especially among the Peoria was reported during the entire French period. Elsewhere the region indicated is that of the Minnesota and Chippewa rivers.



Les Monts Apalaches Sont les bornes naturelles de la Virginie et de la Caroline, cependant Les Anglois dont les vües Sont extremement vastes et ambitieuses, ont établis des postes à Quanesse et Sur la Riviere des Cheraquis, il est facile de S'appercevoir que leur dessein est de pousser jusque Sur le fleuve Mississipi, n'ayant aucunes forces à leur opposer dans cette Partie, jls profiteront de la premiere occassion pour s'y établir, couper La Communication de la Loüisiane avec le Canada, se Rendent amis des Sauvages qui les Soutiendront, parce qu'ils donnent leurs Marchandisses à meilleur marché que Les françois, pour lors la Nouvelle Orleans S'anéantira d'Elle même, au lieu que si l'on fait un établissement considerable dans l'endroit proposé, outre les profits que le particulier feroit Sur le Commerce, La france Seroit en Etat de s'opposer aux Antreprises trop étanduës des Anglois, et peuteestre même un jour avenir se débarasser de voisins aussy incomodes, en les obligant de se Restreindre à leurs véritables Limites.

Outre Ses avantages dont le Détail Seroit jnfiny, il est cer-

[*Translation*]

The Appalachian Mountains are the natural boundaries of Virginia and Carolina, but the English, whose views are extremely vast and ambitious, have established posts at Quanesse and on the Tennessee River. It is easy to see that their design is to push as far as the Mississippi River. As there are no forces to oppose them in that region, they will profit by the first occasion to settle there, to break the communication of Louisiana with Canada, and to become friends with the Indians who will sustain them because they give them their merchandise cheaper than the French. As a result New Orleans will wither away of itself. On the other hand if a considerable settlement were made in the place proposed, besides the profits which private persons would make in trade France would be in a situation itself to oppose the overly extended enterprises of the English, and perhaps one day to succeed even in getting rid of such inconvenient neighbors, obliging them to confine themselves to their true boundaries.

Besides these advantages the detail of which might be made infinite, it is certain that Louisiana would derive a new luster

tain que la Louïsiane tireroit un nouveau Lustre de cet établissement, Le Commerce y Seroit plus fleurissant, la nouvelle Orleans Serviroit d'abord d'entrepôt, aux choses nécessaires venantes d'Europe pour la Nouvelle Colonie, dans la Suite pour y faire passer, les pelleteries, Cuirs et Laines qu'on auroit ramassées dans le Centre des Terres, ainsy que les autres branches de Commerce dont on acquiéreroit la Connoissance, et qui s'y embarqueroient pour estre transportées en France ce qui feroit vivre, et Entretiendrait Ces deux Colonies qui S'entre secoureroient mutuellement

Enfin remplissant par cet Etablissement l'idée que tout honnête homme, doit se proposer en formant un projet, ayant D'ailleurs Combiné le profit avec la Dépense je conclus que L'état présent du Canada, La situation de la Louïsiane, La Crainte de l'avenir, tout en rend L'exécution nécessaire et indispensable pour le présent, mais il est bon de faire icy quelques Réflexions.

La religion, La Gloire du Roy, L'utilité publique, sont les fondemens Sur lesquels on doit établir tous Les projets qu'on

[*Translation*]

from this settlement; trade would be more flourishing; New Orleans would serve as an entrepôt for necessary things coming from Europe for the new colony, as well as for sending to Europe the peltry, leather, and wool gathered in the midst of the land, to say nothing of the other materials of commerce of which we would learn and which would there be embarked for transport to France. This would provide employment and would maintain these two colonies which would mutually aid each other.

Finally fulfilling with this establishment the idea that every honest man ought to propose to himself in forming a plan, and having otherwise combined profit with expense I conclude that the present state of Canada, the condition of Louisiana, the fear of the future, all render the execution of it necessary and indispensable for the present; but it will be well to offer certain reflections on this point.

Religion, the glory of the king, the public advantage, are the foundations on which should be established all the plans that may

peut former pour de nouveaux établissements jl est facile de Remarquer, qu'il y a une telle Connexité entre Ses trois chefs,

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que si l'on en perd un devüe, aussitôt L'entreprise Languit, la Confiance Disparoît, et nécessairement Les dépenses deviennent infructueuses.

Dans toutes les Entreprises de Commerce, et Surtout l'ors cequ'il S'agit détablir une Colonie, on ne doit jamais s'attendre a bien reüssir dans les premieres années, parcequ'il faut auparavant avoir acquis les connoissances Nécessaires Sur les differantes parties qui forment L'objet de L'établissement, on manque a bien des choses, on fait trop, où trop peu de dépense, on néglige des parties essentielles faute de les bien connoître, La perseverance donc est la Seule chose qui puisse conduire au Succéz.

Un point bien Essentiel, et Sur lequel la Cour devoit avoir une particuliere attention, ce Seroit de n'accorder j'amaï aucunes concessions qu'a des personnes qui vont Demeurer Sur Les Lieux et qui ont dessain de faire valoir par Eux même Leurs habita-

[*Translation*]

be formed for new settlements. It is easy to see that there is so great a connection between these three principles that if you lost sight of one of them the enterprise would immediately languish, confidence would disappear, and necessarily the expenditures would yield no return.

In all trade enterprises, especially when it is a question of founding a colony, one should never expect success in the first years because it is first essential to acquire the necessary acquaintance with the different matters which make up the object of the settlement. Many things are wanting, too much or too little is spent, the essential points are neglected for want of well understanding them. Perseverance therefore is the only thing which will lead to success.

A very essential point to which the court should give especial attention would be never to allow any concessions except to persons who will live on the spot and who intend themselves to improve their holdings; for in companies, if the chief is not

tions, car formant des Compagnies, si Le Chef n'est présent, les particuliers qu'on charge des intérêts de la Société, travaillent ordinairement pour eux même, profitent des Circonstances, saisissent des parties de Commerce, qu'ils L'aissent ignorer pour en profiter Seuls, le bien général est négligé, Les fonds se dissipent, où ne Sont point utilement Employés Le propriétaire où la Compagnie qui reste en Europe, se fatigue des avances, veut Recolter trop tost des fruits qui ne sont mures qu'après nombre d'années, Enfin la discorde, la mesintelligence se mettent dans la Société, et L'entreprise qui Sembloit la mieux concertée Echoüe parcequ'elles manque dans Son principe.

L'experience ayant fait connoître, ce qui a Empêché L'établissement des Concessions que Le Roy a autre fois accordé dans l'Amérique, il sera facile a l'avenir de lever cet obstacle, ce ne Sera pas Sans dépense, n'y peines, mais on ne doit pas Les comparer avec les profits immenses, qu'on peut faire Sur le Commerce de cette partie du Monde.

[*Translation*]

present, the private persons who are charged with the interests of the society ordinarily work for themselves, profit by circumstances, and make commercial ventures about which they say nothing in order to profit themselves only. As a result the general good is neglected, funds are dissipated or not usefully employed, the proprietor or the company which remains in Europe becomes tired of expenses, wishing to gather too soon the fruits which only ripen after a number of years. Finally, discord and misunderstanding appear in the organization, and the enterprise which seemed the best devised fails because it is unsound in principle.

Experience having demonstrated what has hindered the settlement of the concessions which the king has formerly made in America, it will be easy in the future to avoid that obstacle. There will be expense and trouble, but they stand no comparison with the immense profits which can be made on the trade of that part of the world.

Après donc avoir pézé Ces differents Motifs pour parvenir a établir La Colonie que je propose, et donc je me faits fort de la Réussitte, si la Cour m'en confie L'exécution je réduits ma demande a trois Articles principaux.

1 jl me Sera donné à L Embouchure de L'ouïabache un terrain de Six Lieuës tant Sur Le fleuve a Mississipi que le long de la Riviere avec toutte l'espace y compris.

2 Le Titre de Gouverneur dans tous Les forts, villes, où Citadelles qui pourront estre établies dans la dite Concession où Environs.

3 La Levée et Entretien d'une Compagnie de Cent hommes.  
Jentre Dans Le Détail de Ces trois objets

### 1er Article

La propriété Sera totalement Distincte du Titre de Gouverneur, de sorte qu'il me Sera accordé des Lettres patentes de la Concession dudit Terein qui portera mon Nom pour enjouïr<sup>220v</sup>

### [Translation]

After having then weighed these motives for undertaking the establishment of the colony which I propose, the success of which I will answer for if the court confides to me the execution of it, I reduce my demand to three principal articles.

First, there is to be given me at the mouth of the Wabash an extent of six leagues both on the Mississippi River and along the Wabash with all the lands included.

Second, the title of governor in all the forts, cities, or citadels which may be established in the said concession or neighborhood.

Third, the enlistment and maintenance of a company of one hundred men.

I enter into the details of these three articles.

### First Article

The propriety of the colony shall be totally distinct from the title of governor so that there shall be accorded me letters patent in my name for the grant of the lands in question to be

mes Successeurs, où ayant cause, a Titre de Baronie, et de tous droits de Justice et Seigneurie à la Charge de foy et homage a chaque mutation, Suivant la Coutume de la provosté et vicomte de Paris.

De même il me sera Donné des Lettres de propriété de tous les forts que je Construiray à mes dépends dans tous les Endroits, où il eu sera bésain qui m'a partiendront où a mes Successeurs, et deux Lieuës de Terein au tout des dits forts.

Le Roy fournira gratis de Ses arsenaux, tous Canons, mortiers, fusils, armements ouïls, et munitions nécessaires pour la deffense des places.

Sa Majesté donnera pendant les trois premieres années le pain de munition en outre de la paye à tout Soldat, femme, et Enfant généralement a tout particulier qui viendra S'établir dans ladte concession, on m'accordera une somme par an pour me Charger de cet article.

Au Cas que Le Roy donnat par la Suite des concessions à differants particuliers dans tout Le Terrain au dessus ou aux

[*Translation*]

enjoyed by my successors or assigns under title of barony, with all rights of justice and lordship, with faith and homage at each change of possession following the custom of the provosty and viscounty of Paris.

Similarly letters of propriety shall be given me in all the forts which I shall construct at my expense in all places where they may be needed which shall belong to me and my successors with two leagues of land at each of the said forts.

The king shall furnish free of charge from his arsenals all cannon, mortars, guns, arms, tools, and necessary munitions for the defense of these places.

His Majesty shall give during the first three years, ration biscuit besides pay to every soldier, woman, and child and generally to all private persons who shall come to settle in the said concession. A yearly sum shall be allowed me for assuming this charge.

In case the king in the future gives concessions to different private persons in any of the lands above or in the neighborhood

Environs de la Colonie proposée, elles Releveront directement de Celley, et je conserveray dessus tous droits de Seigneurie et justice, elles Contriburont aussy au prorata des fraix, qu'on Sera obligé de faire en Commun pour Lutilite, Entretien augmentation de la Colonie où des fortifications.

Quand au terein dont sa Majesté m'accordera la propriété, il me sera permis de m'en accomoder avec les particuliers auxquels il sera distribué Sous Certaines redevances et ce Revenu m'appartiendra en Entier comme propriétaire.

Si les particuliers qui auroient un Terein mouroient Sans Enfants où successeurs, Le propriétaire y rentreroit n'y ayant que les Colons qui pouroient hériter, et dans toutes les échanges ou Vantes Le propriétaire auroit un droit de Dixieme

Il Seroit accordé et Expédié gratis des Lettres de Maitrise pour en Jouir dans toute L'étendue du Royaume à tout artisan qui demeureroit Six ans de Suite dans la dite Colonie après avoir fait leur apprentissage En france, et ceux qui n'y auroient pas été apprentiss gagneroient les mêmes Lettres de Maitrise au

[*Translation*]

of the proposed colony, such concessions shall depend immediately upon it, and I shall retain for them all rights of lordship and of justice. They are also to contribute prorata to the expenses necessary to be made in common for the use, maintenance, and increase of the colony and its fortifications.

As to the land the ownership of which His Majesty will accord me, I shall be permitted to agree with private persons to whom it shall be distributed at fixed rents, and this revenue shall pertain to me as proprietor.

If private persons who possess tracts of land die without children or heirs, such tracts shall revert to the proprietor, as only colonists may inherit; and in all exchanges or sales the proprietor shall have a right to a tenth part.

There shall be accorded and dispatched without expense letters of mastership to be enjoyed throughout the whole kingdom for all artisans who shall remain six consecutive years in the said colony after having served their apprenticeship in France; and those who have not been apprenticed may obtain the same letters



bout de dix années qu'ils auroient travaillé de leur art, métier, où profession dans L'établissement proposé

Outre Les terres qui Seroient données aux Religieux Ecclesiastiques, où Religieuses qui S'établiront dans la Colonie, il Seroit Levé une Certaine somme Par teste d'habitants pour leur estre également distribuée.

Les Charges et offices de Judicature appartiendroient au propriétaire, et il Seroit expédié par la Cour des Lettres patentes a ceux qui en Seroient pourvûs. il seroit bon d'accorder certains privilèges aux officiers qui auroient Possédé ces Charges un Certain nombre D'années, afin d'exiter Le mutation et Engager des personnes qui auroient du bien a passer et Resider dans la Colonie.

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Le prix de Ses Charges Seroit fixé et le propriétaire feroit aux officiers Le Revenu du prix principal au dénier dix, et il luy appartiendrait un Dixieme à Chaque Mutation.

Le Commerce Seroit Libre à tout Particulier qui viendrait. S'établir dans lad. Concession, mais jl Seroit fixé certains Droits,

[*Translation*]

of mastership after working ten years at their art, trade, or profession in the proposed settlement.

In addition to the land which may be given to professed ecclesiastics or nuns who shall establish themselves in the colony, a certain sum shall be levied on each inhabitant to be equally distributed among them.

The fees and offices of judicature shall belong to the proprietor, and letters patent shall be dispatched him by the court for the persons to whom he shall give them. It would be well to accord certain privileges to officers who may have held these posts a certain number of years in order to promote change and to induce people with property to go and reside in the colony.

The price of these appointments shall be fixed, and the proprietor shall allow the holders a revenue of ten per cent on the purchase price, and he shall be entitled to a tenth from each new incumbent.

Trade shall be free to each private person who comes to settle in the said concession, but certain duties shall be fixed both

tant Sur les Marchandisses Venantes d'Europe que Sur celles qu'on trafiqueroit, de même que Sur le profit des Mines qui se trouveroient soit dans la Concession, Environs, où audessus, et de ce Revenu un tiers appartiendrait au propriétaire, un tiers à L'Etat Major de la place où des forts, et L'autre tiers Seroit Destiné pour L' entretien des fortifications où augmentation de L'Etablissement.

## 2 Article

Le Roy me donnera le titre de Gouverneur dans tous les forts, villes, où Citadelles qui pourront estre établis dans lad Concession pour y commander en Chef, où en Campagne, toutes Les Troupes tant françaises, que de nos alliés qui Sejourneront, ou viendront dans led. Terrain, commander pour le service de Sa Majesté, tous habitans français où sauvages dans led. Lieu, où aux Environs, que Jemployeray Soit pour maintenir la Colonie, soit pour faire de nouvelles découvertes, me Laissant Maître de Mettre telle garnison que je jugeray a propos dans tous Les forts qui Seront Construits.

### [Translation]

upon merchandise coming from Europe and on what is traded in, as well as on the profit of mines which may be found either in the concession itself, in the environs, or above; and of this revenue a third shall belong to the proprietor, a third to the *état major* of the place or of the forts, and the other third shall be reserved for the maintenance of the fortifications and increase of the organization.

## Second Article

The king shall give me the title of governor in all the forts, cities, or citadels which may be established in the said concession to command in chief or in campaign all the troops both French as well as those of our allies who shall live there or shall come into the said territory; he shall give me the command for the king's service of all French or Indian inhabitants of the said place or its environs whom I shall employ either to maintain the colony, or to make new discoveries, I being at liberty to put such garrisons as I judge proper in all the forts to be constructed.

Mais comme jl pourroit ariver que mes Successeurs propriétaires de la dite Concession n'en Seroient point gouverneurs afin déviter toutes plaintes, et discussions, les honneurs, Rangs, droits et prérogatives seront Reglés.

Quand à Son revenüe jl sera pris Sur le tiers au profit de L'Etat Major provenant de la perception des Droits, et dans sa qualité de Gouverneur jl sera toujourns Capitaine commandant de la troupe qui fait L'objet de ma troisieme Demande.

Le Gouverneur nomera aux autres Employes Militaires qu'on Sera obligé d'établir et dont les appointements seront également pris Sur Le tiers mantioné cy dessus.

### 3e Article

Le Roy m'accordera la Commission de Lieutenant Colonel, et de Commandant de la Troupe de Cent hommes, ne demandant rien pour la Levée m'obligeant de L'habiller et Equiper à mes depends pour le mois de may prochain, à condition néanmoins que du jour qu'il y aura quinze hommes au Quartier Dassemblée, on

### [Translation]

But as it may happen that my proprietary successors in the said concessions may not be governors, in order to avoid all complaints and disputes, the honors, ranks, rights, and prerogatives of the office shall be fixed.

As to the governor's revenue, it shall be taken from the third which goes to the *état major* out of the collection of fees; and in his quality of governor he shall always be captain commanding the troop, which is the object of my third demand.

The governor shall nominate to the other military positions which it will be necessary to establish, the salaries of which shall be also taken from the third above mentioned.

### Third Article

The king shall allow me the commission of lieutenant colonel and commandant of the troop of one hundred men, asking nothing for the levy, obliging me to clothe and equip them at my expense for the month of May next on condition that from the day that fifteen are assembled at their quarters, I shall be per-

me fera toucher leur paye et ainsy des autres à mesure qu'ils Rejoindront.

A Compter du Jour de L'ordonance de Création Sa Majesté me rappellera au Complet de lad. Compagnie Les Cent hommes, étant en état pour le temps fixé et lon me tiendra compte du non Complet qui me sera payé comptant.

Le Roy me fournira gratis cent fusils, avec Bayonettes, autant de Sabres, et La même nombre de Pistolets.

Jl me Sera Expedié tous les ans des Passeports pour ne payer aucuns droits Sur les Marchandises, fournitures, et Vivres, Sortantes de france nécessaires pour L'Entretien de lad. Troupe. 221v

Si Le Roy ne me fournit deux frégattes pour faire passer la Compagnie, et toute le monde que je meneray avec moy, Sa Majesté mindemniserà de ce qu'il en Coutera pour le transport par des Navires marchands ainsy que de le nourriture pendant la traverseé Jl me Sera payé cent francs par Jour pour L'entretien de lad. Compagnie qui n'aura n'y masse, Eustencille n'y places de gratification.

[*Translation*]

mitted to draw their pay and so similarly for the others in proportion as they join.

Counting from the day of the ordinance of creation His Majesty shall summon for me the hundred men as the complement of the said company at the time fixed and he shall account with me for vacancies which shall be paid me on account.

The king shall furnish me free one hundred guns with bayonets as well as sabers and the same number of pistols.

Every year passports shall be sent me to pay no duty on the merchandise, supplies, and provisions coming from France necessary for the maintenance of the said troop. If the king does not furnish me two frigates to carry over the company and all the people I conduct with me, His Majesty will reimburse me for what it will cost to transport them by merchant ships as well as for their support during the crossing. There shall be paid me a hundred francs a day for the support of the company which shall be subject to no deduction for clothing allowance, equipment, or bounties.

Le Roy m'accordant les Articles cy dessus je m'oblige Dentretenir la dite Troupe de faire les Recrues à mes dépends, de payer Deux Capitaines En Second aux quels je donneray par Jour a chacun trois Livres, Deux Lieutenants à Deux Livres, six sous lieutenants a trente Sols, Quatre Sergants à Douze Sols, Quatre Caporaux à Neuf Sols, Quatre Anspessades a Sept Sols six derniers, Quatre Tembours à huit Sols, Quatre Vingt Quatre fusiliers a six Sols, un Ingenieur à trois Livres, un aumonier à Deux Livres, un Chirugen à Quarante Sols.

Je n'engageray que des Gens mariés qui auront un Metier, art ou profession Je donneray par Jour deux Sols a Chaque femme de Soldat et un Sol à Chaque Enfant jusqu'a ce qu'il ait attint Lage de huit ans.

Je distriburay a Chaque famille une Certaine portion de Terre à Cultiver Suffisante pour La faire vivre à qui elle appartiendra en propre aux Conditions Générales.

Je fourniray les grains convenables pour Ensemancer Les Terres qui les trois premieres années Seront Cultivés en Commun ensuite Je donneray a un chacun ce qui luy en faudra pour Ensemancer Les siennes propres.

[Translation]

The king according me the articles above, I oblige myself to maintain the said troop, to raise new recruits at my expense, to pay 2 captains *en second* to whom I will give 3 livres a day, 2 lieutenants at 2 livres, 6 second lieutenants at 30 sous, 4 sergeants at 12 sous, 4 corporals at 9 sous, 4 anspessades at 7 sous, 6 deniers, 4 drums at 8 sous, 84 musketeers at 6 sous, an engineer at 3 livres, a chaplain at 2 livres, a surgeon at 40 sous.

I will only enlist married men who have a trade, art, or profession. I will give each day 2 sous to each soldier's wife and 1 sou to each child until it attains the age of eight years.

I will allot to each family a certain amount of land to cultivate, sufficient to support it. In accord with general conditions the land shall be the property of the family.

I will furnish the proper grain for sowing the lands which shall be cultivated the first three years in common. Then I will give to each what is necessary to sow his own land.

Aussitôt mon arrivée Sur le Terein propozé je feray construire un fort, Batir un Eglise, antretiendray un prestre où Religieux pour administrer Les sâcrements, attireray Les Sauvages auxquels je donneray part des habitations, formeray des Villages, distriburay des Terres aux officiers, où autres personnes qui voudront S'établir dans led. Lieu, et tiendray toutes Les Clauses mentionées dans les Articles cy dessus.

Lon voit donc que pour une Somme de trente Six mil Livres par an je transporterai au moins d'abord cent Cinquante familles, formerois un établissement considerable dans un Lieu où jl es très important à la France destre en force et certainement par L'augmentation du Commerce, Le Roy se trouveroit indemnisé de cette dépense qu'il faudroit faire dans les Commencement puisqu'on pourroit la diminuer a mesure que L'Etablissement se fortifieroit et que la Colonie deviendrait en état de se Soutenir Par Elle même.

LE BAILLY

[*Translation*]

Immediately on my arrival on the proposed land I will have built a fort and a church, will maintain a priest or religious person to administer the sacraments, will attract the Indians to whom I shall give lands for habitations, will form villages, will distribute lands to the officers or other persons who may wish to settle in the said places and will abide by all the clauses mentioned in the articles above.

It will seem then for the sum of thirty-six thousand livres a year I will transport at least 150 families at first, and will form a considerable settlement in a place where it is very important for France to be in force. Certainly by increase of trade the king will find himself repaid for this expense which it is necessary to make in the beginning since it will be diminished in measure as the establishment becomes fortified and as the colony attains a self-sustaining condition.

LE BAILLY

RAYMOND TO LA JONQUIÈRE, January 5, 1750

[A N Colonies C11A 95:380]

Lettre du 5. Janvier 1750.

MONSIEUR.

La Demoiselle paroît fort éloigné, a ce que J'apprend de tenir la parole qu'il a donné par les colliers que vous a remis M de Celoron de revenir aux Miamis avec Sa bande, ce sauvage a Envoyé des paroles dans tous les hivernements des Miamis des bandes du pied froid et du Gris et dans ceux des Poutet&atamis de St Joseph et des Syatanons pour les faire aller a la riviere a la Roche, Jls ont tous promis d'y porter leurs pelleteriës. La nouvelle Generale est qu'une partye des Syatanons doivent S'y aller établir Le pied froid craint que tous les Sauvages de Sa bande ne prennent ce party, aucuns de ceux qui ont été de ce coté lá l'automne dernier, n'ensont revenûs.

Depuis le départ de M de Celoron de la riviere a la roche,

Il y est venu une quantité d'anglais dans tous <sup>380v</sup> ces cottés là qui y ont aporté une grande quantité d'armes tous les Sauvages

[Translation]

Letter of January 5, 1750

MONSIEUR:

From what I hear La Demoiselle appears very far indeed from keeping the word which he gave by the wampum belts which M. de Céloron sent you, to return to the Miamis post with his band. This Indian has sent messages into all the winter quarters of the Miami of the bands of Le Pied Froid and Le Gris and in those of the Potawatomi of St. Joseph and the Wea to induce them to go to the Great Miami River. They have all promised to carry their peltry there. The general report is that a party of Wea is to go there to settle. Le Pied Froid fears lest all the Indians of his band adopt this course. None of those who went in that direction last fall have returned.

Since the departure of M. de Céloron from the Great Miami River a number of English have come into those regions who have brought a great quantity of arms. All the Indians say that



disent qu'ils doivent ce printems Se batir a la riviere a la Roche et que toutes les nations leur avoient promis de les y Soutenir. Il est certain quelles se rengent toutes de ces cotés là et que ces pays cy sont perdus pour nous Si les anglais Sy établissent et même S'ils y restent plus longtems, c'est Eux qui corrompent entierement tous les Sauvages des pays d'Enhaut. Avant quil y eut des anglais dans tous ces cotés Cy, ils nous ont toujours été fideles et on faisoit d'Eux tout ce quon vouloit, Il est Jnutil de croire qu'on viendra a bout de faire retirer dans leur village les differentes nations qui se sont retirées dans la Belle riviere, rivières blanche et a la Roche, tant qu'il y paroitra Seulement un seul anglais, toutes les nations n'en partiront pas, et avant qu'il Soit peu elles abandonneront tous les postes francais.

Le Detail de tout ce que Jay appris et de ce qui est Venû a ma connoissance est cy joint.

Sur ce que les Sauvages disent que les anglais doivent Se batir ce printems a la riviere a la Roche, J'y Envoyera des

[*Translation*]

this spring they are to build on the Great Miami and that all the tribes have promised to support them there. It is certain that all the tribes are ranging themselves in those regions and that the country is lost to us if the English establish themselves there and even if they remain there longer. It is they who completely corrupt all the Indians of the upcountry. Before there were English in those regions the Indians were always faithful to us, and we did what we wished with them. It is useless to believe that we shall attain the end of making return to their villages the various tribes who have gone off to the Ohio River, the Sandusky River, and the Great Miami River so long as there is a single Englishman there. None of the tribes will leave there, and very shortly they will abandon all the French posts.

The details of what I have learned and of everything that has come to my notice are annexed.

As to what the Indians say that the English are to build this spring on Great Miami River, I will send French there to learn

français pour en Sçavoir la verité et J'auray l'honneur de vous en rendre compte.

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1749

Le 13. Janvier il est arrivé icy des Syatanons le nommé Dufour et le nommé Joseph Ancy fils Panis qui vont au Détroit par lesquels Jay appris que quelques Jours avant noel, il estoit arrivé aux Syatanons les nommés Beauchesne et Buot qui venoient des Illinois qui ont raporté a M de Carqueville que quelques jours devant leur depart des Jllinois il y estoit arrivé deux courriers qui estoient détachés de L'officier Commandant le convoy venant de Missisipy pour les Jllinois, pour demander du Renfort. Que le Commandant des Jllinois avoit fait partir 50 hommes pour aller au devant du convoy: Que ces deux courriers avoient raporté au Commandant des Jllinois que les chikachas les ch8anons et une autre nation dont on n'a pu me dire le nom avoient envoyé le nommé Jacques abenakis fuiart depuis environ huit ans de la

[*Translation*]

the truth of it. I shall have the honor to report to you regarding it.

1749

January 13 the persons called Dufour and Joseph Ancy, *fils*, Indian slaves who were going to Detroit, arrived here from Ouiatanon. From them I have learned that some days before Christmas the persons named Beauchesne and Buot arrived at Ouiatanon, coming from the Illinois; they reported to M. de Carqueville that some days before their departure from the Illinois, two couriers had come who had been detached by the officer commanding the convoy coming from the Mississippi to the Illinois to ask a reinforcement. The commandant of the Illinois had sent off fifty men to go to meet the convoy. The two couriers reported to the commandant of the Illinois that the Chickasaw, the Shawnee, and another tribe whose name my informants could not tell me had sent the man named Jacques, an Abnaki who has been a fugitive for about eight years from the

mission de St françois des Trois rivières, et Son camarade Iroquois de nation, Se louër aux français qui montoient aux Jllinois le convoÿ du Missisipi et leur avoient recommandé de ne prendre que de la poudre et des balles pour leur payement, et lors que le convoÿ Seroit a un tel endroit qu'ils envoyeroient chercher leur poudre et balles pour Signal et pour l'Execution du projet dont ils estoient convenûs de deffaire le convoÿ. heureusement que sur la route l'Abenakis et L'Iroquois S'ennivrerent et S'entretenoient dans leur yvresse du coup qu'ils devoient faire avec les Chikachas

381v

et Chouanons Sur le convoÿ. Un français qui etoit en faction qui entend L'Iroquois, entendit toute leur conversation, il contrefit l'homme yvre et fut boire quelque coup avec eux et les mit péu a péu sur leur conversation et parut les aprouver, par ce moyen il decouvrit tout ce qui devoit leur arriver; Il en avertit le Commandant du Convoÿ qui fit lier les deux Sauvages et les fit tuer. L'abenakis qui parloit françois qui vit qu'il alloit mourir avoua tout et dit qu'il n'avoit pas regret de mourir puis qu'il avoit fait

[Translation]

mission of St. Francis at Three Rivers, and his comrade, an Iroquois, to hire themselves out to the French who were taking the Mississippi convoy up to the Illinois; the tribes that sent them had directed them to take only powder and bullets in payment; when the convoy was at such and such a place they would send for their ammunition as a signal and to use in the execution of the project on which they were agreed, namely to cut off the convoy. Fortunately on the way the Abnaki and the Iroquois got drunk and talked in their drunkenness of the attack which they were to make with the Chickasaw and Shawnee on the convoy. A Frenchman who was on guard and who understands Iroquois heard all their conversation. He feigned drunkenness, drank some cups with them, led them on little by little in their conversation, and seemed to approve it. By this means he discovered all that was about to befall. He warned the commandant of the convoy, who had the two Indians bound and killed. The Abnaki, who spoke French and saw that he was about to die, avowed everything and said that he had no regret in dying since he had

perir bien des francais, que tous ceux qui avoient été tué dans Sabache, que c'estoit luy qui avoit conduit les Sauvages qui les avoient tué.

Ces deux courriers rapporterent aussi que les Chikachas Ch8-anons, et autres nations avoient attaqués cinq maisons d'habitants de la pointe coupée et en avoient tué beaucoup et avoient enmené un nommé Mallet du Détroit, sa femme et Ses enfants, Que les Allemands qui habitent les Environs de la pointe coupée aiant Sçu la déffaitte des français leurs voisins avoient été au nombre de 300 S'embusquer ou un autre party Ennemy de ces Sauvages devoient passer que 21 estoient tombés dans leur embuscade, qu'ils en avoient tué 20 qu'ils avoient laissé aller le 21e qui etoit blessé pour porter a sa nation la nouvelle de leur deffaitte.

On attendoit aux Syatanons les lettres des Jllinois de l'arrivée du convoy pour la confirmation de cette nouvelle, M de Carqueville ne m'en ecrit point toutes ces nouvelles Sont arrivées en 7bre dernier.

Les Pianguichias aiant abandonné le poste de Vincennes M.

[*Translation*]

caused the death of many Frenchmen; it was he who had led the Indians who had killed all those who had been killed on the Wabash.

These two couriers also reported that the Chickasaw, Shawnee, and other tribes had attacked five houses at Pointe Coupée, had killed many and had carried off a man of Detroit named Mallet, with his wife and his children. The Germans who live in the neighborhood of Pointe Coupée having heard of the defeat of the French, their neighbors, had laid an ambush of three hundred men where another hostile party of these Indians was to pass. Twenty-one fell into the ambush, of whom they killed twenty and let the twenty-first go wounded to carry to his tribe the news of their defeat.

At Ouiatanon they awaited letters from the Illinois after the arrival of the convoy to confirm this news. M. de Carqueville writes me nothing of it. All this news arrived last September. The Piankashaw having abandoned the post at Vincennes, M. de

de St Ange Commandant de ce poste S'est rendu aux Jllinois pour voir s'il y recevoiroit les ordres qu'il attendoit de M de Vaudreuil pour aller lever les Missouris pour les etablir dans Son poste a la place des Pianguichias

Le Porc Epic qui etoit le premier Chef de la bande a la Demoiselle qui S'etoit retiré aux Jllinois pour n'avoir pas de part a la trahison de cette bande, est revenû icy, tous les français qui le connoissent m'en ont dit beaucoup de bien, Jl doit aller a la riviere a la roche ce printems, Jl ma promis de faire son possible pour ramener icy la Demoiselle et Sa bande pour l'y engager Je luy ay fait present d'une couverte, dune chemise et d'une Brayet. Ce Sauvage assure qu'avant qu'il Soit deux ans les français auront une cruelle guerre avec l'anglais et toutes les nations Sauvages qui doivent etre de leur party, qu'il etoit inutile de Se flatter, que la Demoiselle et Sa bande ne reviendroient point icy, Que les Syatanons en partië doivent S'aller établir a la riviere a la Roche Que les anglais mandoient toutes les nations pour les y

[Translation]

St. Ange, commandant at that post, has gone to the Illinois to see if he had received the orders he was expecting from M. de Vaudreuil to go and raise the Missouri to establish them at his post instead of the Piankashaw.

Le Porc Epic, who was the first chief of the band of La Demoiselle, who had retired to the Illinois in order to have no part in the treason of that band, has returned here. All the Frenchmen who know him have told me much good of him. He is to go to Great Miami River this spring, and he has promised me to do his utmost to bring back La Demoiselle and his band. To engage him to this I have made him a present of a blanket, a shirt, and a breechcloth. This Indian assures me that before two years have passed the French will have a cruel war with the English and all the Indian tribes who are to be of that party; he thinks it useless to flatter oneself, for La Demoiselle and his band would not return here; part of the Wea were to go and establish themselves on Great Miami River, and the English directed all the tribes to settle there with them. Further, although

etablis avec eux. Quoy que les francais avoient fait la paix avec les anglais, qu'ils ne l'avoient pas faite pour cela avec les nations Sauvages qu'il y avoit un collier qui courroit Sous terre qui estoit contre les françois.

Il est arrivé icy la nuit du 13 un jeune homme de la bande

de la Demoiselle qui a raporté au Pied froid <sup>382v</sup> que la Demoiselle ne reviendrait point aux Miamis comme il l'avoit promis, Que les Cha8anons avoient arraché et foulé aux pieds avec mepris les placards que M de Celoron avoit attaché dans la belle riviere, que les anglais leur avoient dit qu'ils avoient bien fait que ces derniers avoient emporté une grande quantité d'airant dans la Belle riviere et riviere a la Roche qu'il y avoit 20 negotiants anglais dans ces rivieres qu'ils y avoient aporté des marchandises par profusion qu'ils donnoient a vil prix, ils ont envoyé des presents considerables dans les hivernements des differentes nations Sauvages pour les faire aller chez eux et leur ont fait dire qu'il leur donneroient tout ce qu'ils Souhaiteroient pourvu qu'ils les soutinssent dans la Belle riviere et riviere a la Roche contre les francais, Ce que les

[*Translation*]

the French had made peace with the English they had not made it with the Indian tribes; there was a wampum belt which circulated secretly and which was against the French.

The night of the thirteenth a young man of the band of La Demoiselle arrived here and reported to Le Pied Froid that La Demoiselle would not return to the Miamis as he had promised; that the Shawnee had torn down and trampled underfoot with contempt the placards that M. de Céloron had set up on the Ohio River, and the English had told them that they had done well. The latter had brought a great quantity of arms to the Ohio and Great Miami rivers; there were twenty English traders on these rivers who had brought goods in abundance which they gave at a low price; they have sent considerable presents into the winter quarters of the various Indian tribes to induce these tribes to come to them and have had the tribes told that they would give them all that they desired provided that they sustained the English on the Ohio and Great Miami rivers against the French; this the



nations leur ont promis. Que les Tetes plattes et l'anglais parlant pour eux et avec ceux avoient demandé aux Cha8anons et a la Demoiselle un passage libre pour aller fraper Sur le huron, que la Demoiselle et les Cha8anons leur avoient accordé (Voila ce que Je ne crois point.)

Outre les 20 Anglais que courroient les hivernements Il y en avoient 20 autres residants dans le fort de la Demoiselle. Les Loups ont été chez ce Sauvage et luy ont dit. Les Jroquois du sault et les autres sauvages du party de M de Celoron ont dit, Nous pourrions venir l'année prochaine avec les français, Si marche contre Vous nous vous donnons notre parole d'abandon-

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ner le français et de nous mettre de vôtre Coté pour le Detruire. les differentes nations qui Sont dans les pays ou passe M de Celoron, Se tiennent Sur leur garde et doivent Se grossir considerablement, Sur ce qu'ils comptent que les francais marcheront Sur eux l' été prochain et Se promettent de les dêfaire. Voila ce que le Sauvage de la bande de la Demoiselle a dit au Pied froid.

[Translation]

tribes have promised them. Further, the Flatheads and the English speaking for them and with them have asked of the Shawnee and of La Demoiselle a free passage to go and attack the Huron and La Demoiselle, and the Shawnee have accorded it to them. (This I do not believe.)

In addition to the twenty English who were traversing the winter quarters there were twenty others living at the fort of La Demoiselle. The Delaware have been with this Indian and have told him, "The Iroquois of the Sault and the other Indians of the party of M. de Céloron have said, 'We may come next year with the French. If they march against you we give you our word to abandon the French and to put ourselves on your side in order to destroy them.'" The different tribes who are in the regions where M. de Céloron passed stand on their guard and should increase considerably. Accordingly they count on the French marching against them next summer and expect to defeat them. This is what the Indian of the band of La Demoiselle told Le Pied Froid.



MICHEL TO ROUILLÉ, January 22, 1750

[A N Colonies C13A 34:291]

MONSEIGNEUR,

Le Convoye qui est parti le mois d'Aoust dernier pour les Illinois, Etoit encore, au commencement de Novembre, à Environ 80. lieües de ce poste; et nous ne Sçavons point S'il aura peu  
291v

Se rendre à Sa destination avant les glaces; il y a cependant lieu de l'esperer: Mr De Gruis<sup>1</sup> officier de ce poste étant venu au devant avec un détachement de cinquante hommes, ce qui luy aura facilité les moyens de se rendre: Sans quoy il est indubitable qu'il eut hiverné en chemin par la façon dont il étoit conduit.

L'usage ordinaire pour pallier ces retardemens, est de faire valoir les courants à Surmonter, les chaleurs excessives qui occasionnent beaucoup de maladies, et mille autres difficultés

[Translation]

MONSEIGNEUR:

The convoy which left in the month of August last for the Illinois was at the beginning of November still about eighty leagues from that post, and we do not know if it has been able to reach its destination before the ice formed. However there is room to hope it. M. de Gruis,<sup>1</sup> one of the officers of that post having come to meet it with a detachment of fifty men, will have facilitated its arrival: otherwise it must inevitably have wintered on the route, considering the way in which it has been handled.

The ordinary method of excusing these delays is to emphasize the currents that have to be surmounted, the excessive heat which causes much sickness, and a thousand other unfore-

<sup>1</sup>Antoine Valentine de Gruis Verloin. Ensign *en second*, October 1, 1740; ensign *en pied*, June 1, 1746; lieutenant, October 15, 1752; captain, July 1, 1759. A N Colonies D2C4. As early as 1743 he appears in various financial transactions connected with the exploitation of the lead mines of the Illinois. In 1746 his partnership in it with Declozeau was wound up. *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, 14:253; 16:337-338. His death occurred some time between July and September, 1759. A N Colonies D2C52:125-125v.

imprevües, que M. Demontchervaux commandant de ce détache-  
 292  
 ment ne manque pas demetre en avant dans ses lettres que  
 nous venons de recevoir par une occasion des natchez, et qui ont  
 Sans doute passé de poste en poste.

Mais la veritable raison est Essentiellement le peu de Capa-  
 cité qu'on employe à ces détachemens; le peu d'autorité qu'ils ont  
 Sur les Soldats et habitans; et la familiarité avec laquelle quelques  
 uns boivent trop indiscrettement avec eux. M. Demontchervaux  
 est de ce nombre: Il est rare quand la Guilledive ne luy ôte  
 pas la raison au moins une fois le jour avec pareille Compagnie.

Je ne puis Sçavoir pour quel motif il a été choisi par prè-  
 292v  
 ferance pour commander ce détachement; pour lequel on ne  
 Sçauroit commetre un homme trop Capable, Sage et prevoyant;  
 surtout dans ce tems où l'on doit tout craindre des Sauvages.

Il est d'uzage que le Gouverneur nomme l'officier qu'il juge  
 à propos ou qu'il veut gratifier, car cela est regardé ici Sur le  
 pied de gratification: En consequence le privilege commence

[Translation]

seen difficulties which M. de Montchervaux, commandant of this  
 detachment, does not fail to play up in the letters which we have  
 just received from Natchez and which have doubtless passed  
 from post to post.

But the true reason is essentially the small capacity employed  
 in these detachments, the small authority which the officers have  
 over the soldiers and inhabitants, and the familiarity with which  
 some officers too indiscreetly drink with them. M. de Montcher-  
 vaux is among these. It is a rare occurrence when rum does not  
 deprive him of reason at least once a day in such company.

I can not tell why he was chosen by preference to command  
 this detachment for which you could not select a man who was  
 too capable, wise, and farsighted at a time when everything is to  
 be feared from the Indians.

It is customary for the governor to name the officer whom  
 he judges proper or whom he wishes to gratify, for the post is  
 regarded as on the footing of a special favor. Consequently the

par Emplir de Ses Effets, ou de ceux que les marchands luy fournissent, tous les bateaux destinés pour ce Convoye où à peine

trouve-t-on de la place pour loger les Effets du Roy: <sup>293</sup> Et Pour y parvenir j'ay été obligé de fournir un quatrieme bateau lors du départ du dernier convoye, Sans quoy les Effets du Roy Seroient restés.

Outre ces bateaux, il y a un nombre de grandes Pirogues Egallement chargées, qu'on dit appartenir à divers particuliers de ce poste, qui Souvent ne pretent que le nom, et qui font une charge essentielle pour ce Convoye.

Comme les Effets en Sont privilégiés et Essentiellement re-commandés dès le moment du depart, on les fortifie de monde aux depens des batteaux, qui vont plus doucement; ou on prend

des Soldats nouveaux à gages aux fraix du Roy dans <sup>293v</sup> tous les postes où l'on passe.

Et crainte que tous les bateaux du convoye ne Soient trop Soulagés par les consommations Enormes du voyage, pendant

[*Translation*]

person privileged begins by filling all the bateaux intended for the convoy with his goods or with those which the merchants furnish him so space is hardly to be found to load the goods of the king. To do this I was obliged to furnish a fourth bateau on the departure of the last convoy. Otherwise the king's goods would have remained here.

Besides these bateaux there are a number of large pirogues equally loaded which are said to belong to various private persons of this post who frequently only give the use of their names; and these pirogues are a serious handicap for this convoy. As their goods are privileged and especially recommended, they are protected from the moment of departure by men taken from the bateaux which go more slowly; or new soldiers whose wages are the king's expense are taken in all the posts that are passed.

And lest the bateaux of the convoy should be too much lightened by the enormous consumption during the voyage, in

lequel on déballe tous les Effets du Roy dont on Se Sert pour payer les Depenses indiscrettes, afin de profiter du terrain, on a le Soins avant le depart du convoie, d'envoyer d'avance dans tous les postes où il doit passer des batteaux et marchandizes, pour surcharger les batteaux, qui arrivent toujours pleins à leur destination.

Les Depenses qui Se font à cet Effet sont passées sur les  
294  
fraix du voyage par le Commandant qui en est le plenipotentiaire.

Ces Depenses ont augmenté tous les ans, et Sont parvenues à un point excessifs. l'année derniere Sous le meme commandement de M. Demontchervaux, il y a un Seul article de mil à Douze cents livres pour un chasseur qui luy a fourny du gibier pour Sa table pendant le Voyage: Outre des mémoires de Deux mil écus et plus qu'il a fournis. independamment de ce qu'il avoit reçu ici, il a fait encore une Depense Enorme par tous les postes où il a passé.

[*Translation*]

the course of which all the king's goods are taken out of the bales and used to pay indiscreet expenses, and in order to profit from the local situation, they take care before the departure of the convoy to send in advance in all the posts where it is to pass bateaux with merchandise to reload the bateaux of the convoy which always arrive at their destination fully loaded. The expenses which this occasions are charged to the costs of the voyage by the commandant, who is on this the sole authority.

These expenses have increased every year and have reached an excessive amount. Last year under the same command of M. de Montchervaux there was a single item of twelve hundred livres for a hunter who furnished game for his table during the voyage. Besides accounts of two thousand crowns and more which he turned in, in addition to what he had received here he also incurred enormous expenses in all the posts where he passed.

Prevenû de tout cela, et après avoir veu les pieces, j'en  
 294v  
 confèrai avec Mr DeVaudreuil lors-que j'âpris qu'il l'avoit  
 encore nommé; il me promit qu'il luy en parleroit et que cela  
 n'arriveroit plus. Je convins avec luy pour prevenir tous les  
 abûs, et empecher qu'on ne deballat les Effets du Roy, ce qui  
 occasionne beaucoup de perte et de Depense; qu'on donneroit à  
 M. Demontchervaux environ cinq cents livres de marchandizes  
 des magazins à Sa distribution, pour pourvoir aux depenses in-  
 dispensables du Voyage.

Ces prècautions et les flatueuzes esperances qu'on m'avoit  
 295  
 donné m'empecherent dans le tems de vous rendre compte  
 du passé, Esperant que mes exhortations auroient pourveu aux  
 abus, qui bien loin d'avoir diminüé, ont au contraire considéra-  
 blement augmenté.

M. Demontchervaux a commencé par oublier ici, peut être  
 volontairement les marchandizes que je luy avois fait fournir pour

[*Translation*]

Forewarned of all this and after having seen the documents,  
 I conferred with M. de Vaudreuil when I learned that he had  
 again appointed him. He promised me that he would talk to  
 this officer and that such things would not happen again. I ar-  
 ranged with him in order to forestall all abuses and prevent un-  
 balancing the king's goods, which occasions much loss and expense,  
 that M. de Montchervaux should be given about five hundred  
 livres in merchandise from the storehouses to be distributed by  
 him in payment for the indispensable expenses of the voyage.  
 These precautions and the flattering hopes which had been given  
 me prevented me at the time from giving you an account of what  
 had happened hoping that my exhortations might have forestalled  
 the abuses. But far from having diminished, they have on the  
 contrary considerably increased.

M. de Montchervaux began by forgetting here, perhaps  
 deliberately, the goods which I had had furnished him for the

les fraix du voyage. Il me marque qu'il a en consequence fait ouvrir tous les balots pour Satisfaire à Ses fraix. j'apprends de toute part qu'il a fait une Depense Enorme par tout où il a passé, et qu'il a trouvé par tout des marchandizes pretes a Surcharger Ses batteaux. Il m'est déjà revenû un article de 1150#  
295v

de Depense qu'il a fait à la pointe coupée, Sortant d'ici où il avoit été bien Equipé. Tout le monde nous assure que, luy et Son détachement, nont cessé d'être yvre pendant tout le voyage: ce qui fournira Sans doute un beau Coulage Sur les liqueurs que j'y ay fait charger pour le compte du Roy.

C'est en verité, Monseigneur, un pillage et une Vollerie perpetuelle à laquelle il faut necessairement trouver quelque remede. Je n'en Connois pas de plus sur que de donner ces effets à porter

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à des particuliers, au cent pezant, moyenant un certain prix. Il faudra toujours un détachement pour les Escorter, lequel sera protégé ici, car tout le monde S'interesse à ce convoie; à moins

[*Translation*]

expenses of the voyage. He informs me that he in consequence had all the bales opened to pay the expenses. I learn from all sides that he has made enormous expenditures wherever he passed and that he has everywhere found merchandise ready to reload his bateaux. Already an account of 1,150 livres has come back to me for expenditures which he made at Pointe Coupée immediately after leaving here, where he had been fully equipped. Everybody assures us that he and his detachment have been continuously drunk during the whole voyage. That will doubtless cause a generous leakage in the liquors which I had loaded on the king's account.

Truly, Monseigneur, it is a perpetual pillage and thievery for which some remedy must necessarily be found. I know no surer way than to give these goods to private persons to be carried up at a set rate per hundred weight. A detachment will always be necessary to escort them which will be provided here, for everybody is interested in this convoy, at least unless the severe

que les ordres Severes que vous donnerés ny metent un frein.  
Le mal étant inveteré, il y faut necessairement de grands remedes.

Je Suis avec un profond respect, Monseigneur,  
Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

MICHEL

A LA NOUVELLE ORLEANS Le 22. Janvier 1750.

BENOIST TO RAYMOND, February 11, 1750

[A N Colonies C11A 97:392]

Joint à la lettre de M. de Raymond du 1. 8bre 1751.

Copie de la lettre qui Ma Ecrit Mr Benoists Commandant  
des jlinois; au Suget de la Conspirations dont j'ay Rompu l'execution; lors que je Commandois aux Miamis Extraite de Mon journal de servisse et dont loriginal a Este En Voyé a La Cour par Mr de lajonquiere

MONSIEUR

j'ay L honneur de Vous donner a Vis d'une Conspirations;  
quy ce trainme Contre Nous de Lété passé a Linstigation de

[*Translation*]

orders which you will give may check it. The evil being chronic, severe remedies are necessary.

I am with profound respect, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

MICHEL

NEW ORLEANS, January 22, 1750

Annexed to the letter of M. de Raymond of October 1, 1751

Copy of the letter written me by M. Benoist, commandant at the Illinois, on the subject of the conspiracy the execution of which I frustrated when I commanded at the Miamis. Extract from my service journal the original of which was sent to the court by M. de la Jonquière

MONSIEUR:

I have the honor to give you information of a conspiracy which was set on foot against us last summer at the instigation



Langlois, quy ce sert de La demoiselle chef des miamis quy ce sont Retirés á La Rivière a la Roche: jl a donné des parolles pour faire frapper Sur nous; par les Nations tan de 8abache; que nos domicilies. Voicy ce que j'ay dé Couvert jl y a quelque jours:

Le muttin, a fait donner par les 8ÿatanons; Un Collier au Nommé pedagogue et Un pavillon anglois à Son frere quy sort de la famille des Rouansas les premiers chefs des ylinois; Sette parolle a Estée Recüe et anvoïée aux Kaoskias quy ÿ ont Consentì; elle a Estée aussy Envoïée aux peorias la Reponce N'est point En Corre Venüe on atend ÿ Cy. La Mouche Noire ce printan; quy Est Un chef pianguichias; quy doit apporter Un Collier pour derniere parolle; pour Exécutter la Conspirations suivent ce quy ma esté dit; la demoiselle doit Venir avec ces jeans et Ceux de Ceniôteaux. prendre an passan les miamis, les 8ÿatanons et les pianguichias: pour ce joindre tous Ensemble; aucì Nos domicilies, pour frapper Sur Nous: le Bruit Court aussy que nos domicilies; En Gage les missourris et les ôsages à

[*Translation*]

of the English, who make use of La Demoiselle, chief of the Miami who have gone off to Great Miami River. He has sent out speeches to have attacks made on us by both the tribes of the Wabash and by our domiciled Indians. Here is what I discovered a few days ago.

This rebel has had the Wea give a wampum belt to the chief named Pedagogue and an English flag to his brother who is of the family of the Rouensas, the first chiefs of the Illinois. This speech was received and sent to the Cahokia, who accepted it. It was also sent to the Peoria, whose answer has not yet come. La Mouche Noire, who is a Piankashaw chief, is expected this spring to carry a wampum belt as a final message to carry out the conspiracy. La Demoiselle, so I have been told, is to come with his people and those of Sonnioto, gathering on his way the Miami, the Wea, and the Piankashaw, to join with our domiciled Indians to attack us. The report also goes about that our domiciled Indians are enlisting the Missouri and the Osage to be of

392v

Estre de la partie Nous navons que deux Bandes peu Considerable, quy ne Consente point à Cette affaire mais la force les y obbligera a ce de Clarer. apprais ce Coup fait jls doivent aller chercher les anglois et les ámener y Cy. la demoiselle leurs fait antendre qu'ils óront les marchandisses a Bon marché

je Vous prie Monsieur de me donner ávis cy Vous Voiez que les nations de Vôte Canton Remue afain de pouvoir parer le Coup et tenez Vous sur Vos gardes je vitterois de mon Coté la Surprise

Leté dernier nous avons Eu 3 françois de tues dans le Mississipy par les Cyoux et Cette autonne un autre avec Son Esclave dans la Riviere des mouens; part les petits ósages jay demande aux derniers le meurtrier je ne Scay ce qu'ils dé Cidderont; Voila Bien du trouble dans nos Cantons je ne Scay ce quy En Resulterá jespere cependant parer tout:

jay L honneur d'aitre tres parfaitement monsieur Vôte tres humble et tres obbeissent serviteur

BENOIEST DE ST CLER AU FORT DE CHARTRE ce 11 fevrier 1750

[*Translation*]

this party. We have but two bands, which are very small, who do not assent to this affair; but force will oblige them to declare for it also. After the blow has been struck they are to go after the English and bring them here. La Demoiselle gives them to understand that they shall have goods at a low price.

I beg you, Monsieur, to inform me if you see that the tribes of your region are on the move, that I may parry the blow. Be on your guard. On my side I shall beware of a surprise.

Last summer we had three French killed on the Mississippi by the Sioux, and this fall another with his slave on the Des Moines River by the Little Osage. Of the latter I demanded the murderer, and I do not know what they will decide. There is much trouble in our districts, and I do not know what will come of it; I hope however to be able to deal with any event.

I have the honor to be very fully, Monsieur, your very humble and very obedient servant,

BENOIST DE ST. CLAIRE FORT DE CHARTRES, February 11, 1750

## REPORTS TO RAYMOND, March-April, 1750

[A N Colonies C11A 95:386]<sup>1</sup>

Raport du Porc Epic. du 15 mars 1750.

Ce Sauvage dit qu'il sçavoit a ne pouvoir douter que les Anglais travailloient plus que jamais a Soulever toutes les nations contre les français, que depuis huit ans ils ne cessoient point de travailler auprès d' Eux pour Se rendre maitres des pays d'Enhaut, qu'il ne doutoit point qu'ils n'y reussent puis quil Scavoit qu'ils les avoient tous gagné et qu'ils etoient tous contre nous et qu'on verroit arriver avant qu'il fut peú une trahison generale contre les français, que les Cinq nations et le huhard noir chef des Renarts qui habitent chez les cinq nations travaillent actuelement fortement auprès des nations de ce pays Cy et plus haut même du coté du nord pour les porter a une revolte generale.

Raport de L'Escabiat du Pied froid arrivé de la riviere a la Roche. du 17. Mars.

Que la demoiselle ne reviendrait point Jcy avec Sa bande qu'ils avoient envoyé a Philadelphie demander un Commandant

[Translation]

Report of Le Porc Epic, March 15, 1750

This Indian says that he knows past a doubt that the English are working more than ever to stir up all the nations against the French. For eight years they have not ceased to work among these Indians in order to make themselves masters of the upcountry. He does not doubt of their success since he knows that they have gained all the Indians and that they are all against us. In a little time we will see a general treason against the French. The Five Nations and Le Huard Noir, chief of the Foxes who live among the Five Nations, are working actively among the tribes of this country and higher up even to the north in order to induce them to a general revolt.

Report of L'Escabiat of Le Pied Froid, arrived from Great Miami River March 17

La Demoiselle will not return here with his band. They have

<sup>1</sup> These reports were inclosed in Raymond's letter of April 9, given post, 179-188.

qu'il estoit venu un officier a la riviere a la Roche prendre connaissance des lieux, quil estoit reparty et devoit revenir ce printems avec 150 hommes de garnison, qu'ils avoient payé les Miamis de la Demoiselle pour couper et voiturer les Bois pour leur batisse, qu'ils leur avoient aporté un grand escrit, un grand collier et des branches de porcelaine de la part de leur Roy pour qu'ils levassent la hache Sur les français S'ils vouloient S'opposer a leur établissement et a leur commerce dans la riviere blanche Belle riviere et riviere a la Roche et dans tous ces pays Cy; Que la Demoiselle et Sa bande avoient accepté cette parolle Que les Loups et les Cha8anons avoient aporté un collier a la Demoiselle qu'il avoit accepté pour fraper Sur les francais

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Que les Loups, Les Jroquois, Les Cha8anons, Les nations du Detroit, La Demoiselle et Sa bande avoient renouvelé leurs alliance et S'etoient reciproquement Engagés par un traitté de se secourir mutuelement, offensivement et deffensivement contre les français, Que toutes ces nations avoient traittées tout l'hivert a la riviere a la Roche ainsi que les P8tet8atamis de st Joseph et les

[*Translation*]

sent to Philadelphia to ask a commandant. An officer has come to Great Miami River to get information about the place. He is gone back and should return this spring with one hundred fifty men as garrison. They have paid La Demoiselle's Miamis to cut and haul wood for their buildings. They have brought a long document, a large wampum belt, and strings of wampum from their king to the effect that they are to lift the tomahawk against the French if the French try to prevent the English from settling or trading on the Sandusky, Ohio, and Great Miami rivers and elsewhere. La Demoiselle and his band have accepted this message. The Delaware and the Shawnee have brought a wampum belt to La Demoiselle to strike the French, and he has accepted it. The Delaware, the Iroquois, the Shawnee, the tribes of Detroit, La Demoiselle and his band have renewed their alliance and are mutually agreed by a treaty to succor each other offensively and defensively against the French. All these tribes have traded all winter at Great Miami River as well as the

Pianguichias, que les 8ta8ois du Detroit devoient faire leur village a la Roche de bout<sup>1</sup> pour etre plus aportée de L'anglais de la riviere a la Roche qui leur ont promis de les y Soutenir par tous leurs besoins qu'ils leur fourniront et ont été a plusieurs fois avec 40 et 50 cheveaux chargés de marchandises dans le haut de la riviere a la grande Glaize ou la plus grande partië des nations ont hiverné. du haut de cette riviere, a la riviere a la Roche JI y a environ Six Lieuës par terre.

Qu'il etoit party de la riviere a la roche deux partys pour venir chercher l'occasion de tuer des français au fort des Miamis L'un de huit personnes composé de P8tet8atamis de st Joseph d'8ta8ois du Detroit, de Loups, de Ch8anons, d'Jroquois et de Miamis de la Demoiselle; L'autre party etoit de trois hommes. (plusieurs personnes ont vû ces deux partis). Que les Anglais de la Riviere a la roche avoient mis a prix la tête du Commandant du fort des Miamis. Voila pour mr ce que ma raporté L'Escabiat du Pied froid.

[*Translation*]

Potawatomi of St. Joseph and the Piankashaw. The Ottawa of Detroit were to make their village at La Roche de Bout<sup>1</sup> to be closer to the English of Great Miami River who have promised to sustain them and to supply all their needs. The English have been several times with forty or fifty horse loads of goods to the upper part of the river at Grand Glaize where the greater part of the tribes have wintered. From the upper part of this river to Great Miami River it is about six leagues by land. Two war parties have left Great Miami River to seek opportunity for killing the French at the Miamis fort. One of them was composed of eight men including Potawatomi of St. Joseph, Ottawa of Detroit, Delaware, Shawnee, Iroquois, and La Demoiselle's Miamis. The other party consisted of three men. (Several people have seen these two parties.) The English of Great Miami River have put a price on the head of the commandant of the Miamis fort. This is what L'Escabiat of Le Pied Froid has reported to me.

<sup>1</sup> La Roche de Bout was on the Maumee about a mile above Water-ville, Ohio.

Raport du s. Roy Interprete arrive á la riviere a la Roche le 1e avril ou je l'avois envoyé pour Etre informé des choses qui Se passent de ce cote lá.

Que la Demoiselle et Sa bande luy avoient dit qu'ils ne reviendroient point, qu'ils n'avoient point promis a M. de Celoron  
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par les colliers qu'il luy avoit donné de revenir Jcy. et qu'ils avoient gagné les Miamis de la bande du Pied froid, qu'ils leur avoient promis d'abandonner Son village pour S'établir avec eux a la Riviere a la Roche, Que la Tortuë Renegat de la bande de la Demoiselle estoit actuellement aux Syatanons ou Jl avoit porté un grand collier rouge, des branches de porcelaine une chevelure et deux petit balots de marchandises pour appuier les parolles du Conseil Secret quil y alloit tenir avec les Syatanons Maskoutins, Pianguichias et Kickapou, Le pretexte dont doit se servir la tortue pour ne pas donner de Soupçon aux français et pour leur otter la connoissance de ce Conseil secret est qu'il doit dire que le Collier, Les branches, la chevelure et les deux petits balots Sont pour couvrir la mort du Jarest. Que ce conseil n'étoit que

[Translation]

Report of the Sieur Roy, interpreter, who arrived at Great Miami River April 1, whither I had sent him in order to be informed of what was happening in that direction.

La Demoiselle and his band told him that they would not return, that they had not promised to return here by the belts given to M. de Céloron. Further they had won all the Miami of Le Pied Froid's band who had promised them to abandon their village to settle with them at Great Miami River. La Tortue, a renegade of La Demoiselle's band, was actually at Ouiatanon, whither he had carried a large red wampum belt, strings of wampum, a scalp, and two small bales of goods to support the decisions of the secret council which was to be held with the Wea, Mascoutens, Piankashaw, and Kickapoo. The pretense of La Tortue in order to give the French no suspicion and to keep from them the knowledge of this secret council was to be that the wampum belt, the strings of wampum, the scalp, and the two small bales were to cover the death of Le Jarret. This council



pour trainer contre les français la revolte dont toutes les nations nous menacoient. Après ce conseil tenû les Syatanons, Mask8tins, Pianguichas et Kickap8 doivent Se rendre a la riviere a la Roche ou la Grene Syatanons qui etoit Lété dernier a Quebec doit y porter un collier et un pavillon rouge par mécontentement d'avoir été mal reçu et de n'avoir eû aucun présent de M Le General. Ce Sont les plaintes que fait par tout ce Sauvage et ceux qui etoient avec luy, meme jusque chez les Anglais. Qu'il doit Se trouver avec les 4 Susdittes nations au conseil 100 ch8anons, 100 Jroquois, les Sauteurs, P8tet8atamis, 8ta8ois et toutes les nations du Detroit et du Saguinaw C'est le nommé China8hetou de la bande de Chikatoilien qui y a aporté les colliers des anglais et de la Demoiselle au Sujet de ce conseil.

Quaprès l'arrivée de toutes ces nations a la Riviere a la Roche que le dit conseil Sy tiendrait ou devoit Se regler le moyen de parvenir a l'exécution de la revolte qu'ils meditent dont les anglais et les Jroquois etoient les Seuls mobiles, et leurs mesures

[*Translation*]

was for no other purpose than to loose against the French the revolt with which all the tribes threatened us. After the council was held the Wea, Mascoutens, Piankashaw, and Kickapoo were to go to Great Miami River whither La Graine, a Wea who was at Quebec last summer, was to carry a wampum belt and a red flag in discontent at having been ill-received and at having had no present from M. the general. These are the complaints which that Indian and those who were with him are making everywhere even among the English. Along with the four tribes mentioned there were to be at the council one hundred Shawnee, one hundred Iroquois, the Chippewa, the Potawatomi, the Ottawa, and all the tribes of Detroit and Saginaw. It is the Indian named Chinaouhetou of Chikatoilien's band who brought hither the belts of the English and of La Demoiselle on the subject of the council.

After the arrival of all these tribes at Great Miami River the council was to be held. At it was to be settled the method of carrying out the revolt which they were meditating—of which the English and the Iroquois were the sole movers—as well as their measures to destroy the French detachment which they



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pour detruire le party françois qui Sattendent qu'il montera sur eux l'été prochain par ou a passé M de Celoron l'année derniere qu'ils Scavoient bien qu'il n'étoit monté que pour prendre connoissance de leur pays et quand les françois seroient deux mils hommes qu'ils les deffairoient par ce qu'ils sçavoient bien qu'ils ne pouvoient pas apporter assez de vivre pour pouvoir rester long-tems dans leur pays, que le peu d'Eau qu'il y avoit dans les rivières étoit une facilité pour eux pour les mieux detruire, que Si le nombre des françois les surpassoit de beaucoup qu'ils Se retireroient dans les bois, que s'ils étoient Egaux en force qu'ils les attaqueroient les premiers, qu'ils étoient fachés de les avoir laissé passer l'année derniere et qu'après leur depart qu'ils Sassemleroient en plus grand nombre.

Que l'été prochain il devoit venir un Commandant anglais a la riviere a la Roche avec 150 hommes de garnison, qu'il devoit établir toute la Belle riviere et y plaçer en village toutes les nations des pays d'Enhaut, que toutes les côtes du sud leur appartenoient, Que les françois n'avoient rien a y pretendre que les nations qui

[*Translation*]

expect to come up next summer whither M. de Céloron passed last year. They knew well that he had come up only to get information about their country. Even if the French were two thousand men, they would defeat them because they knew well enough that the French could not bring enough provisions to remain long in their country. The low water in the rivers was an aid to them the better to destroy the French. If the number of the French was much above theirs, they would take refuge in the woods. If they were of equal force they would attack the French first. They were vexed at having let them pass last year, and after their departure they would assemble in greater numbers.

Next summer an English commandant was to come to Great Miami River with a garrison of 150 men. He was to take possession of the whole Ohio River and to establish in villages there all the tribes of the upcountry. All the lands to the south belonged to them. The French had no claim there. The tribes

y étoient établies ne devoient rien craindre de leur part et que d'ailleurs le commerce étoit Libre entre le Roy de France et celui d'Angleterre qui se tenoient aujourd'hui par la main. Qu'il y avoit un commencement de pierre ramassées à la rivière à la Roche où les anglais doivent placer leur fort. Que dans le village de Nicolas J1 y avoit un fort où Commandoit un officier anglais avec 400 hommes Sauvages et Anglais.

Que les hurons restés fideles Jusqua present, s'étoient laissé gagner. Que l'automne prochaine, ils devoient prendre à credit

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des français comme à l'ordinaire et se retirer Ensuite chez Nicolas pour ne plus revenir au Detroit. que c'étoit Nicolas qui leurs avoit assuré chez qui ils avoient été en parole cet hiver.

Que Chikatalien devoit faire son village à l'entrée des Miamis ou autrefois Guillet avoit Ses Cabannes. (ce qui nous fermeroit cette rivière.)

Que les Mask8tins, Syatanons, Pianguichias et Kickap8 avoient assuré les Anglais qu'ils rejettoient les français Et qu'ils

[*Translation*]

who were settled there need fear nothing on the part of the French; moreover there was free trade between the King of France and the King of England, who today held each other by the hand. They had begun to get together stone at Great Miami River where the English were to place their fort. In the village of Nicolas there was a fort commanded by an English officer with four hundred men, both Indians and English.

The Hurons who had remained faithful to the French up to now had let themselves be won over. Next autumn they were to take goods on credit from the French as usual and then withdraw to Nicolas' village no more to return to Detroit. It was Nicolas who gave them this assurance with whom they had been to speak that winter. Chikatoilien was to make his village at the mouth of the Maumee River where formerly Guillet had his cabins. (This would close that river to us.)

The Mascoutens, Wea, Piankashaw, and Kickapoo had assured the English that they would reject the French and would

Se donnoient a Eux, Que l'Enfant<sup>1</sup> Pianguichia qui etoit l'été dernier avec la graine a Quebec disoit partout Jusque chez les Anglais que M Le general avoit voulu les faire jeter a la mer, Que c'etoit pour quoy il rejettoit les francais.

Que le Gris Chef des Miamis qui sont a Tepiconnaud avoit voulu venir s'establi icy avec toute Sa bande Comme il l'a demandé l'automne derniere mais que la veuve Du jarest sa Mere S'y etoit opposée S'étant laissée gagner par les anglais et la Demoiselle, Quelle leur avoit promis qu'elle, Son fils et Sa bande iroient l'automne prochaine s'establi avec eux a la riviere a la Roche (cela peut etre, mais Je ne le pense pas.) Que les P8tet&atamis de Saint Joseph travailloient Sous terre contre les français, qu'ils avoient été l'hivert dernier a la riviere a la Roche, qu'ils etoient dans l'Jntrigue des Anglais et de la Demoiselle, Quce chef et Ses guerriers avoient mal reçu le S. Roy et luy avoient proposé de rester avec eux. Que la Demoiselle et le Pian<sup>2</sup>

[Translation]

cleave to them. The Piankashaw L'Enfant,<sup>1</sup> who last summer was with La Graine at Quebec, gave it out everywhere even among the English that M. the general had wished to have them thrown in the sea; that was the reason he rejected the French. Le Gris, chief of the Miamis at Tippecanoe, had wished to come here to settle with his band as he had asked to do last fall, but the widow of Le Jarret, his mother, had opposed it. Now she had let herself be won over by the English and La Demoiselle, and had promised them that she, her son, and his band would go next fall to settle with them at Great Miami River. (This may be true, but I do not think so.) The Potawatomi of St. Joseph were working underhand against the French. They had been last winter at Great Miami River. They were in the intrigues of the English and La Demoiselle. The latter chief and his warriors had received the Sieur Roy ill and proposed to him to remain with them. La Demoiselle and Le Pian<sup>2</sup> were at outs

<sup>1</sup> L'Enfant was a Piankashaw, one of the chiefs of the village at the Vermilion. In 1750 he was reported disaffected at his reception at Quebec. His loyalty was vouched for at times. He was accused of being responsible for the pillaging of De Ligneris' boat. *Post*, 454, 523.

<sup>2</sup> With Le Sac à Petun Le Pian was said to be one of the chiefs of the band of Miami that followed La Demoiselle. *Post*, 197, 395, 396.

etoient en division et ne S'etoient pas parlé depuis l'automne dernier. ce dernier a Sa cabanne hors le fort c'est luy qui a tout déclaré au s Roy et qui a promis qu'après le conseil qui doit Se tenir, quil viendroît Jcy rapporter ce qui s y Seroit passé. Sçavoir Si cet homme parle bien Sincerement et Sil n'a point menty dans

ce qu'il a dit au S. Roy. Voila ce qu'il m'a rapporté <sup>388v</sup> mot pour mot et qu'il tient du Piant. Je le marque a Mrs Les Commandants des y8atanons, du poste de Vincennes, du Detroit et de st Joseph pour ce qu'ils puissent prendre les mesures qu'ils Jugeront auprès des Sauvages de leur poste.

Raport du Neveu de M Le Commandant des 8yatanons qui est venu Jcy le 2 avril pour y chercher un reste de provision de Son oncle.

Il dit que les nations du Poste des 8yatanons etoient très mal intentionnées et parloient mal entre autres Les Pianguichias a qui il etoit mort beaucoup de monde l'hivert dernier, qu'ils disoient

[Translation]

and had not spoken to each other since last fall. The latter has his cabin outside the fort. It was he who told all to the Sieur Roy and who promised him that after the council which was to be held he would come here to report on what had happened. It is important to know if the man indeed spoke sincerely and if he has not lied in what he told the Sieur Roy. This is what the latter told me word for word and what he learned from Le Pian. I am giving information of it to MM. the commandants at Ouiatanon, at Vincennes, at Detroit, and at St. Joseph that they may take the measures that they think proper with the Indians of their posts.

Report of the nephew of M. the commandant at Ouiatanon, who came here April 2 after the remainder of the supplies for his uncle.

He said that the nations of the post at Ouiatanon were very ill-disposed and spoke ill, among others the Piankashaw, many of whom had died last winter. They said it was the bad medicine

que c'étoit la mauvaise medecine que leur avoit jetté les français, qui les avoit fait mourir, (M. son oncle m'écrit La meme chose) Qu'il étoit venu la nouvelle aux Syatanons qu'ils avoient mis le feu a leur village pour en chasser le mauvais air. Qu'il avoit rencontré La Tortüe dans Sabache qui Se rendoit aux Syatanons avec deux autres Sauvages, qu'ils portoient dans le Vent de leur canot un grand Collier rouge, des Branches de porcelaine et une Chevelure, C'est la parolle en guerrier pour appuier le dit conseil qu'ils vont tenir aux Syatanons.

Raport du Porc Epic du 5. avril de ce que luy a dit La Tortue qui a passé a Sa cabanne en allant aux Syatanons avec les Susdits Colliers, Branches et Chevelure et les deux petits Ballots; qu'il a vu comme il partoit pour la riviere a la Roche ou  
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Je l'envoiois et qui a remit son voiage pour se trouver au Conseil qui doit S'y tenir.

son raport est le meme que celui du s. Roy et a dit de plus que les Saulteurs du Detroit et du lac huron avoient demandé a

[*Translation*]

which the French had thrown them which had made them die. (Monsieur his uncle writes me the same thing.) The news had come to Ouiatanon that these Indians had set fire to their village to drive away the bad air. On the Wabash he had met La Tortue, who was going to Ouiatanon with two other Indians. They carried in the front of their canoe a large red wampum belt, strings of wampum, and a scalp. This is the warriors' message to support the council mentioned which they are going to hold at Ouiatanon.

Report of Le Porc Epic of April 5 as to what La Tortue told him when passing his cabin on his way to Ouiatanon with the wampum belts, strings, and scalps mentioned and the two small bales. He saw him as he was leaving for Great Miami River where I sent him, and he halted his journey to be present at the council which was to be held there.

His report is the same as that of the Sieur Roy, and he further said that the Chippewa of Detroit and Lake Huron had

Nicolas et a Sa bande S'ils estoient encore dans le dessein de fraper Sur les français qu'ils avoient repondû que non qu'ils estoient fachés de l'avoir fait, Que c'estoient les Jroquois qui leur avoient faits faire et qui les avoient perdûs, Que les Saulteux leur avoient repondû que pour eux avoient rejetté les français et qu'ils se donnoient aux Anglais qui leur donnoient leurs marchandises a bien meilleure marché; que leur nation dans les deux lacs qu'ils habitoient pouvoient faire 800 hommes qu'ils ne craignoient point les français, qu'ils fraperoient par tout Sur eux, Sils marchaient contre eux. Que l'Enfant Pianguichias avoit dit par tout qu'on avoit voulu le jeter a la mer a Quebec, que luy et ceux qui estoient descendus avec luy avoient eté si mal reçus et que les aiant laissé partir Sans leur faire aucun present, qu'ils rejettoient les français pour Se donner aux nouveaux peres qu'ils trouvoient a la riviere a la Roche qui leur faisoient des presents plus qu'ils ne vouloient

Que la mouche noire faisoit porter Jusqu'aux Jllinois Le

[*Translation*]

demanded of Nicolas and his band if they were still of a mind to strike the French. They had replied, no, that they were sorry that they had done it. It was the Iroquois who had made them do it and who had ruined them. The Chippewa had replied to them that they for their part had rejected the French and had given themselves to the English, who gave them their goods at a much better bargain. Their tribe on the two lakes which they inhabit could make eight hundred men. They did not fear the French and would attack them everywhere if the French marched against them. L'Enfant, the Piankashaw, had said everywhere that they wanted to throw him into the sea at Quebec; that he and all those who had gone down with him had been ill-received and allowed to depart without any present; that they would reject the French to give themselves to the new fathers whom they found on Great Miami River who made them more presents than they could wish for.

La Mouche Noire was carrying as far as the Illinois the

collier que porte la Tortuë pour les faire venir a la riviere a la Roche.

Jay relevé de Son deuil la veuve du Jarrest mere du Gris le 15 de fevrier quelle est venuë Jcy avec Son fils. Jay appris ces Jours passés qu'il etoit party pour aller Sur les tetes plattes.

Le Pied froid que vous demandez descendra a Montreal aussitot que son fils Sera de retour de son hivernement. Comme

les Anglais mettent le Diable en l'air <sup>389v</sup> dans ce pays Cy, Je crains bien qu'il ne change, ceux qui m'ont paru les plus affidés changent d'un moment a l'autre, les Anglais les comblent par profusion de biens et leur vendent tout pour rien, Jls font des depenses Jmmenses pour S'attirer tous les Sauvages, Jl Est certain qu'ils ne sont pas si bien traittés des français nous craignons trop la depense et voila ce qui nous les fait perdre les Sauvages etant a qui plus leur donnent, leur Seul interest les fait agir. Le

[*Translation*]

wampum belt which La Tortue brought to bid them come to Great Miami River.

February 15 I relieved from her mourning the widow of Le Jarret, mother of Le Gris, when she came here with her son. I learned in the last few days that he had gone to attack the Flatheads.

Le Pied Froid, whom you ask for, will come down to Montreal as soon as his son returns from his winter camp. As the English raise the devil with those in this country, I am much afraid that he may change his mind. Those who have appeared to me most faithful change from one moment to another. The English overwhelm them with a profusion of good things and sell them everything for nothing; they enter into huge expenses to draw to them all the Indians. It is certain that the Indians have not been so well treated by the French. We are too much afraid of expense and that is what loses us the Indians who are for those who give them most; their self-interest only causes them to act. The Sieur Roy, the interpreter whom I am sending



S. Roy Interprete que Je fais descendre avec le pied froid aura l'honneur de vous dire que les anglais de la riviere a la Roche les mettent a meme de leur biens Jls prennent tout ce quils veulent. Ceux qui vont a Philadelphie en parolles Sont Si chargés de presents qu'ils ne peuvent les apporter.

Jl y a un esclave Renart qui est etably et qui a resté avec les P8tet8atamis de st Joseph qui est venu depuis noel deux fois icy pour me tuer. Le Frere du s. Roy et le Garloup Son beau frere l'ont vû et luy ont parlé, Jl dit qu'il n'en vouloit qu'a moy et qu'il viendrait toujours rader icy aux environs ou il Se tient caché Jusqua ce qu'il m'ait tué.

J'Enverray Pacanné<sup>1</sup> frere du s. Roy a la riviere a la Roche pour Se trouver au Conseil qui doit S y tenir, Jl y accompagnera le Porc Epic Son beaupere que J'y envoie aussi, Je ne neglige rien pour etre informe de ce qui s'y passera et vous en rendre compte.

[*Translation*]

down with Le Pied Froid, will have the honor to tell you that the English of Great Miami River make the Indians masters of their goods; they take all that they wish. Those who go to Philadelphia with messages are so loaded with presents that they cannot carry them.

There is a Fox slave settled here who has remained with the Potawatomi of St. Joseph and who twice since Christmas has come here to kill me. The brother of the Sieur Roy and Le Garloup, his brother-in-law, have seen and have spoken with him. This Indian says that I am all he wishes and that he will continue to come to the neighborhood where he stays hid until he has killed me.

I shall send Pacane<sup>1</sup>, brother of the Sieur Roy, to Great Miami River to be at the council which is to be held there. Le Porc Epic, his brother-in-law, whom I am also sending, will accompany him. I neglect nothing to be informed of what is happening and to give you an account of it.

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, xxx, n.

RAYMOND TO LA JONQUIÈRE, April 9, 1750

[A N Colonies C11A 95:383]

Par sa lettre du 9. Avril 1750.

MONSIEUR

Cy Joint est tout ce que jay appris depuis les derniers comptes que Jay eû l'honneur de vous rendre de ce qui S'est passé a la riviere a la Roche Suivant ce qui m'a été raporté par les Sauvages et par le S. Roy Interpreter de. ce poste que Jy ay envoyé pour verifier le raport des Sauvages, y examiner toutes choses et parler a la Demoiselle pour Sçavoir S'il reviendrait icy comme il l'avoit promis par les Colliers que vous a remis M de Celoron. Ce sauvage et sa bande sont bien éloignées de revenir puis quil nie avoir promis par les Colliers qu'il a donné a M de Celoron de revenir dans ce poste, Jl parla fort mal au s. Roy et le mena durement.

Tous les sauvages de ce pays Cy Sont plus mal intentionés qu'ils ne l'ont encore été, ceux qui ne sont pas encore residents avec les Anglais, ne tarderont pas a les rejoindre, ils couvrent tous

[*Translation*]

By his letter of April 9, 1750

MONSIEUR:

Annexed is all that I have learned since the last accounts which I had the honor to send you of what happened at Great Miami River according to what was reported to me by the Indians and by the Sieur Roy, the interpreter of this post whom I sent to verify the Indians' reports, to look into everything, and to speak with La Demoiselle to know if he would return here as he had promised to do by the wampum belts which M. de Céloron sent you. This Indian and his band are very far from returning since he denies having promised by the belts that he had given to M. de Céloron to return to this post. He spoke very ill to the Sieur Roy and dealt with him harshly.

All the Indians of this country are more ill-intentioned than they have been hitherto. Those who are not as yet living with the English will not delay joining them. They conceal all the poison

le poison de leur trahison par les dehors de belles promesses et de fidelité pour mieux parvenir a leur fin. Les anglais de Phila-

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delphie qui sont repandus dans la riviere blanche Belle riviere et riviere a la Roche, travaillent avec plus de force que jamais a corrompre toutes les nations dans le dessein ou ils Sont de Se rendre maitres de tout le pays d'Enhaut par le Seul moyen des Sauvages.

Je Scay qu'il ne m'est pas permis de dire mon avis, a moins que vous ne me le demandiez, mais aussi comme vous voyez, Monsieur, malheureusement les choses de trop loing, vous ne les voiez et elles ne vous Sont connues que par les comptes qui vous Sont rendus par les officiers qui commandent dans les postes ou vous les placez, Sçavoir S'ils ont toujours été justes Ce qui me fait prendre La liberté de vous Suplier de me permettre de vous observer que ce n'est pas directement aux nations Sauvages que les Anglais ont attiré dans la riviere blanche, Belleriviere et riviere a la Roche, C'est directement a l'anglais qu'il faut S'en prendre,

[*Translation*]

of their treason by the pretense of fair promises and fidelity in order the better to attain their end. The English of Philadelphia who have spread themselves on the Sandusky River, Ohio River, and Great Miami River are working with more force than ever to corrupt all the tribes in the design which they have of making themselves masters of all the upcountry solely through the Indians.

I know that I should not tell you my advice at least until you ask it of me, but since, Monsieur, you unfortunately see things from too great a distance, you see them and they are known to you only by the accounts which are given you by the officers who command in the posts where you place them, and it is a question whether those accounts have always been exact. This makes me take the liberty of begging you to permit me to observe to you that it is necessary to take action not against the Indian tribes whom the English have drawn to the Sandusky River, Ohio River, and Great Miami River, but directly against

c'est luy qu'il faut chasser de ces pays la par ce que c'est luy qui souleve Et qui corrompt toutes les nations.

Permettez moy de prendre la liberté de remarquer Un fait certain, qui est tant qu'il y aura un Seul anglais dans toutes les Susdittes rivières quelques efforts que vous puissiez faire vous ne parviendrez jamais a en chasser les Sauvages que les Anglois y ont attiré et qu'ils y attirent tous les jours quelque grosse armée que vous puissiez faire marcher, Si le nombre les epouvente, ils gagneront les bois et Sitot quelle Sera passée, ils reviendront en plus grand nombre pour Sy Soutenir S'ils Se trouvent egaux en force etant fort nombreux, ils fairont face et se deffendront en

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Determinés, yls y Sont resolus et ils Se fortiffient tous les Jours pour cela. la difficulté de la navigation de ces rivières les favorise beaucoup et la Belle saison de Canada est Si courte qu'avant qu'on soit party de Montreal et rendu sur les Lieux, qu'il faut penser a Se retirer, Sans avoir eu le tems de rien Entreprendre

[*Translation*]

the English themselves. It is they who must be driven from this country because it is they who seduce and corrupt all the tribes.

Permit me to take the liberty of remarking one assured fact which is that while there is a single Englishman in all the rivers mentioned, whatever efforts you may make you will never succeed in driving off the Indians whom the English have drawn there and whom they are daily drawing there however large an army you may be able to march against them. If numbers are overwhelming, the Indians will take to the woods, and as soon as the army has passed, they will return in still greater numbers to maintain themselves. If they find themselves of equal force since they are quite numerous they will make head and will defend themselves with determination. They are resolved on this, and they fortify themselves daily to this end. The difficulty of the navigation of these rivers favors them much, and the open season in Canada is so short that before one has left Montreal and reached these places, it is necessary to think of returning without having had the time to accomplish anything. It is on this that the Indians

et Cest Sur quoy les Sauvages Se fondent et qui doivent aller au devant des français pour les harceler, S'ils marchent Sur eux.

Mais aussitot que les Anglais en Seront chassés, soit par la force Soit par deputation auprès du Gouverneur de Philadelphie les Sauvages ny etant plus Soutenus des anglais et n'y trouvant plus leurs besoins Seront obliges de Se retirer dans leur village parmy leur nation et les français pourront Sans obstacle faire des Etablissements dans les endroits les plus convenables pour se conserver ce pays lá.

Permettez moy aussi, Je vous Suplie, Monsieur, de vous observer un fait des plus important. Que si on S'en prend aux Sauvages et quon frape Sur eux, que toutes les nations de ce pays icy, nous fairont Sur le Champ La guerre a féu et a Sang et quon courre risque d'être obligé d'abandonner les postes de ces pays Cy, Les français y etant en trop petit nombre pour pouvoir Sy Soutenir. ils auront tous les Jours la tete cassée Sans pouvoir Se deffendre. Jl est a remarquer que tous les Chemins qui menent a tous les postes Seront gardés et que tous les Canots qui

[*Translation*]

rely; they plan to go to meet the French to harry them if the French march against them.

But once the English are driven off, whether by force or by representations to the governor of Philadelphia, the Indians being no longer supported by the English and no longer finding the goods that they need will be obliged to go back to their villages among their tribes, and the French can without any hindrance make settlements in the most proper places to secure this country.

Permit me also I beg you, Monsieur, to observe to you one very important fact. That is that if you turn upon the Indians and attack them, all the tribes of this country will immediately make war on us with fire and sword, and we run the risk of being obliged to abandon the posts in this country, the French being in too small numbers to be able to maintain themselves. Day by day they will have their heads broken without being able to defend themselves. It must be considered that all the trails which lead to all the posts will be guarded and that all the canoes which

y porteront du Secours, Seront deffaites en montant les rivières qui sont toutes tres difficilles. Si on est obligé d'abandonner les postes en les perdant on perd tout ce pays Cy et la communication

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de Montreal au Missisipy et les Anglais en seront Sur le champ en posession et C'est a quoy Jls travaillent depuis plus de 8 ans, toutes les nations qui sont meme contre nous le disent et que c'est Eux qui leur ont bouleversé l'esprit et fait faire toutes les fautes qu'ils ont faite Et que les Cinq nations ne discontinuënt point meme actuelement de travailler a Soulever les nations de ce pays cy contre les français, pour Seconder les anglais dans leur dessein et leur ont promis de les deffendre si les français les attaquoient.

Il est Encore a considerer qu'il n'y a point de secours de Vivres a esperer des Sauvages, S'ils nous font la guerre comme cela arrivera Surement, et qu'ils harçeleront continuelement les français pour leur oter les moyens de faire aucun champs de Bled, ce poste cy ne pouvant tirer des vivres que du detroit ou des

[*Translation*]

may bring help to them will be ambuscaded ascending the rivers which are all very difficult.

If we are obliged to abandon the posts, losing them, we lose the whole country and the communication from Montreal to the Mississippi; and the English will immediately be in possession. It is to that end that they have been working for more than eight years; all the tribes, even those against us, say so and that it is the English who have upset their minds and made them commit all the faults which they have done; they also say that the Five Nations never cease working to turn the tribes of this country against the French to support the English in their design and have promised to defend them if the French attack them.

It must also be considered that there is no help in provisions to be hoped from the Indians if they make war on us as will surely happen; further they will continually harry the French to deprive them of the means of planting any wheat fields, this post not being able to obtain provisions except from Detroit or

Syatanons et de la terre haute a 80 Lieuës au dessus, JI est certain que les Pirogues ne pourront descendre ny monter Sabache et la riviere des Miamis pour aller dans ces deux endroits Sans courrir les risques detre deffaittes et cela arriveroit Surement. JI est Evident que les Sauvages de ces pays cy Se tiendroient sur cette riviere pour otter la communication et les Secours d'un poste a l'autre; En travaillant a chasser les anglais des rivieres blanches, Belle riviere, et riviere a la Roche on ote la cause de tous ces maux et on Evitte tous ces accidents qui selon toutes les aparances ne seront que trop certains, si on ne vient point aux mains avec les Sauvages de ces pays Cy.

Jl me paroistroit encore quelque autre moïen de parvenir a obliger d'eux meme les Sauvages qui habitent les Susdittes  
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 rivieres, de Se retirer. Ce moyen seroit quele P. de La Richardie<sup>1</sup> et M le Commandant du Detroit puissent adroitement et Sous mains engager les hurons du Detroit a fraper Sur les Ch8anons et Sur les miamis de la riviere a la Roche, pour se

[Translation]

from Ouiatanon and Terre Haute, eighty leagues higher up. It is certain that pirogues can neither ascend nor descend the Wabash and the Maumee to go to these two places without running the risk of being ambuscaded, as will surely happen. It is evident that the Indians of this country rely on this river for preventing communication and assistance from one post to another. By seeking to drive the English from the Sandusky River, Ohio River, and Great Miami River—if we do not come to blows with the Indians of this country—we would take away the cause of all these evils and avoid all the accidents which according to all appearances will be but too likely.

Another means occurs to me of obliging the Indians who inhabit these rivers to leave them of their own accord. This means would be that Father de la Richardie<sup>1</sup> and M. the commandant of Detroit might skilfully and secretly induce the Huron of Detroit to attack the Shawnee and the Miami of Great Miami River to avenge themselves on those Indians for having last winter

<sup>1</sup> Father Armand de la Richardie, Jesuit.



venger d'avoir accordé l'hivert dernier Garantie aux Tetes plattes et un chemin libre et assuré pour aller fraper Sur les hurons. Si on puit reussir a les faire fraper vous verrés la Demoiselle et Nicolas revenir chacun dans leur nation; Si les Cinq nations netoient pas des traitres et des miserables Vendus aux anglais on pourroit travailler par le moyen de Mr Le Cher de Longueuil et de Noyan<sup>1</sup> qui Sont les Enfants de cette nation a reveiller leur ancienne querelle avec les Cha8anons, ces derniers auroient été detruits en 1743 par les premiers Si M de Beauharnois n'eut pas envoyé des colliers a M de Jonquiere pour arreter leur cassetete qui etoit levé pour fraper Sur les Cha8anons. Je Commendoit en ce tems lá a Niagara, M de Beauharnois m'envoia ordre d'en parler de Sa part aux Jroquois qui y viendroient

Qui pourroit reusir a allumer le feu de cette querelle et les faire fraper Sur les Cha8anons, Les Syatanons et leurs alliés qui

[*Translation*]

guaranteed the Flatheads a free and assured way of going to attack the Hurons. If they could succeed in making the Hurons strike the blow you would see La Demoiselle and Nicolas return each to his tribe. If the Five Nations were not traitors and wretches sold to the English, we could work by means of M. le Chevalier de Longueuil and de Noyan,<sup>1</sup> who are adopted children of that tribè, to revive their old quarrel with the Shawnee. The latter would have been destroyed in 1743 by the former if M. de Beauharnois had not sent belts to M. de Joncaire to arrest their tomahawk which was lifted to strike the Shawnee. I commanded at that time at Niagara, and M. de Beauharnois sent me orders to speak on his behalf to the Iroquois who came there.

If we could succeed in kindling the fire of this quarrel and making the Iroquois attack the Shawnee, the Wea and their allies

<sup>1</sup> Pierre-Jacques Payan de Noyan, Sieur de Chavois, baptized November 3, 1695, probably a brother of Gilles-Augustin Payen de Noyan [*post*, 282n.]. Ensign, 1712; lieutenant, 1722; captain, 1729. He is said to have been adopted by the Iroquois. *Canadian Archives*, 1899, supplement, 28. He was in command at Detroit, 1738-1742. *W.H.C.*, 17:288, 298, 415. In 1744 he was awarded the Cross of St. Louis and in 1749 he became major of Montreal. *Canadian Archives*, 1905, volume 1, part 6, pp. 29, 118. See also Tanguay, *Dictionnaire*, 6:265.

Sont tués par ceux de la bande du Chartier frapperoient tout aussitot que l'Iroquois Sur cette nation, ce qui Seroit encore un moyen assuré pour faire venir icy la Demoiselle, et Nicolas au Detroit et pour faire retirer tous les Renegats Iroquois qui ont abandonné leur Village pour se retirer avec les Anglais qui Sont repandus dans les rivières blanches, Belle rivière et rivière a la Roche si le Cassetete du huron et des cinq nations jouoit Sur les têtes anglaises en cassant celle des Cha8anons et des Miamis de la Demoiselle cela produiroit un excellent effet.

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Depuis le 29 Janvier Il y a Jcy un Jrlandois qui est venu se refugier chez les français et leur demander un azil. Ce jeune homme etoit en commerce chez les Cha8anons en Se retirant d'auprès du feu il entraîna Sans s'en apercevoir Un morceau de bois ou il y avoit du feu qui prit a de la poudre qui etoit a Secher dans la Cabanne qui Sauta en l'air avec Un anglais, deux Cha8anons et deux Loups. Ces deux nations tourmentent les anglais pour avoir cet Jrlandois pour le faire mourir aiant perdu

[Translation]

whose people have been killed by warriors of Chartier's band would attack them also. This would be another certain means of making La Demoiselle come here and Nicolas go to Detroit as well as of securing the withdrawal of all the Iroquois renegades who have abandoned their village to go off with the English who have spread themselves on the Sandusky, Ohio, and Great Miami rivers. If the tomahawks of the Hurons and of the Five Nations were to fall on the heads of the English while breaking those of the Shawnee and La Demoiselle's Miamis, it would produce an excellent effect.

Since January 29 an Irishman has been here who has come to take refuge among the French and to ask shelter. This young man was trading among the Shawnee and turning away from the fire, he drew with him without noticing it a piece of wood with fire in it which caught in the powder which was drying. The cabin blew up with an Englishman, two Shawnee, and two Delaware. Those two tribes are harassing the English to get this Irishman to put him to death for having killed their people by this ac-

leurs gens par cet accident. les anglais offrent cent peaux de Biche aux francais au sauvages qui voudront leur mener pour le livrer aux cha8anons et loups. par la premiere occasion Sure Je l'adresseray au Commandant du Detroit pour vous l'envoyer. Cy Joint Sont deux chiffons d'Ecrits que Je n'entend point que m'ont envoye les anglais de la riviere a la Roche a Son sujet

Jay fait partir le 2 de ce mois le nommé Clermont<sup>1</sup> domicilié de ce poste pour aller aux yatanons et a la terre haute acheter les vivres que vous m'avez ordonné de me precautionner par votre lettre du 4 aoust dernier, Je luy ay donné une detachment de dix hommes de cette garnison pour l'escorter

Je luy ay ordonné d'acheter 500 mīnots bled d'Jnde et des graisses a proportion S'il les trouvoit, tant pour la nourriture de cette garnison que pour les desseins que vous me marquez. Je ne Sçaurois vous assurer ce qu'il pourra apporter depuis Son depart on ma averty que quelques personnes malintentionnées l'avoient

[Translation]

cident. The English offer one hundred French doeskins to the Indians who wish to take him and give him up to the Shawnee and the Delaware. By the first safe opportunity I will send him to the commandant of the Detroit to send him to you. Inclosed are two bits of writing which I don't understand which the English of Great Miami River sent me regarding him.

I sent off the second of this month the man named Clermont,<sup>1</sup> who is domiciled at this post, to go to Ouiatanon and to Terre Haute to buy the provisions which you ordered me to lay in by your letter of the fourth of August last. I have given him a detachment of ten men of this garrison to escort him.

I have ordered him to buy five hundred minots of corn and grease in proportion if he finds them, both for the sustenance of this garrison and for the plans which you indicate to me. I can give you no assurance that he can bring them. Since his departure I have been warned that some ill-intentioned persons had

<sup>1</sup> Louis Clermont. He had engaged himself at Montreal to go to Miamis May 30, 1741. *L'Archiviste... de Québec pour 1929-1930*, 400. He furnished supplies at Miamis on several different bills, 1749-1750. A N Colonies C11A 119:108, 155, 163, 305.

détournées d'acheter les bleds que Je luy ay ordonné et J'auray lhonneur de vous rendre compte de ce qui en Sera, et S'il S'est acquitté de cet ordre que je luy ay donné par Ecrit.

RAYMOND TO LA JONQUIÈRE, May 14, 1750

[A N Colonies C11A 95:390]

Par une Lettre du 14 may 1750.

Jl n'est point venû a ma connoissance que les Jroquois soient venus en traite de ce coté Cy, mais il en a été beaucoup chez les anglais et les miamis de la riviere a la Roche, les exciter a fraper Sur les français et leur offrir leurs Services et de les Secourir de la part de toutes les nations Jroquoises mais meme de ceux du Sault de Montreal.

Toutes les nations de ce pays font tout retentir de leur menaces comme vous l'avez vû par les comptes que Jay eû l'honneur de vous rendre le 10 avril dernier et que jay adressé a M de Sabrevois pour vous les envoyer promptement et par ceux que Je vous rend qui Sont Cy joint.

[*Translation*]

deterred him from buying the corn that I had ordered him to get. I shall have the honor of informing you of what happens and if he carries out the order which I gave him in writing.

By a letter of May 14, 1750

It has not come to my knowledge that the Iroquois have come to trade on this side, but there have been many among the English and the Miami of Great Miami River; there they have incited the Miami to attack the French and have offered services and support from the Iroquois tribes even from those at the Sault of Montreal.

All of the tribes of this country make it ring with their threats as you have seen by the accounts I had the honor to give you April 10 last which I addressed to M. de Sabrevois to be sent to you promptly and by those which I give you annexed.

La lettre de M Benoist vous confirmera qu'ils Sont des plus vrais et des plus Serieux, Il est tems d'y remedier. l'Anglais fait tout le mal, c'est luy qu'il faut chasser et occuper sur le champ tous les endroits qu'ils occupent et hiverner sur les lieux, Sans quoy les nations qu'ils ont corrompû egorgeront tous les français et S'il y a moins de 4 a 500 hommes a passer l'hivert dans ce poste et celui des Oyatanons, vous pouvez etre assuré avant qu'il Soit un an que vous apprendrez que la conspiration est Executée. elle est generale et la chose est aussi certaine quelle est Serieuse. en arrivant Jcy Je l'ay découverte et J'ay l'honneur d'en rendre compte a monsieur de la Galissoniere par M Dubuisson. La lettre de M. Benoist vous prouvera que Jay accusé Juste et vous fera connoitre mon application au Service et ma continuelle surveillance pour eviter la Surprise, mais Je Suis trop foible pour pouvoir parer et repousser le coup que nos Ennemis nous preparent, Que pui je faire avec 20 et quelques hommes quil y a Jcy<sup>390v</sup> et dont 9 negotiants et Domiciliés se retirent au Detroit dans

## [Translation]

The letter of M. Benoist will confirm it to you that these reports are very true and very serious. It is time to apply a remedy. The English do all the mischief. It is they who must be driven away, and we must occupy immediately all the places which they now occupy and must also winter in the country. Otherwise the tribes whom they have corrupted will cut the throats of all the French; if less than four or five hundred men winter in this post and that of Oujatanon, you may be assured that before a year has passed you will learn that the conspiracy has been carried out. It is general, and the thing is as certain as it is serious. On arriving here I discovered it, and I had the honor to give an account of it to Monsieur de la Galissonière by M. Dubuisson. The letter of M. Benoist will prove to you that my forecasts were right and will let you know my application to the service and my continued watchfulness to avoid surprise. But I am too weak to parry or repel the blow our enemies are preparing for us. What can I do with the twenty-odd men here, nine of whom, traders and settlers, are going off to Detroit and

quelque tems d'Jcy et qui y envoient en deux Jours tous leurs bestiaux pour evitter d'être egorgés avec eux.

Il y a actuellement 90 Pianguichias qui ont été avec les Syatanons au Conseil de la riviere a la Roche, après qu'il Sera tenu ils doivent Emmener des Anglais au Vermillon et a la chute de la riviere oyo pour les y établir, Je fais partir Pacane demain pour S'y trouver et pour qu'ils ne puissent pas penser que c'est moy qui l'envoie, Je luy ay ordonné de partir comme s'il partoist fuiart et Sans ma connoissance et pour leur persuader, Je luy ay fait porter des peaux de Chevreuil en poil que les anglais aiment beaucoup et quelques autres bagatelles Sur un Cheval des Sauvages, Je pourray peut etre découvrir cequi Se Sera décidé dans ce conseil, Je n'ay pû le determiner a faire ce voiage a moins de 150<sup>4</sup>

Parolles de la veuve du Jarest, mere du Gris Chef des Miamis du Village de Tepiconneaud du 28 avril accompagnée des Chefs des anciens et des plus considerés de Son village.

[*Translation*]

who in the next two days are sending all their cattle to avoid their being slaughtered with them?

There are actually ninety Piankashaw who have been with the Wea at the council at Great Miami River. After it has been held they are to bring the English to the Vermilion and to the Falls of the Ohio River to settle there. I am going to send Pacane thither tomorrow, and that they may not think that it is I who send him, I have ordered him to leave as if he were running away without my knowledge; to persuade them of this I have had him carry undressed deerskins which the English are glad to get and some other trifles on a horse belonging to the Indians. Perhaps I may discover what will be decided on at this council. I could not induce him to make the journey for less than 150 livres.

Words of the widow of Le Jarret, mother of Le Gris, chief of the Miami of the village of Tippecanoe, of April 28, accompanied by the chiefs, the old men, and the most important people of the village.

Mon pere nous t'avions demandé l'année derniere a nous raprocher de toy, La Saison est trop avancée pour faire icy nos villages et nos champs de Bled, nôtre village est tout fait ou il est, nous y Sommes bien, nous te prions de nous y laisser, nous ne voulons point aller ailleurs, nous te le promettons, nous ne

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voulons point abandonner ce poste, nous y viendrons toujours chercher nos besoins et y faire nôtre traite, comme nous avons toujours fait et nous Serons toujours aussi fideles que nous l'avons été, Nous Sommes les vrais enfants d'onontio. Nous avons toujours fait Sa volonté et nous la fairont toujours quelque chose qu'on en puisse dire nous ne changerons jamais.

Mon pere nous te prions d'avoir toujours pitié de nous et de nous Secourir dans nos besoins comme ont toujours fait les Commandants qui ont été icy devant toy. nous sommes veritablement a pleindre, nous te prions de nous assister pour nous aider a vivre. mon fils qui est allé en guerre n'est pas Sure Si le maitre de la vie le ramenera, Sil luy arrive accident, Jl me recommande

[*Translation*]

"My father, we asked you last year to let us come closer to you. The season is too far advanced to make our villages and our wheat fields here. Our village is all made where it is. We are well off there; we beg you to leave us there. We do not wish to go elsewhere. We promise you we do not wish to abandon this post, we will always come here to supply our wants and to carry on our trade as we have always done, and we shall always be faithful as we have been. We are the true children of Onontio. We have always done his will, and we shall always do it. Whatever they may say to us, we shall never change.

"My father, we beg you to have pity on us and to succor us in our need as the commandants who have been here before you have always done. In very truth we deserve to be pitied. We beg you to assist us and help us to live. My son who has gone on the warpath is not sure if the Master of Life will bring him back. If any accident happens to him, he commends me and



a nôtre pere et tous les gens de nôtre Village, JI te prie de les prendre en pitié et de les Secourir, comme il a toujours fait, tu vois nos besoins, mon pere, ay pitié de nous.

Nous Souhaiterions bien que les Anciens traitteurs qui sont icy y restassent, nous les connoissons, S'il envient de nouveaux nous aurons peut etre de la peine a nous accomoder avec eux.

Mon pere, Voila deux branches de porcelaine et une robe de castor que nous te prions d'Envoyer a nôtre pere, C'est mon fils qui luy envoie pour le prier de le regarder et tous les gens de son village comme Ses veritables enfants et de vouloir toujours nous prendre en pitié et de nous permettre de rester ou nous Sommes, nous ny Sommes point exposes a y ecouter de mauvaises

parolles. Mon fils prie nôtre pere par cette robe de <sup>391v</sup> Castor de tenir toujours par la main ces deux branches de porcelaine mon fils et tous les gens de son village les tiendront par l'autre bout Sans Jamais la laisser aller pour que notre pere et nous ne fassions Jamais qu'un.

[*Translation*]

all the people of our village to our father. He begs you to take pity on them and succor them as he has always done. You see our needs, my father; have pity on us.

"We would much desire that the old traders who are here should remain. We know them. If new ones come we shall perhaps have trouble in getting used to them.

"My father, here are two strings of wampum and a robe of beaver which we beg you to send to our father. It is my son who sends it to him to beg him to regard him and all the people of our village as his true children and to be pleased always to take pity on us and to permit us to remain where we are. Here we are not exposed to hearing bad talk. My son begs our father by this robe of beaver always to hold by his hand these two strings of wampum. My son and all the people of his village will hold them by the other end without ever letting go so that our father and we may ever be but one."

Ce quille Scaït est ce que ma raporté le nommé Chaperon<sup>1</sup> a la rive de la riviere a la Roche Le 7. de ce mois, Je luy avois envoyé avec deux Sauvages qui Sont le fils et le gendre de Bourbonnays pour y continuer La rêcherche du nommé Jean Bte Emond Soldat milicien de cette garnison qui estoit sorty d'Jcy pour aller chercher Les boeufs du Roy et quon avoit cherché pendant plusieurs Jours Sans l'avoir pû trouver, Les 2 Susdits Sauvages nous avoient aportés Sa couverte qu'ils avoient trouvé dans le chemin de la ditte riviere a la Roche. Le Susdit Emond Se rendit tout Seul le per du mois apres 6 jours d'absence.

[Translation]

What she knows is what has been reported to me by the man called Chaperon<sup>1</sup> at Great Miami River the seventh of this month. I had sent him with two Indians who are the son and son-in-law of Bourbonnais to continue the search for the militiaman named Jean Baptiste Emond, of this garrison, who left here to look for the king's cattle and who had been sought for for several days without our being able to find him. The two Indians mentioned had brought us his blanket which they had found on the trail to the Great Miami River. The said Emond returned by himself the first of the month after having been away for six days.

<sup>1</sup> Two men of this name were active at the Miamis post. Jean Chaperon, militiaman, received June 15, 1750 a certificate of fifty livres for a second trip to Great Miami River in search of Jean Baptiste Emond. A N Colonies C11A 119:103. He was also supplied ammunition for an earlier expedition, certificate, April 28, 1750. *Ibid.*, 152.

Joseph Chaperon on June 24, 1752 received a certificate of 965 livres for supplies to the Indians who were to go to La Demoiselle's village. *Ibid.*, 308.

## REPORTS TO RAYMOND, May, 1750

[A N Colonies C11A 95:391v]<sup>1</sup>

## Raport du susdit Chaperon

Jl y a 30 Anglais a la riviere a la Roche qui ont pour plus de 80 mil livres de marchandises. les anglais luy ont montré la place ou ils devoient faire cet été deux forts, un de chaque coté de celui de la Demoiselle, et tous les outils et ustencils pour les faire, Jls luy ont dit que les Syatanons et Pianguichias devoient S'establiir avec eux cette année. Jls ont amené un forgeron qui a Sa boutique Etablie, pendant les deux Jours qu'il a resté a la riviere a la roche Jl y est venu 4 ch8anons qui ont donné deux grands colliers a la Demoiselle dans le conseil qu'ils ont tenu

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chez luy avec les anglais. Jl n'a pû Sçavoir ce qu'on y avoit dit. un des Chefs Ch8anons luy dit qu'ils futoient sous les pieds Les français, qu'ils estoient cinq Village dans la Belle riviere qui n'en faisoient qu'un au celui de la Demoiselle et les Nanti-

## [Translation]

## Report of the said Chaperon

There are thirty English at Great Miami River who have more than eighty thousand livres in goods. The English showed him the place where this summer they are to build two forts, one on each side of La Demoiselle's, as well as all the tools to build them with. They told him that the Wea and Piankashaw were to settle with them this year. They have brought a blacksmith who has his forge set up. In the two days he remained at Great Miami River, there came four Shawnee who have given two large wampum belts to La Demoiselle in the council they held at his house with the English. He could not learn what was said. One of the Shawnee chiefs told him that they would spurn the French beneath their feet. They were five villages on the Ohio River which were but as one with that of La Demoiselle and the Nan-

<sup>1</sup> Included in the above letter.

quitoches qui sont aussi pour nous pour manger le français et pour renverser leur fort du Poste des Miamis Un anglais qui étoit present a ce discours leur dit et au miamis de la Demoiselle, Je ne veux pas que vous luy fassiez de mal s'ils étoient Seulement 100 français comme luy, Je me batteray contre eux avec vous. Sans le fils et le gendre de Bourbonnois Il courroit risque d'avoir la Chevelure levée Sur ce qu'un Anglais dit, mon Sang est rependû et il coule encore et Il ajouta comme il est Seul de français, Il faut le laisser aller.

Le fils et le Gendre de Bourbonnois qui étoient avec Chaperon ont rapporté de plus au Pied froid Leur Chef.

Que les Anglais, les Cha8anons et La Demoiselle luy mandoient de Se trouver a la riviere a la Roche pour entendre le conseil qu'ils alloient tenir, que cetoit pour les donner un coup de main pour fraper Sur les français et qu'il auroit lieu d'etre content d'avoir été eouter leur parole que Si huit Anglais qui leur manquoient ne se trouvoient pas qui montoient trois pirogues,

[*Translation*]

ticoke. The latter were also for them; they would eat the French and destroy their fort at the Miamis post. An Englishman who was present at this conversation said to them and to La Demoiselle's Miami, "I do not wish you to do him harm; if there were only a hundred French like him, I would fight them along with you." Had it not been for the son and son-in-law of Bourbonnais he would have risked having his scalp taken, when an Englishman said, "My blood has been shed, and it still flows." He added, "Since he is but one Frenchman, he must be suffered to depart."

The son and son-in-law of Bourbonnais, who were with Chaperon, have further reported to Le Pied Froid, their chief, as follows:

The English, the Shawnee, and La Demoiselle bade him be at Great Miami River to hear the council that they were going to hold. It would be to prepare a sudden stroke against the French. He would have cause to be satisfied at going to hear their words. If eight English who were bringing up three pirogues and were

qu'ils Envoiyeroient plusieurs partis fraper Sur les P8tet8atamis

Que les 8yatanons avoient donné leur parolles aux anglais et a la Demoiselle qu'ausitot le rêtour d'une partie de leur Jeunes gens qui estoient allés a ch8agen qu'ils fairoient main basse Sur les français Que les gens de la riviere a la roche disoient publiquement que c'etoient les anglais qui avoient envoye la tortué dans  
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tous les postes au dessus de celuy Cy y porter leur Colliers pour lever toutes les nations et les amener a la riviere a la Roche pour fraper Sur les français S'ils marchent cette année Sur eux et qu'ils disoient quil n'y avoit que les Kickap8 qui avoient rejehtë les parolles de la Demoiselle et des Anglais que leur a porté la tortue. Que tous ces Sauvages du party de l'anglais Se vantoient et publioient partout qu'avant qu'il fut un an que les Anglais Seroient a la fourche comme ils Sont a la riviere a la Roche et qui ils les y Soutiendroient.

La fourche est Sur la riviere de 8abache a 15 lieues de ce poste, C'est le Seul chemin pour aller au poste des 8yatanons et

[*Translation*]

missing did not turn up, they would send several parties to attack the Potawatomi.

The Wea had given their word to the English and to La Demoiselle that immediately on the return of a party of their young men who had gone to Oswego, they would proceed to cut off the French. The people at Great Miami River publicly said that it was the English who had sent La Tortue to all the posts above this to carry their wampum belts in order to raise all the tribes and bring them to Great Miami River to strike the French in case the French marched against them that year. They also said that only the Kickapoo had rejected the message of La Demoiselle and the English which La Tortue had brought them. All the Indians of the English party boasted and spread it everywhere that before a year had passed the English would be at the Forks as they are now at Great Miami River, and that the Indians would sustain them there.

The Forks is on the Wabash River fifteen leagues from this post. It is the only way to go to Ouiatanon and to the Mississippi

au Missisipy en partant de Montreal passant par ce poste Cy. Ce qui nous fermeroit cette riviere et la communication de ce poste a celui des Syatanons et plus loing

## REPORTS TO RAYMOND, May, 1750

[A N Colonies C11A 95:392v] <sup>1</sup>

## Raport du Pian.

Le Pian est de la bande a la Demoiselle, Jl dit s'en etre Separé, cependant il demeure a la riviere a la Roche Jl est venu icy voir un de Ses camarades qui est veritablement attaché aux francais et qui est loup de nation.

Mon pere Je te prie d'etre assuré de ma fidelité et que tout ce qui viendra a ma connoissance qui Sera contre Onontio et Ses françaïs, qui Je viendray t'en avertir et que Je ne te cachera rien

Mon pere les Syatanons ont assuré les anglais et la Demoiselle qu'avant que l'été fut finy qu'ils fraperoient Sur les françaïs  
<sup>393</sup>  
 d'une bonne façon, qu'ils leurs avoient été fidelles Jusqua

## [Translation]

from Montreal if you go by this post. This would close against us that river and the communication from this post to Ouiatanon and beyond.

## Report of Le Pian

Le Pian is of La Demoiselle's band. He says he has separated from it; nevertheless he lives at Great Miami River. He came here to see one of his comrades who is truly attached to the French, a Delaware.

"My father, I beg you to be assured of my fidelity and that I will come to warn you of everything which I learn is contrived against Onontio and his French; I will hide nothing from you.

"My father, the Wea have assured the English and La Demoiselle that before the summer is over they will strike the French in good fashion; they have been faithful to them up to

<sup>1</sup> Included in Raymond's letter of May 14, *ante*, 188-193.

present, mais qu'ils étoient rebutés d'avoir été mal reçus de Monsieur Le General, qu'à peine les avoit on regardé et qu'il les avoit Laissez partir Sans leur avoir rien donné qu'une bagatelle qui ne valloit pas la peine de Sortir de leur village, qu'il ne couloit pas plus avec les français d'être coquin que d'être honnetes gens que c'étoit aux plus mauvais et a ceux qui avoient tué des français que M Le General faisoit le plus de presents.

Les Jroquois Sont venu a la riviere a la Roche et on dit a la Demoiselle, Mes freres vous pouvez vous attendre que les français viendront pour vous Secoier l'Eté prochain, Que les Jeunes gens luy ont repondû et reproché. C'est vous qui etes la cause de notre malheur et la perte de nos femmes et de nos Enfants. Les Jroquois leur disent, Cela est vray, mais vous voyez que votre frere l'Anglais vous donne tout pour rien et que les français vous étoient durs et vous vendoient tout très Cher puis que c'est nous qui avons fait venir icy nos freres, JI faut les y Soutenir et perir pour eux et avec eux. Mes freres ne Soyez pas faché contre nous, Soyez assuré que Si les français viennent cette année de

[*Translation*]

now, but have been rebuffed at being ill received by Monsieur the general, who scarcely looked at them, and let them depart without having given them anything save a trifle which was not worth leaving their village for; it cost no more with the French to be a rascal than to be an honest man; it was to those who were worst and who had killed the French that M. the general made the most presents.

"The Iroquois have come to Great Miami River and said to La Demoiselle, 'My brothers, you may expect that the French will come to give you a shaking next summer.' The young men answered, reproaching them, 'It is you who are the cause of our misfortune and of the loss of our wives and children.' The Iroquois told them, 'That is true, but you see your brother the English gives you all for nothing, and that the French were hard on you and sold you everything very dear. Since it is we who have caused our brothers to come here, you must sustain them and die for them and with them. My brothers, be not angry with us.



ces cotés Jcy, nous Jrons au devant d'Eux et lorsqu'ils Seront passés nous serons les premiers a fraper Sur Eux, vous n'aurez qu'a Venir au devant d'Eux. Toutes les nations que nous sommes de ces cotés Jcy, nous nous joindrons tous ensemble et Jl ne Se Sauvera pas un francais. les cha8anons ont dit la même chose aux Anglais et a la Demoiselle qui dit qu'il Se fera plutôt couper la tête que de revenir Jamais avec les français  
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Les 8ta8ois et Saulteurs du Saguinaw ont demandé a la Demoiselle et aux Anglais a S'établir avec Eux, leur demande leur a été accordée et ils doivent tous hiverner dans le haut de la grande glaize et le printems venû Jls fairont leur village a la riviere a la Roche.

Après le grand Conseil qui doit Se tenir incessamment chez les Anglais et la Demoiselle ou toutes les nations doivent assister et ou il ne doit Se passer rien de bon pour les français, Aussitot qu'il Sera finy Je viendray, Mon pere, te dire tout ce qui S'y sera passé, tu peut y compter Et que Je ne te cacheray rien.

[*Translation*]

Be assured that if the French come this year to these regions, we will go to meet them, and when they have passed we shall be the first to strike them. You have only to come to meet them. We, all the tribes we are in these parts, will all join together and not a Frenchman shall escape.' The Shawnee have said the same to the English and to La Demoiselle, who said he would rather have his head cut off than ever go back to the French.

"The Ottawa and the Chippewa of Saginaw have asked permission of La Demoiselle and the English to settle among them. Their request has been accorded them, and they are all to winter on the upper Grand Glaize, and when spring has come they will make their village at Great Miami River.

"A great council is shortly to be held with the English and La Demoiselle; at it all the tribes are to be present, and nothing good for the French will transpire. As soon as it is over, I will come, my father, to tell you all that has happened. You may count on it as also that I shall conceal nothing from you."

Je ne garantis pas que ce Sauvage tienne sa parole, et qu'il me rapporte fidèlement ce qui se sera décidé dans ce conseil, tout ce qui me vient de ce côté la m'est fort Suspect. Je luy ay fait present d'une pot d'Eau-de-vie et d'un peu de tabac pour l'Engager a m'avertir des démarches de l'anglais et de la Demoiselle

Je vous enverray par l'interprete Les deux branches de porcelaine et la robe de Castor que la veuve du Jarret mere du Gris m'a remis. C'est Son fils qui vous Envoye cette parole.

Les Chefs Potawatami de St Joseph ont envoyé Jcy trois de leur gens pour m'apporter Six branches de porcelaine pour se disculper des accusations qu'on m'avoit fait contre eux et dont Je vous ay Cy devant rendu compte et m'ont fait offrir en meme tems leurs Services Je ne me rend pas garant de la sincerité de leurs offres de Services, Ny de leur fidelité.

[*Translation*]

I do not guarantee that this Indian will keep his word, or report to me faithfully what is decided in the council. Everything that comes to me from that side is suspect to me. I made him a present of a pot of brandy and a little tobacco to engage him to warn me of the doings of the English and of La Demoiselle.

I shall send you by the interpreter the two strings of wampum and the beaver robe that the widow of Le Jarret and mother of Le Gris gave me. It is her son who sends you this message.

The Potawatomi chiefs of St. Joseph have sent here three of their people to bring me six strings of wampum to clear themselves from the accusations that had been made to me against them, which I have already reported to you. At the same time they offer their services to me. I do not go bail for the sincerity of their offers of service nor for their fidelity.

RAYMOND TO LA JONQUIÈRE, May 22, 1750

[A N Colonies C11A 95:394]

Par une lettre du 22. May 1750.

MONSIEUR

Cy Joint est la parolle des grands Oncles<sup>1</sup> qui est appuiée par deux calumets qui Sont renfermés dans une robbe de castor, cette robe appuië les deux branches de porcelaine Cy Jointes, cette parolle vous est envoyée par le gris chef du village de Tepiconnaud, comme J'ay eu lhonneur de vous en rendre compte et de vous Envoyer ces parolles, Le tout est a votre adresse, Je l'envoie a M de Sabrevois pour vous la faire tenir.

Vous Serez Surpris d'apprendre quapres plusieurs recidives du pied froid qui m'a obligé de vous marquer quil Se rendroit au retour de l'hivernement de Son fils a la parolle que luy a envoyé M. de la Galissoniere, d'aller ce printems ecouter votre parolle, que la Veille de son départ, Jl prit le tems que l'interprete n'y etoit point pour me dire qu'ils etoient tous morts et qu'il ne

[*Translation*]

By a Letter of May 22, 1750

MONSIEUR:

Inclosed is the speech of Les Grands Ongles<sup>1</sup> which is authenticated by two calumets which are wrapped in a robe of beaver. The robe authenticates the two strings of wampum inclosed. This speech is sent you by Le Gris, chief of the village of Tippecanoe, as I had the honor to report to you. It is addressed to you, and I am sending it to M. de Sabrevois to be forwarded to you.

You will be surprised to learn what follows. Le Pied Froid, after several backslidings, had engaged me to tell you that he would conform to the message M. de la Galissonière sent him and would go to hear your words this spring when his son returned from his winter quarters. On the eve of his departure he chose the time the interpreter was away to tell me that they were all no better than dead men, and that he would not

<sup>1</sup> Chief of the Wea and brother of Le Jarret.

descendoit point, qu'il estoit vray qu'il m'avoit fait mander a Son pere, puis quille demandoit, que rien n'estoit capable de l'arreter pour aller ecouter sa parolle, mais qu'il restoit dans Son village, ne Sçachant point ce qui devoit arriver, Que Si je voulois descendre avec luy, quil descendroit J'eus beau luy dire que mon corp restant Jcy repondoit du sien, ce qui devoit le rassurer sur la peur qu'il pouvoit avoir, enfin quelque chose que J'aye pû faire, Je nay pu l'engager a tenir Sa promesse, Le Lendemain matin Je l'envoyay chercher par l'interprete et Son fils, J'l me fit dire quil ne reviendrait point, qu'il m'avoit dit qu'il ne partoit point, Que cela Suffiroit, Que les Jeunes gens le retenoient, qu'il estoit obligé de faire ce qu'ils vouloient Sans quoy ils ne l'ecouteroient plus et dans le meme tems Son fils un de Ses neveux et une partië de Sa parenté embarquerent pour ch8aquen. Je n'augure rien de bon de la relache du Pied froid cela me prouveroit qu'ils sont tous d'Jntelligence, L'Interprete et Pacane Son frere qui Sont nez et elevez icy qui connoissent a fond les Sauvages disent publiquement, Que toutes les nations en general sont de concert et qu'ils

[*Translation*]

go down. It was true, he said, that he had had me inform his father that since he called for him, nothing could stop him from going to hear his word; but he would remain in his village as he did not know what would happen. If I wished to go down with him, he would go down. In vain I told him that my body remaining here was the guaranty for his, which should reassure him in the fear which he might feel. Finally in spite of all I could do, I could not engage him to keep his promise. Next morning I sent to seek him and his son by the interpreter. He sent word to me that he would not come back; he had told me he would not go, and that was enough. The young men held him back. He was obliged to do what they wished, or otherwise they would listen to him no more. At this very time his son, one of his nephews, and a party of his relatives were leaving for Oswego. I augur no good from this relapse of Le Pied Froid, which proves to me that they are all in an understanding. The interpreter and his brother, Pacane, who were born and brought up here, and who know the Indians through and through, give it out publicly that

ne Se cachent plus de leur mauvais dessein, qu'ils Sont plus mal intentionnés que jamais ils l'ont été dans le plus grand derangement de la derniere guerre. Jls ne cessent de me rinçer hautement et de dire qu'ils fraperont sur les francais.

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Jls ont fait courrir apres Pacane que Jay eu l'honneur de vous marquer que Je fairois partir comme Sil partoît fuiart pour se trouver au conseil de la rivièrè a la Roche, Jls disent qu'ils n'ont envoyés après luy que pour empecher qu'il ne fut tué, C'est une mauvaise deffaitte puis qu'il est leur neveu et leur Sang étant fils d'une Miamis que Son pere avoit epousé, pour moy Je pense qu'ils ont fait courir après luy pour nous oter la connoissance de ce Conseil Sil n'y a par quelque autre mal entendu, J'étois dans le sentiment de faire partir l'Interprete pour que vous eussiez été informé par luy meme du derangement general de toutes les nations de ces pays Cy Sur lesquelles il n'y a plus lieu absolument d'y pouvoir compter et contre les quelles JI faut un gros et prompt Secours, mais dans la crainte qu'après son depart il n'arriva quelque chose de contraire a la sureté de ce poste

[*Translation*]

all the tribes are in agreement and no longer conceal their evil design, being worse intentioned than ever they were at the height of the disorder during the last war. The Indians do not cease to treat me haughtily and to say they will attack the French.

They sent after Pacane, whom I had the honor to tell you I was sending in the guise of a runaway, to be at the council at Great Miami River. They said they sent after him only to prevent him from being killed. That is a bad excuse since he is their nephew and of their blood, being the son of a Miami squaw whom his father had married. For my part I think they sent after him to prevent our learning about this council, if it was not on some other misapprehension. I was resolved on sending off the interpreter that you might by him be informed of the general unsettlement of all the tribes of this country on whom there is no longer any dependence to be placed, and against whom a large and immediate reinforcement is necessary. But fearing lest after his departure something should come up adverse to the

et qu'on ne dit que rien ne seroit arrivé, Si je ne l'eusse pas fait partir, pour ne rien prendre sur moy, Jay fait assembler tous les negotians pour Sçavoir leur avis Jls ont décidé quil devoit rester et ont Signé la presente Lettre pour vous prouver combien il faut de forts Secours pour conserver ce poste. Jls conviennent qu'iant l'honneur de vous rendre compte luy meme de tout ce qui est a sa connoissance que vous Seriez mieux convaincu de tous les comptes que Jay eu l'honneur de vous rendre et que je vous rend par celle cy en leur presence. Jl se dit que ce poste etoit moins en sureté Et plus Exposé qu'il n'avoit encore été et ce qui en est une preuve Cest que le s. Roy qui est l'Enfant de la nation des miamis envoie sa femme au Detroit et tous Ses bestiaux. le s Clermont domicilié envoie aussi tous les Siens et Jl se retire au Detroit personne n'est dans le goust de rester Jcy pour S y faire Egorger. Je ne Sçaurois parler n'y entendre les Sauvages Sans interprete, ne parlant ny n'entendant leur langue. Tout ce que Jay eu l'honneur de vous marquer Et tous les comptes que Je vous rend, Je ne lay Sçu, n y ne le scay que par

[*Translation*]

safety of this post, and it should be said that it would not have happened had I not sent him off, I assembled all the traders to get their opinion in order to take nothing on myself. They decided he should remain and have signed the present letter to signify to you how much help is needed immediately to preserve this post. They agreed that if he had the honor to give you himself an account of all he knows, you would be more easily convinced of the truth of all the accounts I have had the honor to give you and which I give you by this letter in their presence. They say this post is less safe and more exposed than it ever has been before. What is proof of this is that the Sieur Roy, who is the child of the Miami tribe, is sending his wife and all his cattle to Detroit. The Sieur Clermont, domiciled here, is sending his also and is himself going to Detroit. No one wishes to remain here to have his throat cut. Without an interpreter I could neither speak to nor listen to the Indians, as I neither speak nor understand their language. All that I have the honor to write you, and all the accounts I give you, I have learned and

l'Interprete qui est l'homme du Roy.

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A Voir les Miamis de la bande du Pied froid, Jls paroissent de bonnes gens, a l'Exception qu'ils sont incommodés pour avoir de l'Eau-de-vie. Le Pied froid Jusqua present a toujours fait ma volonté, Il a paru meme plus intéressé pour les français, que le français meme.

Pacane frere de L'Interprete dit, dit on, Se retirer a la riviere st Joseph par mecontentement de n'avoir pas été recompensé des Services qu'il a rendu dans le tems que ce fort a été pillé et brulé ou il luy en couta du sien pour faire sauver les français, Si son frere Se retire au Detroit, comme il paroît etre dans ce dessein, Sil reste et qu'il vienne a manquer le service du Roy Se trouveroit Sans interprete, C'est pourquoy Je vous supplie, Monsieur, de donner vos ordres au Commandant de saint Joseph de renvoyer Pacanne, Sil Se retiroit dans ce poste ou aux environs.

Le Pied froid se plaint aussi de navoir point été recompensé d'avoir retiré plus de la moitié des paquets qui avoient été

[*Translation*]

learn only through the interpreter, who is the king's man.

To see the Miami of Le Pied Froid's band, they appear good people except that they are a nuisance when they beg for brandy. Le Pied Froid up to now has always done my will; he has even seemed to be more for the French than the French themselves.

Pacane, brother of the interpreter, is said to give it out that he is withdrawing to St. Joseph River out of discontent at not having been recompensed for his services when the fort was pillaged and burned, when he spent his own property to save the French. If his brother goes to Detroit as he seems to intend, or if he remains at St. Joseph and away from here, the king's service will be without an interpreter. Accordingly I beg you, Monsieur, to give your orders to the commandant at St. Joseph to send back Pacane, if he retires to that post or to its neighborhood.

Le Pied Froid also complains of not having been recompensed for having got back more than half the packets of peltry which



volés et de les avoir rendus a qui ils appertenoient et d'avoir retiré chez luy les francais, de les avoir nourris et fait Sauver. Ce manque de recompense pour des Services rendus de cette nature, degoute, et le Service du Roy en Souffre dans la suite Je crois, Monsieur, que d'Envoyer personnellement au pied froid un bon present et un pour Sa bande, cela fairoit un bon effet, quand ce ne seroit que pour faire voir aux gens de la riviere a la Roche quon les traite aussi bien que les anglais les traittent. les Kickap8 et mask8tins meritent detre recompensés de leur fidelité et d'avoir rejehtë les parolles de La Tortuë. signé DE REYMOND. BONDY,<sup>1</sup> SANCERRE,<sup>2</sup> CHARLES LE BLOND<sup>3</sup> et FRANCHEVILLE GODET.<sup>4</sup>

[Translation]

were stolen, for having returned them to the owners, and for having also taken in the French, fed them, and saved them. The want of recompense for services rendered of that nature, disgusts people, and in the end the king's service suffers. I believe, Monsieur, that sending a good present personally for Le Pied Froid and one for his band would have a good effect, were it only to let the people of Great Miami River see that they are treated here as well as the English treat them. The Kickapoo and Mascoutens deserve to be rewarded for their fidelity and for having rejected the words of La Tortue.

Signed: DE RAYMOND, BONDY,<sup>1</sup> SANCER,<sup>2</sup> CHARLES LE BLOND,<sup>3</sup> and FRANCHEVILLE GODET<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This may have been Joseph Douaire de Bondy, baptized February 27, 1700. Married at Detroit July 28, 1732 to Anne-Cécile Campeau; died in April, 1760. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire*, 3:436.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Jean Baptiste Sancer, who was baptized February 6, 1705, married at Montreal, January 7, 1735, and had one son baptized at Detroit, June 26, 1737. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire*, 4:21; 7:117. He acted as clerk at Miamis for Godefroy, a Detroit trader. Vouchers for supplies furnished by him August 6, 1749-August 6, 1752 are in A N Colonies C11A 119:127, 129, 132, 134, 148, 150, 151, 152, 305v. August 6, 1752 he charged twenty livres for going to bury Le Pied Froid. *Ibid.*, 305v.

<sup>3</sup> Charles le Blond furnished supplies at Miamis between September 4, 1749-June 2, 1750 to the amount of 5001 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 85s, 6d. A N Colonies C11A 119:145.

<sup>4</sup> Probably François Xavier Godet, called Francheville, baptized at Montreal July 22, 1723. He appears in De la Richardie's accounts at Detroit in 1748. *Jesuit Relations*, 70:25, 27, 37. There are seven engagements to him to go to Detroit in 1756. *L'Archiviste* . . . de Québec pour 1931-1932, 321, 326, 329.

Parolles des Grands ongles Chef des Syatanons.

Le 17 may Les Grands Oncles Chef des Syatanons frere de feu le Jarest Cy devant Chef des miamis de Tepiconnaud et deux autres sauvages de la bande des Grands oncles qui est venu des Syatanons expres pour m'assurer de sa fidelité et de celle de toute sa bande, (Ce qui peut etre fort douteux) qui est de 80 hommes, ce qui suit sont ses parolles appuïées de deux Calumets.

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Mon pere Jay ecouté tá parolle l'automne derniere en revenant de Montreal voir notre pere, tu me prit en pitié et tu me donna un petit baril de ton lait que je te demanday pour n'arriver pas honteux dans mon village, tu me recommanda de rester toujours fidele aux francais et de ne faire que la volonté de notre pere. Je te le promis et Je viens t'assurer que je Seray toujours fidele et que je ne tremperay Jamais dans aucune mauvaise affaire, Je l'ay promis a nôtre pere l'année derniere et que Jauray toujours le coeur veritablement francais.

La Tortue est venû chez nous, ma parlé pour m'exciter

[*Translation*]

Words of Les Grands Ongles, a Wea Chief

May 17, Les Grands Ongles, chief of the Wea, brother of the late Le Jarret, formerly chief of the Miami of Tippecanoe, with two other Indians of Les Grands Ongles' band, came from Ouiatanon expressly to assure me of his fidelity and that of all his band (which may be very doubtful) which numbers eighty men. What follows are his words, authenticated by two calumets.

"My father, I heard your words last autumn when I was returning from seeing our father at Montreal. You took pity on me and gave me a little barrel of your milk which I asked of you that I might not arrive in shame at my village. You advised me to remain ever faithful to the French and to do only the will of our father. I promised it to you, and I come to assure you that I shall always be faithful and never mix in any ill affair. I promised that to our father last year, and promised also that I would always have a truly French heart.

"La Tortue came to our village and spoke to stir me up to

d'aller a la riviere a la Roche pour ecouter les parolles du Grand Conseil qui doit Sy tenir ou toutes les nations sont mandées de s'y trouver et qui doivent toutes Sy rendre a ce que ma dit La Tortue qui a fait tout ce qu'il a pû pour my faire aller. Je luy ay repondu que veux tu que J'aille faire lá, le franais a toujours eu pitié de moy, Je ne peut y aller. Que la Tortue luy dit nos freres doivent faire un gros present Et puis que tu na rien eu et ton frere de Montreal Tu en aura ta part Et tu sera bien aise d'avoir été ecouter les parolles du conseil et l'anglois aura pitié de toy, une partie de nos freres Syatanons Et la bande du Comte y Sont allées. Cette bande est de 100 hommes.

L'ayant interrogé quils estoient les sentiments et les desseins de cette bande il m'a repondû.

Mon pere, ils ont le coeur anglais et ont été gagnés, mais Je ne sçay point ce qu'ils y vont faire. une partie pourroit bien rester a la riviere a la Roche, Je Seray informé de ce qu'ils fairont et de ce qui se passera dans ce conseil; Jay promis a M de

[*Translation*]

go to Great Miami River to hear the words of the great council which is to be held there. All the tribes are bidden to be present, and they are all to go, according to what was told me by La Tortue, who did all that he could to induce me to go there. I answered him, 'What do you want me to do there? The French have always taken pity on me. I cannot go there.' La Tortue replied, 'Our brothers are going to make us a large present, and since you and your brother got nothing at Montreal, you will get your share there, and you will be very glad to have been to hear the words of the council; and the English will take pity on you.' Part of our brothers the Wea and Le Comte's band have gone there."

This band numbers one hundred men.

On my asking him what were the sentiments and the designs of this band, he answered me, "My father, they have an English heart and have been won over, but I do not know what they will do. Part of them may well remain at Great Miami River. I shall be informed of what they do and of what happens in the

Carqueville que Je luy dirois tout ce que J'en apprendrois et je ny manqueray pas. Lecomte a voulu m'enmener, mais l'ayant refusé, il m'a fait le cris Sui la tete d'etre revenu honteux de montreal.

Laïant interrogé Sur les Sentiments et les desseins des Pianguichias qui sont 150 hommes et qui ont pour Chef la mouche noire il ma repondu

Mon pere ils Sont tous allés a la riviere a la Roche a mauvais dessein Jls doivent y rester, Jls n'y Sont allés que pour chercher les Anglais et les etablir avec eux a la chute de riviere oÿo (cet etablissement doit etre fait a la Toussaint.) ils les y Soutiendront, Leur dessein est de les etablir dans tous ces endroits lá, Voila mon pere les sentiments des Pianguichias

L'ayant interrogé sur les desseins de Kickap8 et Mascoutins qui sont 300 hommes, Jl m'a repondu

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Mon pere, les Kickap8 et Mascoutins n'ont point voulú Ecouter la Tortue et n'ont point été au Conseil de la riviere a la

[*Translation*]

council. I have promised M. de Carqueville that I would tell him all I learned and I will not fail to do so. Le Comte wished to carry me off with him, and when I refused him, mocked me with having returned in shame from Montreal."

On my questioning him as to the sentiments and designs of the Piankashaw, who are 150 men and have as their chief La Mouche Noire, he answered me.

"My father, they have all gone to Great Miami River with ill designs. They are to remain there. They have gone only to seek the English and to settle them with themselves at the Falls of the Ohio. (This settlement is to be made at All Saints.) They will sustain the English there. Their design is to establish them in all those parts. Those, my father, are the sentiments of the Piankashaw."

Being asked as to the designs of the Kickapoo and Mascoutens, who are three hundred men, he answered me,

"My father, the Kickapoo and the Mascoutens would not listen to La Tortue and have not been at the council at Great

Roche les Pianguichias ont tenu l'hivert dernier un conseil pour tuer le forgeron et un autre français, un Seul de leur gens et un Kickapoux ont empêché le coup.

Luy ayant reproché les mauvais discours de la peau blanche JI ma repondu.

Mon pere la Peau blanche parle Souvent Sans Sçavoir ce qu'il dît, tantot il est d'un Sentiment, tantot d'un autre.

Luy ayant reproché qu'ils avoient assuré qu'ils avoient rejeté le français pour Se donner a Eux et qu'ils fraperoient sur les français avant que l'été fut finy et qu'ils n'attendoient que le retour de leur gens qui estoient a Ch8aguen pour faire main basse Sur les français Que tous les gens de la riviere a la Roche le disoient publiquement par ce que jen etois averti, JI ma repondû.

Mon pere Je n'ay point de connoissance de cela, JI est vray que l'Enfant Chef Pianguichias parle très mal et qu'ils sont tous mal intentionnés, Je ne repond que de moy et de ma bande, Je Seray toujours fidele notre pere peut y compter luy aiant promis

[Translation]

Miami River. The Piankashaw last winter held a council to kill the blacksmith and another Frenchman. One alone of their people and a Kickapoo prevented the murders."

On my reproaching him with the evil speech of La Peau Blanche, he answered me,

"My father, La Peau Blanche often speaks without knowing what he is saying. Sometimes he is of one sentiment, sometimes of another."

On my reproaching him that they had declared that they had rejected the French to give themselves to the English, and that they would strike the French before the summer was over, and were only waiting for the return of their people who were at Oswego, to cut off the French as all the people of Great Miami River according to my information gave out publicly, he answered me,

"My father, I have no knowledge of that. It is true that L'Enfant, the Piankashaw chief, speaks very ill, and that they are all ill-intentioned. I answer only for myself and my band. I shall always be faithful. Our father can count on it, since I

et J'avertiray de tout ce qui sera a ma connoissance et de ce qui se passera a la riviere a la Roche.

Luy aiant aussi reproché d'avoir reçu dans leur village l'été dernier un pavillon et un Collier Anglais rouge qui venoit des Jllinois, Jl ma repondu.

Mon pere Ce pavillon et ce Collier ne regardoit que les Cha8anons de la bande de Chartier qui fait tous les Jours de nouvelles insultes Sur nous et autres nations.

Luy aiant demandé a quel dessein alloit aux Jllinois le collier que leur a aporté la Tortue. Jl ma repondû.

Jl ne va aux Illinois que deux branches de porcelaine et le collier est resté dans notre village. Jl n'est que pour lever le sang du Jarrest.

L'aiant Sur le Soir enmené hors du fort dans un lieu ecarté pour le faire interroger une Seconde fois Sur les desseins veritables des Pianguichias et des Syatanons de la bande du Comte, Jl me repondit.

[*Translation*]

have promised him; and I will give warning of all that comes to my knowledge and of what happens at Great Miami River."

On my reproaching him also with having received in their village last summer a flag and a red English wampum belt which came from the Illinois, he answered,

"My father, that flag and that belt referred only to the Shawnee of Chartier's band who daily offer fresh insults to us and to other tribes."

On my asking him to what end the belt which had been brought them by La Tortue was going to the Illinois, he answered me,

"Only two strings of wampum are going to the Illinois, and the belt has remained in our village. It is only to cover the death of Le Jarret."

That evening I took him outside the fort to a remote spot to have him questioned a second time as to the real designs of the Piankashaw and of the Wea of Le Comte's band. He answered me,

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Mon pere. Jls fairont tout ce que les anglais et la Demoiselle Voudront, Sils leur disent de fraper, ils fraperont sur le francais et Jls soutiendront les anglais partout ou ils voudront S'etablir. les Pianguichias et le comte veulent comme je te l'ay deja dit les etablir a la chute de la riviere oyo. cet etablissement est dangereux, notre pere ne doit pas le souffrir et Je te prie de luy dire d'envoyer aux Syatanons et Jcy bien du monde pour conserver l'endroit, Si ces mauvaises gens nous Sentent trop foibles, ils nous fairont mille insultes et ils pourroient se rendre maitres pour moy Je me fairay tuer avec mes jeunes gens pour soutenir les francais et je mourray avec eux.

Luy aiant demandé ce qu'alloient faire les deux branches de porcelaine aux Jllinois, Jl ma repondû.

Mon pere elles n'ont été que chez les Kickap8, Manihouba na pas voulû les recevoir. S'il les eut reçu elles auroient été portées de Sa part aux Jllinois, elles ont été renduës a la mouche noire qui les reporte a la riviere a la Roche.

[*Translation*]

"My father, they will do all the English and La Demoiselle wish. If they tell them to strike, they will strike the French, and they will sustain the English wherever they come to settle. The Piankashaw and Le Comte wish, as I have already told you, to settle the English at the Falls of the Ohio River. That settlement is dangerous, and our father should not allow it. I beg you to tell him to send many men to Ouiatanon and here to keep these places. If these bad people perceive we are too weak, they will inflict on us a thousand insults and be able to make themselves masters. For my part I will be slain with my young men sustaining the French, and I will die with them."

On my asking him the meaning of the two strings of wampum sent to the Illinois, he answered me,

"My father, they have only been as far as the Kickapoo. Manihouba would not receive them. If he had received them they would have been carried to the Illinois on his behalf. They have been given back to La Mouche Noire, who is carrying them back to Great Miami River."



L'ayant interrogé Sur ce que la graine a été faire a la riviere St Joseph, Il ma repondû.

Mon pere la graine a été repondre aux Kickap8 qui m'avoient envoyé huit branches de porcelaine et dont la Graine S'est rendu maître pour m'offrir leur Services contre les Cha8anons. Que leurs guerriers estoient tous prêts a marcher pour me venger de mon sang qu'ils avoient appris qu'il couloit. Les Kickapoux et moy nous nous sommes donnés parolles et promis de nous Secourir reciproquement contre nos Ennemis.

Je luy repondis les Kickap8 ont été accusés par les gens de La riviere a la Roche de travailler Sous terre contre les français Je lay mandé a leurs chefs qui m'ont envoyés Trois de leur gens avec Six branches de porcelaine pour m'assurer du contraire et m'offrir leur Service. Il me pondit.

Mon pere Je Suis bien aise que les Kickapoux et moy ne fairsions qu'un, Je t'offre aussi les miens et Je viendray a ton Secour avec mes Jeunes gens, Si tu te trouves embarassé. Jay promis a mon pere que je luy Seray fidel, Je tiendray ma parole

[*Translation*]

On my asking him what La Graine had been about at St. Joseph River, he answered me,

"My father, La Graine went to answer the Kickapoo who had sent me eight strings of wampum, of which La Graine has got possession, to offer me their services against the Shawnee; their warriors were all ready to march to avenge my blood, which as they had learned, had been shed. The Kickapoo and I have exchanged messages and promised to sustain each other against our enemies."

I answered him, "The Kickapoo have been accused by the people of Great Miami River of working underhand against the French. I informed their chiefs who have sent me three of their people with six strings of wampum to assure me of the contrary and to offer me their service."

He answered me, "My father, I am very glad the Kickapoo and I are but as one. I offer you also my services, and I will come to your help with my young men, if you find yourself hard pressed. I have promised my father that I would be faith-

marque a nôtre pere qu'il nous envoie bien des traitteurs, plus nous Serons de monde et plus nous serons en etat de vous defendre et que nous le prions de leur recommander de nous

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vendre a meilleur marché qu'ils ne sont. Tu Scais bien mon pere que nous payons une couverture de l'aine de 2 points  $\frac{1}{2}$ . 9 cas-

<sup>aue</sup>  
tours  $1\frac{1}{2}$ . de drap 12 castors, 1 chemise de toile de traite 4 castors, 1 Jd de coton 5. castors. 1 pr de mitasse 3 castors 1 L de poudre 3 castors 2 L de plomb un castor. C'est ce qui rebute tous nos Jeunes gens et nous ne sommes plus les maitres de les retenir C'est ce qui les fait aller chez les anglais qui leur donnent toutes choses a grand marché, C'est ce qui fait aimer l'anglais et luy attire toutes les nations qui Se declarent toutes pour luy par ce qu'elles trouvent toutes sortes de douceurs chez eux. Tu vois toy meme, Mon pere, que les traitteurs nous Sont durs, JI faut la chasse d'une année a un homme pour l'habiller. Chez l'anglais nos Jeunes gens pour un peau de chevreuil en poil ont une aune et demie de drap et toutes choses a proportion. (Ce Sauvage

[*Translation*]

ful; I will keep my word. Tell our father to send us plenty of traders; the more men we have, the better able we shall be to defend you. We beg him to recommend them to sell to us cheaper than they do. You know well, my father, that we pay for a wool blanket of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  points, 9 beavers; for a yard and a half of cloth, 12 beavers; for a linen trade shirt, 4 beavers; for one of cotton, 5 beavers; a pair of leggings, 3 beavers; a pound of powder, 3 beavers; 2 pounds of lead, a beaver. It is that which rebuffs all our young men, and we are no longer able to hold them back. It is that which makes them go to the English, who give them everything very cheap. That is what makes the English loved, and draws to them all the tribes which all declare for them because they find all sorts of advantages among them. You see yourself, my father, that the traders are hard on us; it takes a man's year's hunt to clothe him. With the English our young men for an undressed deerskin have a yard and a half of cloth and everything in proportion." (This Indian in this matter

a ce sujet dit la verité) cela doit faire voir a notre pere S'il veut que les nations ne l'abandonnent point pour se donner a l'anglais, qu'il faut qu'il leur fasse donner a bon marché, JI y a longtems qu'on nous le promet et nous achettons toujours aussi cher, JI ny a que cela seul qui rebute et degoute tout le monde et c'est la cause des mauvaises affaires. Jamais l'anglais ne Seroit ecouté de personne, Si les francais nous traittoient comme eux. Je te prie donc de dire mes parolles a notre pere et quil ait la bonté de les ecouter, S'il veut retablir les bonnes affaires et mettre la tranquillité.

Je nassure pas que ce Sauvage parle de la sincereté du coeur Je ne vois pas son interieur, Sous les deshors dune grande fidelité, il peut etre un traître pour mieux couvrir Sa trahison, on doit se meffier de tout dans les derrangements ou les anglais mettent toutes les nations et pour mieux parvenir a leur fins, non seulement ils les comblent de presents, mais ils les mettent a meme de leurs biens et cela est Incontestable, toutes les nations qui sortent de la riviere a la Roche sont couvertes et chargeés des bienfaits

[*Translation*]

speaks the truth.) "That should make our father see, if he wishes the tribes not to abandon him to give themselves to the English, that he must have things given to us cheap. It is long since we were promised it, and we still buy things dear. It is that only which rebuffs and disgusts everybody and is the cause of ill affairs. Never would anyone have listened to the English if the French had treated us as they do. I beg therefore that you tell my words to our father, and that he have the goodness to hear them, if he wishes to reëstablish good dealings and assure tranquillity."

I am not sure that this Indian speaks from sincerity of heart. I cannot look into him. Under the pretense of great fidelity he may be a traitor the better to cover his treason. You have to distrust everything in the disorder into which the English throw all the tribes; the better to attain their ends, they not only overwhelm them with presents, but they make them masters of what they have. It is incontestable that all the tribes which come from Great Miami River are covered and loaded with benefits by the

des anglais, Je le vois tous les jours et Je ne Suis point Surpris que toutes les nations leur donnent la preference Sur les français qui eux memes se devoient a ceux qui les traittent le plus favorablement. C'est une maxime qui est Suivie depuis tous les Siecles passés et C'est d'ailleurs le droit universelle de tout le monde entier d'être a celui de qui nous tirons le plus grand avantage.

pour Coppie    LAJONQUIÈRE

[*Translation*]

English. I see it daily and am not surprised that all the tribes prefer them to the French. The French themselves devote themselves to those who treat them most favorably. It is a maxim obeyed in all past ages, and it is moreover the universal law of all the world to be for him from whom one draws the greatest advantage.

A true copy    La Jonquière

## CHAPTER III

### NEW COMMANDANT AT MIAMIS

INSTRUCTIONS FOR DE VILLIERS, July 10, 1750

[A N Colonies C11E 13:194]

Instruction Pour le Sr de Villiers Lieutenant d'infanterie  
Commandant au Poste des Miamis

#### 1

Le dit Sr de Villiers partira incessamment de cette ville avec un Canot du Roy, sur lequel il fera Embarquer deux Soldats pour se rendre le plus promptement qu'il lui Sera possible aud. Poste des Miamis dans le Convoy de M. de Celoron qui va au detroit

#### 2.

Nous l'avons Jnstruit des dispositions peu avantageuses des Nations dud. Poste pour les français, et il sçait que nous ne

[*Translation*]

Instructions for the Sieur de Villiers, lieutenant of infantry  
commanding the Miamis post

#### 1

The said Sieur de Villiers will set off immediately from this city with one of the king's canoes, in which he will embark two soldiers, in order to reach the said post of the Miamis as promptly as possible, in the convoy of M. de Céloron which is going to Detroit.

#### 2

We have informed him of the disadvantageous attitude toward the French of the tribes of that post; and he knows that we

Nous Sommes determines a lui en donner le Commendemt que Sur le Credit qu'il S'est acquis parmi ces nations sur sa capacité et le zele qu'il a pour le Service du Roy, ainsi il doit faire son possible pour repondre a la Confiance que nous avons en lui dans un Commendement si important eu Egard aux circonstances presentes

## 3.

Il faut donc que led. S. de Villiers fasse tout son possible pour degouter lesd. nations de l'attachement qu'elles ont pour les anglais, et pour les porter a aimer uniquement les français, nous

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Sçavons que cette negotiation n'est pas bien aiséé; mais nous Esperons par les Soins dud. Sr de Villiers parvenir arenouveler leurs Sentimens de fidelité pour les français

## 4.

Le Credit et lamitié qu'il S'est acquis de la part de la demoiselle

## [Translation]

only decided to give him the command because of the reputation which he has gained among those tribes, of his capacity, and of his zeal for the king's service. Accordingly he should do his best to justify the confidence we place in him for a command so important under the present circumstances.

## 3

The said Sieur de Villiers must, therefore, do his utmost to break the said tribes of their attachment to the English, and to bring them to love only the French. We know this business is not very easy. But through the pains of the Sieur de Villiers we hope to attain to a renewal of their sentiments of fidelity to the French.

## 4

He cannot but find a great resource in the influence and friendship which he has acquired with La Demoiselle and with the

et du fils du Gris qu'il Enverra chercher ne pourra que lui etre d'un tres grand Secours ce Sauvage est tres accredité aupres dela demoiselle il est question de l'Engager a lui aller parler, et a faire tous Ses Efforts pour le Ramener avec toute sa bande dans leur ancien village pour cet Effet le d. sr de Villiers lui donnera de meme qu'au pied froid un habit de chef complet que nous lui avons remis et leur fera quelque autre present

Jl Enverra a la demoiselle un habit de chef complet que nous lui avons aussi Remis

## 5.

Après que le Sr Villiers aura fait parler a la demoiselle par le fils du gris et qu'il se Sera assuré de Sa parole pour qu'il puisse l'aller voir Sans aucun Risque, il pourra quitter son poste pour y aller avec une Escorte de quelques français et Sauvages de la bande du pied froid les plus affidés et menera avec lui le fils dugris. le tout Supposé qu'il croye ce voyage necessaire pour

## [Translation]

son of Le Gris, whom he will send after. This last Indian has much influence with La Demoiselle. It is therefore a question of inducing him to go to speak with La Demoiselle, and to make all possible efforts to bring that chief, with all his band, back to their old village. To this end the Sieur de Villiers will give Le Gris's son as well as Le Pied Froid the complete costume of chiefs, with which we have provided him. He will also make them some other presents.

He will send La Demoiselle a complete chief's costume which we have also provided.

## 5

After the Sieur de Villiers has had La Demoiselle spoken to by the son of Le Gris, and after he has made sure of La Demoiselle's word that he may come to see him without any risk, he may leave his post and go thither with an escort of some French and of the most faithful Indians of Le Pied Froid's band. He will take with him the son of Le Gris, and all this on the sup-



parvenir arapeller la demoiselle et toute sa bande dans leur ancien village

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sil fait ledit voyage il laissera le Commendement de son fort au fils de M. de Celoron et lui donnera Ses Instructions, M. de Celoron a ordre de completer la garnison des Miamis a dix Soldats

## 6.

Au Surplus dans tous les Conseils que led. Sr de Villiers tiendra avec les differentes nations dud. Poste il leur dîra qu'en faveur de mon arrivée J'ay bien voulu oublier leur conduite passée et leur accorder une amnistie generale, que Je les aime tous, et que Je pourvoiray a leurs besoins, pourveu qu'ils se detachent des Anglais et fassent Inviolablement ma volonté

## 7.

Jl Rendra Compte de tout ce qui Se passera dans son poste a

[*Translation*]

position that he thinks the journey necessary in order to recall La Demoiselle and all his band to their old village.

If he makes the journey mentioned, he will leave the command of his fort to the son of M. de Céloron and will give him his instructions. M. de Céloron has orders to fill up the garrison of the Miamis to the number of ten soldiers.

## 6

Furthermore in all the councils that the said Sieur de Villiers will hold with the different tribes of the said post he will tell them that to signalize my arrival I have been disposed to forget their past conduct and to allow them a general amnesty; that I love them all, and that I will provide for their needs, provided that they detach themselves from the English and do my will in all things.

## 7

He will give an account of whatever happens in his post, to

M. de Celoron Commandant du detroit et de tous les Postes du Sud, et obeira a Ses ordres

## 8.

Jl prendra toutes les precautions necessaires pour etre Instruit des deliberations que les nations qui Sont Rebelles pourroient prendre, et il ne negligera rien pour etre en Seureté dans son fort

## 9.

Comme le dit fort a besoin de plusieurs Reparations et qu'il Conviendra meme de le mettre dans une position plus avantageuse

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le Sr de Villiers choisira le terrain le plus propre a faire construire un nouveau fort, il conferera avec le Sr de Raymond sur la place qu'il nous a proposé et supposé qu'elle soit bonne, il n'en prendra pas d'autre

Le fort des Miamis naiant été Construit que pour Servir d'azile aux voyageurs et pour leur propre Seureté, il faut qu'ils

[Translation]

M. de Céloron, commandant of Detroit and of all the southern posts, and will obey his orders.

## 8

He will take all necessary measures to be informed of any deliberations on the part of the rebel tribes, and he will neglect nothing for his security in his fort.

## 9

As the said fort needs various repairs, and as it will even be desirable to put it on a more advantageous site, the Sieur de Villiers will choose the most proper place in which to build a new fort. He will confer with the Sieur de Raymond as to the place which he proposes to us. If it is good, he will select no other.

As the Miamis fort was constructed solely to serve as a refuge to the *voyageurs*, and for their own safety, they must by

Contribuent par leurs travaux a la batisse dud. fort, ainsi il Com-mendera une partie desd. voyageurs, et de leurs Engages par Corvée et a tour de Rolle pour faire les ouvrages les plus pres-sants, Soit en coupant du Bois de Pieus soit autrement pendant cet hyver, notre Jntention n'étant pas de detruire le vieux fort qu'après que les affaires Seront racommodées avec les nations voisines.

## 10.

Nous donnons ordre au Sr de Carqueville Commandant aux Sathanons de travailler de son Coté aramener les Sauvages Rebelles dans leur devoir et d'Employer toutes les voyes de douceur pour les Engager aretourner dans leur ancien village il Corespondra avec le Sr de Villiers, et ils s'instruiront mutuellement de tout ce qui Se passera d'interessant pour le Service du Roy

## 11.

Ledit S. de Villiers prendra toutes les precautions 196 Jmma-

## [Translation]

their labors contribute to the building of the said fort. Accord-ingly the Sieur de Villiers will commandeer a part of the said *voyageurs* and of their *engagés* to work in rotation at the most pressing tasks, whether cutting wood for pickets, or otherwise, during this winter; for it is our intention not to destroy the old fort until matters are arranged with the tribes adjacent.

## 10

We are giving orders to the Sieur de Carqueville, comman-dant at Ouiatanon, to work on his side to bring the rebel Indians back to their duty, and to employ all gentle methods to induce them to return to their old village. He will correspond with the Sieur de Villiers, and they will mutually inform each other of everything that occurs of importance for the king's service.

## 11

The said Sieur de Villiers will take all imaginable precau-

ginables pour la Seureté des français, leur Sera touiours favorable, et les facilitera autant qu'il Sera en son possible pour qu'ils fassent leur traite

12.

Jl tiendra tres Exactlyement la main a L'Execution de L'ordonnance par nous Rendue le 29. may dernier particulièrement aux Articles 4. Et 5.<sup>1</sup>

13.

Jl nous Rendra Compte de tout ce qui se passera dans son Poste par toutes les occasions qui se presenteront et ne nous Envoyera des Exprés que dans les cas Extraordinaires et tres pressants

Au Surplus nous nous en Raportons ala Sagesse, prudence et Experience dud. Sr de Villiers pour tous les autres Cas que nous n'avons peuprevoir dans la presente instruction fait a MONTREAL le 10e Juillet 1750.

pour Coppie LAIONQUIERE

[*Translation*]

tions for the safety of the French. He will always favor them, and so far as he can, make it easy for them to carry on their trade.

12

He will be very strict in the enforcement of our ordinance of May 29 last, especially of articles 4 and 5.<sup>1</sup>

13

He will make us reports of whatever happens at his post by all the occasions that offer. He will send us expresses only in very pressing and extraordinary cases.

For the rest we rely on the sagacity, prudence, and experience of the said Sieur de Villiers in all the other cases which we have not foreseen in the present instruction.

Done at MONTREAL, July 10, 1750

A true copy LA JONQUIÈRE

<sup>1</sup> This ordinance of May 29, 1750 forbade all trade either directly or indirectly with the English under pain of confiscation of goods and a

ENGAGEMENT OF DUBREUIL<sup>1</sup> TO DE VILLIERS, July 13, 1750

[C. H. S., Schmidt Collection, 2:326]

Loüis Coulon Escuyer Sr De villiers Lieutenant D'une Compagnie D'Infanterie Et Commandant pour Le Roy au Poste des miamis Dune part Et françois Josue de La Corne Escuyer Sr Dubreuil aussy Lieutenant d'Une Compagnie D'Infanterie D'autre part, Demeurant En cette Ville Lesquels ont fait Ensemble Les Conventions Qui suivrent C'est a scavoir que Ledt Sr Dubreuil promet fournir audt Sr de Villiers pendant quil sera audt poste Les marchandises quil aura. Besoin suivant Les memoires que Ledt Sr De villiers Luy enverra sur le pied de Dix pour Cent au dessus du Benefice de Quebec Et si au Cas Ledt Sr de villiers Le Invoit Des pelteries Il les fera Valloir au de Sr de villiers sur Le pied de la Recette de Quebec Donnant pouvoir Ledt Sr

[Translation]

Louis Coulon, esquire, Sieur de Villiers, lieutenant of a company of infantry and commandant for the king at the post of the Miamis, on the one part, and François Josué de la Corne, esquire, Sieur Dubreuil, also lieutenant of a company of infantry on the other part, a resident in this city, have made the following agreements with each other: that is to say that the said Sieur Dubreuil promises to furnish to the said Sieur de Villiers, while he shall be at the said post, such goods as he shall require, pursuant to the lists the said Sieur de Villiers will send him, and at the rate of 10 per cent above the Quebec profit; and if the said Sieur de Villiers consigns peltry to him, he will credit it to the said Sieur de Villiers at the rate at which it is taken at Quebec;

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fine of three thousand livres. Officials were to seize persons trading or corresponding with New England. All foreign merchandise introduced into the colony was to be taken, as well as all that might be sent to New England by French, English, or Indians. Informers were allowed one-third of the merchandise and the fine. A N Colonies C11A 95:266.

<sup>1</sup>François Josué de la Corne, Sieur Dubreuil, baptized October 7, 1710, died October 18, 1753. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire*, 3:285, 286; A N Colonies C11A 99:128. He was commanding at Kaministiquia as ensign in 1743, and was recommended for a lieutenancy in that year [A N Colonies C11A 79:147v, 196v], the rank he held at the time of his death. In 1747 he was dispatched to carry a message to the Indians of St. Joseph. *Ibid.*, 117:120, 131.

de Villiers audt Sr<sup>1</sup> Dubreuil de toucher Et Recevoir de qui Il appartiendra sa Gratification a Luy accordé par sa majesté En Receu En Donner toute quittance Et Descharge Valable<sup>2</sup> quant au [MS. torn] Et a L eaudevie que Ledt Sr Dubreuil Luy fournira [MS. torn] au prix de quebec Les quels seront aux Risque dudit [MS. torn] villiers En par Luy En payer Le port Et autres fraix [MS. torn] bee En Cette Ville Car ainsy &c Promettant [MS. torn] nt &c fait Et passé audt montreal Etude dedt [MS. torn] nau Luy desdes nors Lan mil Sept Cent Cinquante Le treiziesme Juillet apres Midy Etant Les parties signés avec Lesdes Nores Lecture fait suivant Lord Deux mots Rayés sont nuls

LACORNE DUBREUIL DE VILLIERS.

[Translation]

the Sieur de Villiers empowers the Sieur Dubreuil to collect and receive for what may be due to him the allowance accorded the Sieur de Villiers by His Majesty, and to give all receipts and discharges for it which shall be valid. As to [MS. torn] and brandy the said Sieur Dubreuil shall supply it to him [MS. torn] at the Quebec price at the risk of the said [MS. torn] Villiers and by him pay the freight and other charges [MS. torn] in this city. For thus, etc., promising, [renounc]ing, etc., made and passed at Montreal aforesaid in the office of the said [MS. torn] he the said notaries, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty July 13 in the afternoon, the parties having signed with the said notaries after the agreement was read in accord with the ordinance.

Two words crossed out do not apply.

LA CORNE DUBREUIL DE VILLIERS

<sup>1</sup> The word "de villiers" is crossed out at this point.

<sup>2</sup> The word "et" is crossed out at this point.

VAUDREUIL TO ROUILLÉ, September 24, 1750

[A N Colonies C13A 34:276]

MONSEIGNEUR

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Mr de la Jonquière vient de me faire part de Ses Intentions Sur la nécessité qu'il ad'auguementer Le nombre d'habitans dans cette partie pour y Contenir les nations Sauvages, et mettre des Bornes aux Anglois qui ne cherchent qu'a Enticiper de ce côté la, et majoute S'il ne conviendrait pas mieux de faire passer par le Canada que par la louïsianne les familles que Sa Majesté Se determineroit ay envoyer

Je luy ay fait Réponce que Cette entreprise me paroisoit Bien plus facile et Bien moins dispendieuse en l'uy faisant prendre la voye de Ce païs qui est Selon moy Bien plus courte par la navigation de Ce fleuve qui conduit Jusqu'aux Jllinois et Bien au dessus Sans Aucun portage, et qu'au Surplus, il y a des Ra-fraichissemens Sur toute la Route parle moïen de la Chasse qui

[Translation]

MONSEIGNEUR:

M. de la Jonquière has just communicated to me his intentions as to the necessity he is under of increasing the number of inhabitants in that region to control the Indian tribes and to set bounds to the English who seek to preëmt that country. He suggests that it might be better to send through Canada rather than Louisiana the families which His Majesty may decide to send.

I have answered him that this enterprise appears to me both much more easy and much less expensive if the families are sent through this country, which is to my way of thinking shorter as a result of the navigation of this river, which leads as far as the Illinois and much above without any portage. Otherwise supplies are available along all the route by means of hunting, the country



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y est extrêmement      abondante en Boeufs, Chevreuils; ours, et  
Dindes,

.....

ROUILLÉ TO MICHEL, September 26, 1750

[A N Colonies B91:8]

Dupta                      a M. Michel

A VERSAILLES le 26. 7bre 1750.

J'ai receu, M., vos lettres des 22, 27. Janvier et 24 may  
derniers avec les pieces qui y estoient jointes.

Les depenses que les convoys des Illinois occasionnent chaque  
année sont trop considerables pour qu'elles soient exemptes d'abus.  
Je n'avois cependant pas imaginé que ces abus pussent aller aussi  
loin que vous me le marquez. L'arrangement que vous proposez  
pour y remedier de donner à l'entreprise à des particuliers le  
transport des effets qu'il y aura à envoyer chaque année pour le  
compte du Roy dans ce poste, paroît convenable à tous egards;  
Et par une depêche commune à vous et à Mr de Vaudreuil, vous  
verrez que S. M. l'a approuvé. Je vous explique par la meme

[Translation]

abounding greatly in buffalo, deer, bear, and turkeys.

.....

Duplicate                      To M. Michel

VERSAILLES, September 26, 1750

I have received, Monsieur, your letters of January 22 and  
27 and of May 24 last, with the documents annexed to them.

The expenses occasioned by the Illinois convoys each year are  
too great to be free of abuses. I had not however imagined that  
those abuses could go so far as you indicated to me. The arrange-  
ment which you propose as a remedy to turn over to private per-  
sons the transportation of the goods to be sent to that post each  
year for the king's account appears suitable in all respects; and  
by a joint dispatch to you and to M. de Vaudreuil you will see  
that His Majesty has approved it. In the same dispatch I ex-

depeche ses intentions sur ce que vous avez à faire à ce sujet ; et S. M. attend de votre Zele qu'en meme temps que vous pourvoires à cette entreprise sur le pied que vous l'avez proposé, vous ne negligeriez rien pour en rendre les conditions les moins onereuses qu'il sera possible.

La conduite du S. de Montchervaux qui a eu le commandement des deux derniers convoys ne doit pas rester impunie. Vous verrez par la meme depeche commune que, sans vous compromettre, je vous demande les eclaircissements dont j'ai besoin pour pouvoir procurer un exemple propre à contenir les officiers qui auront de pareilles missions.

.....

[*Translation*]

plain to you his intentions as to what you have to do in this matter ; and His Majesty expects from your zeal that while putting that enterprise on the footing that you have proposed you neglect nothing to render the terms as little burdensome as possible.

The conduct of the Sieur de Montchervaux, who has had the command of the last two convoys, should not go unpunished. You will see by the same common dispatch that without compromising you I ask of you the information that I need in order to be able to make an example that will serve to restrain officers on similar missions.

.....

ROUILLÉ TO VAUDREUIL AND MICHEL, September 26, 1750

[A N Colonies B91:13]

Dupta a Mrs de Vaudreuil et Michel.

A VERSAILLES le 26. 7bre 1750.

MRS

Il y a deja longtemps qu'on a eu lieu de s'apercevoir que les convoys qu'on expedie chaque année pour le poste des Illinois occasionnent des depenses et des consommations tres considerables; et elles se trouvent actuellement portées au point qu'il n'est plus possible de differer d'y remedier.

M. Michel, à qui j'en avois ecrit, a proposé de donner à l'entreprise à des particuliers le transport des effets qu'il peut y avoir a envoyer chaque année dans ce poste et de decharger par là le Roy de pourvoir pour son compte à l'expedition des convoys. Cette proposition paroissant convenable à tous egards, l'intention de S. M. est de la faire executer; et je recommande surtout à M. Michel de reduire les conditions qui lui seront proposées pour cette entreprise autant qu'il lui sera possible.

Il sera sans doute necessaire de faire toujours escorter les

[*Translation*]

Duplicate To MM. de Vaudreuil and Michel

VERSAILLES, September 26, 1750

MESSIEURS:

For a long time it has been easy to see that the convoys sent each year to the post of the Illinois occasion very considerable expenses and disbursements; and they have actually reached a point at which it is no longer possible to put off remedying them.

M. Michel, to whom I had written, has proposed turning over to private persons the task of transporting the goods to be sent each year to that post and thus to discharge the king of providing for the dispatch of convoys on his own account. This proposal appears in all respects proper, and the intention of His Majesty is to put it in execution; and I recommend especially to M. Michel to scale down the terms which shall be proposed to him for that undertaking as much as possible.

It will doubtless be necessary always to have the convoys

convoys par un detachement de troupes afin de les mettre pendant leur route à l'abry des incursions des Sauvages; mais dans ce cas M. de Vaudreuil doit etre attentif à reduire le detachement à ce qui sera absolument necessaire pour la sureté des convoys et à n'en confier le commandement qu'à des officiers qui par leurs talents et leur sagesse soient propres à les bien conduire. Je dois à cette occasion vous faire part de ce qui m'est revenu sur le compte du S. de Montchervaux à qui le commandement des deux derniers convoys a été donné.

On pretend que cet officier, non content d'avoir embarqué avant son depart de la Nouvelle Orleans tous les effets qu'il a trouvé à charger tant pour son compte que pour celui des particuliers, en a encore chargé dans tous les postes ou il a passé autant

13v

que les marchands et les traitteurs qui s'y trouverent ont voulu lui en fournir. J'ai remarqué d'ailleurs par le compte qui m'a été rendu des depenses de la Colonie que celles de ces deux convoys sont d'un objet trop considerable pour qu'il n'y ait point

[*Translation*]

escorted by a detachment of troops in order to protect them during their passage from the attacks of the Indians; but in that case M. de Vaudreuil should be careful to reduce the detachment to what is absolutely necessary for the safety of the convoys and to give the command of it only to officers who by their talents and sagacity are fit to conduct it well. I should on this occasion let you know what has come to me on the subject of the Sieur de Montchervaux, to whom the command of the last two convoys was given.

It is claimed that this officer, not content with having before his departure from New Orleans loaded all the goods which he could find both for his own account and for that of other persons, has nevertheless taken on in other posts he has passed as much as the merchants and traders there would supply him. Moreover I have noticed by the account which has been furnished me of the expenses of the colony that the costs of these two convoys are altogether too large an item for the Sieur de Mont-

eu d'abus de la part du S. de Montchervaux dans sa mission; et l'on pretend meme encore qu'à tous ces faits, il a ajouté une conduite crapuleuse qui n'a pu que lui attirer les mepris des françois et des Sauvages qui en ont eü connoissance.

Vous devez juger de l'impression que de pareils rapports, qui ont esté accompagnés de circes qui ne permettent pas d'en douter, ont du faire contre cet officier. J'ai cependant suspendu de prendre les ordres du Roy jusqu'à ce que, sur le compte que vous aurez agréable de me rendre de ce qui s'est passé, je puisse proposer à S. M. d'y pourvoir d'une maniere proportionnée aux abus qu'il peut avoir faits dans sa mission et à ce que doit exiger ce qu'on lui reproche de sa conduite personnelle. J'attendray donc le detail que vous devez me faire à ce sujet, et auquel je compte que vous satisferez de façon à ne me laisser rien ignorer.

Mais l'arrangement que je viens de vous expliquer par rapport aux convoys, une fois etabli, il faudra que M. Michel examine celui qu'on doit prendre par rapport aux negres et aux Bateaux

[*Translation*]

chervaux not to have been guilty of abuses in this mission; and it is even claimed that in addition to all these things he has been guilty of a drunken demeanor which could only draw on him the contempt of the French and Indians who knew of it.

You may judge of the impression that such reports, accompanied by circumstances which leave no doubt of their truth, have made to the disfavor of that officer. I have, however, awaited taking the king's orders until, on the account which you will be good enough to give me of what has happened, I can propose to His Majesty to deal with it in a manner proportioned to the abuses of which he may have been guilty in his mission and to what the reproaches cast on his personal behavior would demand. I shall then await the details which you are to furnish me on this subject, taking it for granted that you will see to it that I am informed of everything.

And once the arrangement with respect to the convoys which I have just explained to you is established, it will be necessary that M. Michel examine what should be done concerning the

du Roy qu'on employoit à ces convoys. Le plus convenable seroit sans doute de les vendre, mais c'est surquoy S. M. ne veut cependant lui rien prescrire; et Elle s'en raporte à ce qu'il estimera qu'il peut y avoir de plus avantageux à faire à cet égard.

Je suis, Mrs

ROUILLÉ TO VAUDREUIL, September 26, 1750

[A N Colonies B91:14]

Dupta a M. de Vaudreuil

A VERSAILLES 26. 7bre 1750.

M.

J'ai reçu vos lettres des 26. 28. aoust, 16. 20. 29. septembre de l'année dre et 31. janvier de celle-cy.

J'ay été très fâché d'apprendre la mort de M. le Cher de Berthet Commandant aux Illinois. C'est une perte pour le service; et il est fort à désirer que le Sr de macarthy, à qui sa place a été donnée, s'occupe avec autant d'attention que luy des moyens de parvenir aux progrès de cet établissement, et particulièrement

[*Translation*]

negroes and the boats of the king which have been employed in these convoys. The most proper thing would be doubtless to sell them, but on that His Majesty wishes to give no orders; and he awaits what will be thought most proper to be done in that respect.

I am, Messieurs—

Duplicate To M. de Vaudreuil

VERSAILLES, September 26, 1750

MONSIEUR:

I have received your letters of August 26 and 28 and September 16, 20, and 29 of last year and January 31 of this year.

I was very sorry to learn of the death of M. le Chevalier de Bertet, commandant in the Illinois. It is a loss to the service; and it is much to be desired that the Sieur de Macarty, to whom his place has been given, may give as much attention as he did to means of securing the progress of that settlement and particu-

à y faire multiplier les cultures. cet objet doit toujours marcher avant les autres dont le poste peut etre susceptible; et vous ne sauriez de votre costé etre trop attentif à faire sentir aux habitans que c'est principalement du succès des cultures que depend celui de leur etablissement. S. M. est disposé a destiner comme cela a deja eté proposé, des faux sauniers et des Contrebandiers du Royaume à etre transferés dans la Colonie; et il conviendra de fre passer aux Illinois ceux, qui pourront y etre employés utilement à la culture du bled, en prenant des mesures pour les y fixer et pour les mettre en etat d'y former des etablissements eux mesmes avec le temps.

Vous ne sauriez etre trop attentif aux entreprises des Anglois du costé des terres du nord de la Colonie; et il convient que le Commandant des Illinois ait des ordres de veiller exactement sur leurs demarches dans cette partie affin de vous mettre en etat de faire echouer les entreprises qu'ils pourroient tenter.

Dez que les Ozages et les Oyaois se sont disculpés du soupçon qu'on avoit eu contr'eux à l'occasion du meurtre de deux

[*Translation*]

larly of increasing the cultivation of the soil. That pursuit must always be preferred to the others of which that post may be capable; and you on your side cannot be too attentive to making the inhabitants understand that it is chiefly on the success of their cultivation that the success of their settlement depends. His Majesty is disposed as has already been proposed to have the salt smugglers and other smugglers of the kingdom transferred to that colony; and it will be proper to send to the Illinois those who can be usefully employed in the raising of wheat, taking measures to establish them there and to enable them to make settlements themselves in time.

You cannot be too watchful of the enterprise of the English in the direction of the lands to the north of the colony; and it will be proper that the commandants of the Illinois have orders to watch carefully their doings in that region in order to enable you to frustrate the enterprises they may attempt.

Once the Osage and the Iowa have cleared themselves of the suspicion attaching to them on the occasion of the murder of



françois, coureurs de bois, qui ont été tués, S. M. s'approuvé que vous n'ayiez pas poussé cette affre plus loin.

Il seroit fort à desirer que l'abondance des marchandises de france dont la Colonie se trouvoit chargée eût pu y attirer des Traiteurs Espagnols, mais il est à craindre que les mesures de

toute espee que le Ministere d'Espagne <sup>14v</sup> a prises sur cette matiere n'ayent fait echoïer celles de nos Negts pour l'exportation de ces marchandises. Quoy qu'il en soit, S. M. ne peut que continuer de vous recommander de favoriser ce commerce en tout ce qui pourra dependre de vous....

ROUILLÉ TO VAUDREUIL, September 30, 1750

[A N Colonies B91:21]

Dupta a M. de Vaudreuil

A VERSAILLES le 30. 7bre 1750.

.....  
21v . . .

A l'égard des chaouanons, on vous a desja marqué que vous ne devez rien negliger pour les entretenir dans la fidelité qu'ils

[Translation]

the two French *coureurs de bois*, His Majesty approves that you have not carried that affair further.

It would be much to be desired that abundance of French goods in the colony might draw Spanish traders, but it is to be feared that the various measures which the Spanish ministry has taken on that matter may have brought about the failure of the attempts of our merchants to export their goods. However that may be, His Majesty can only continue to recommend to you to favor this trade so far as it may depend on you. . . .

Duplicate To M. de Vaudreuil

VERSAILLES, September 30, 1750

.....  
With respect to the Shawnee you have already been told that you should neglect nothing to maintain them in the fidelity they

ont voué aux françois; Et S. M. compte que vous ne negligerez point les mesures qu'il peut y avoir à prendre sur cela; mais pour s'assurer solidement de ces sauvages, il seroit a souhaiter qu'on pût les attirer dans quelqu'un de nos Postes, soit du costé des Illinois coe cela avoit d'abord esté projeté, soit du costé des natchez coe vous l'avez eu en dernier lieu en vüe. Par raport aux mses pour tous ces Sauvages, on en trouvera ce qui peut leur en estre necessaire dans l'aprovisionnement qui a esté proposé cette année; mais pour n'estre plus dans le cas d'en manquer, vis à vis d'eux non plus que vis à vis les autres nations, vous n'avez qu'a faciliter l'arrangement des Postes sur le pié que je vous l'explique par une depesche commune. Alors les fermiers charges de la traite chez les Alibamons demanderont en france des mses des especes convenables pour cette nation laquelle ne sera plus par ce moyen dans le cas de se plaindre qu'on la laisse manquer.

Il est bon que les Arkansas continuent de faire des courses contre Les Chicachas. La destruction entiere de cette dre nation,

[*Translation*]

have vowed to the French; and His Majesty expects that you will in no wise neglect such measures as are to be taken to this end. But to make sure of these Indians it would be desirable to draw them into one of our posts either on the side of the Illinois as had already been proposed or on the side of the Natchez as you have lately considered. With respect to the goods for all these Indians, what is necessary for them will be found in the supply which is proposed for this year; but that you may no longer be in want of what you need for them or for the other Indians you need only facilitate the settlement of the posts on the footing which I have explained to you in a joint dispatch. Accordingly the farmers charged with the trade among the Alibamu will seek in France goods of a proper sort for this nation which thus will no longer be able to complain that it has been left in want.

It is good that the Quapaw continue to make raids on the Chickasaw. The complete destruction of that nation, if it could

si elle peut avoir lieu coe vous le pensez, ne pourra que contribuer à restablir le Calme en contenant les autres Sauvages.

Par raport aux Natchez, c'est à vous de voir s'il convient de leur faire grace; Et S. M. ne peut que s'en raporter à vostre prudence à cet egard.

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Il falloit bien s'attendre que le peu de succes du detachement envoyé l'année derniere de Canada sur la belle Riviere ne manqueroit pas d'augmenter les mouvemens des Sauvages qui se sont rassembles sur cette Riviere, au lieu de les calmer. M. Le Mis de La jonquiere m'a cependant informé que les anglois établis parmi ces Sauvages s'estoient retires à la premiere sommation que le Sr de Celoron commandt du detachement leur en avoit faite et que cet offer estoit convenu avec les Sauvages qu'il leur seroit envoyé cette année des traiteurs françois de Canada. c'est par des Lettres du mois de fer der que ce Gouverneur m a fait ce detail; et alors il ignoroit sans doute les demarches faites par les Miamis de la Riviere de la Roche et dont vous m'avez rendu compte par la vostre du 9. juillet. il n'est pas douteux que

[*Translation*]

be accomplished as you think, could only contribute to establishing tranquillity by restraining the other Indians.

As to the Natchez, it is for you to see if it is proper to pardon them; and His Majesty can only rely on your prudence in that respect.

It had to be expected that the small success of the detachment sent last year from Canada to the Ohio River would increase the activity of the Indians assembled on that river instead of quieting them. M. le Marquis de la Jonquière however has informed me that the English settled among these Indians withdrew at the first summons made to them by the Sieur de Céloron, commandant of the detachment, and that that officer had agreed with the Indians that French traders from Canada would be sent them this year. The governor reported these details in his letters of February last; then no doubt he was ignorant of the maneuvers of the Miami of Great Miami River of which you have given me an account by yours of July 9. There is no doubt

sur le per avis qu'il aura eu de ces demarches, il aura pris le parti d'envoyer des detachements pour dissiper l'espece de conspiration que les Anglois paroissent avoir formée contre nous par la voye de ces Sauvages. S. M. vous recommande expressement de ne rien negliger de vostre costé pour faire echouer leurs tentatives; Et elle ne peut que s'en remettre à vous pour les mesures qu'il peut y avoir à prendre à cet egard.

Je suis M.

LA JONQUIÈRE TO ROUILLÉ, October 15, 1750

[A N Colonies C11A 95:286]

MONSEIGNEUR

.....  
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M de Vaudreuil regarde cette affaire comme finie, il va travailler a reconcilier la nation des Tchaktas et leur faire entre eux une paix aussi solide qu'il luy Sera possible, après quoy il se propose de les faire partir pour aller fraper sur les Tchikakas

[*Translation*]

that on the first information which he has had of these activities he will have taken the course of sending detachments to break up the sort of conspiracy which the English appear to have formed against us by means of these Indians. His Majesty recommends to you expressly to neglect nothing on your side to make their attempts fail. And he can only refer to you the measures necessary to be taken in this respect.

I am, Monsieur—

MONSEIGNEUR:

.....  
M. de Vaudreuil regards this affair as finished. He will work at reconciling the Choctaw and at making a peace among them which will be as permanent as he can make it. Afterwards he proposes to send them off to attack the Chickasaw who have

qui ont commis les premiers actes d'hostilité sur les français, JI espere de parvenir par leur moyen a détruire dans trois ans tous les dits Tchikakas qui ne font en tout que 300 hommes JI

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faira aussi donner sur eux plusieurs autres nations de son Gouvernement, il m'invite a engager de mon coté les nations du Detroit, des Miamis, Syatanons et autres de ce continent lá, de même que les Jroquois du Sault St Louis et du Lac des deux montagnes, a aller faire coup sur les dits Tchikakas, ce a quoy je travailleray le printems prochain pour determiner ces derniers a partir.

Au reste Jay instruit M de Vaudreüil du peu de succès de la Campagne de M de Celoron a la Belle riviere et je luy ay reiteré qu'il falloit qu'il fit tout son possible pour reunir les

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Cha8anons au reste de leur nation. Je luy ay fait part en meme tems des nouvelles que jay eü de M de Reymond, des missions que jay confié aux ss Marin et de Joncaire et de lordre

[*Translation*]

committed the first acts of hostility against the French. He hopes by their means in three years to complete the destruction of all the Chickasaw who in all are no more than three hundred men. He also will have them attacked by several other tribes of his government. He has requested me on my side to engage the tribes of Detroit, the Miami, the Wea, and others of this region as well as the Iroquois of the Sault St. Louis and of the Lake of the Two Mountains to go and attack the Chickasaw; I will endeavor next spring to induce the tribes last mentioned to go.

For the rest I have instructed M. de Vaudreuil as to the small success of M. de Céloron's campaign on the Ohio River, and I have reiterated to him that it was necessary for him to do everything possible to unite the Shawnee to the rest of their tribe. At the same time I have communicated to him the news I have had from M. de Raymond, the missions which I have confided to the Sieurs Marin and de Joncaire, and the order which I

que jay donné au dit S de Celoron, d'envoyer un officier a la Belleriviere.

Je suis avec un très profond respect Monseigneur  
Vôtre très humble et tres obeissant Serviteur  
LAJONQUIERE

LA JONQUIÈRE TO ROUILLÉ, October 15, 1750

[A N Colonies C11A 95:289]

MONSEIGNEUR

Je viens de recevoir une lettre du S. Benoist S Clain Commandant au fort de Chartres en datte du 3. avril dernier par laquelle il me rend compte de tout ce qui s'est passé dans son poste.

Il m'apprend qu'il a été tué trois canadiens dans le Missisipi, nommés Nolan, Piquiere et fabien, par les Sioux des Lacs et que ce meurtre a été occasionné par plusieurs mauvais propos que certains Canadiens avoient tenu aux Sauvages, Ce qui s'est trouvé  
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faux, sachant positivement que ce sont les Sioux des prairiës lesquels sont souvent en guerre avec les Sioux des Lacs, quoy que

[*Translation*]

have given the said Sieur de Céloron to send an officer to the Ohio River.

I am with very profound respect, Monseigneur,  
Your very humble and very obedient servant,  
LA JONQUIÈRE

MONSEIGNEUR:

I have just received a letter from the Sieur Benoist St. Claire, commandant at Fort de Chartres, dated April 3 last, by which he gives me an account of everything that has happened at his post. He informs me that three Canadians named Nolan, Piquiere, and Fabien, have been killed on the Mississippi by the Sioux of the lakes and that this murder has been caused by some ill discourse which certain Canadians have had with the Indians. This has proved to be false since we know positively that it was the Sioux of the prairie, often at war with the Sioux of the lakes

de la même nation, et aiant fait emprisonner les dits canadiens a leur arrivée, ils m'ont présenté pour leur justification un ordre que le Commandant de la Baye leur donna a la requisition des fermiers pour aller arreter les voyageurs des Jllinois auxquels le dit s Benoist avoit permis d'aller faire leur traite dans les limites de la Baye, Ce qui prouve que le dit S Benoist a eu ses vuës particuliers en me portant Ses plaintes.

J'avois deja été informé de la triste fin de ces Canadiens et j'ay ecrit au dit s Benoist le 6 Juillet dernier, de faire son possible pour se faire livrer les meurtriers et avoir le consentement

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de leur nation pour leur faire casser la tete.

Je l'ay informé par la même lettre que les Jllinois avoient fait coup sur quelques P8tet&atamis de la riviere st Joseph qui m'en ont porté leurs plaintes et qu'il ne doit rien negliger pour engager les Jllinois a leur envoyer des deputés pour couvrir la mort de leurs freres et faire leur paix avec cette nation.

Le dit S Benoist me marque aussi que le nommé Giguere et

[Translation]

although of the same tribe, who had made the Canadians prisoners. On their arrival, the Indians offered me in their defense an order which the commandant at Green Bay gave them at the request of the farmers of that post to go and check the *voyageurs* of the Illinois whom the said Sieur Benoist had permitted to go and trade within the bounds of Green Bay. This proves that the said Sieur Benoist had his private interests in making complaint to me.

I had already been informed of the sad end of these Canadians, and I wrote to Sieur Benoist July 6 last to do all possible to get the murderers delivered up and to get the consent of their tribe to tomahawk them.

I informed him by the same letter that the Illinois had attacked some Potawatomi of St. Joseph River who have complained to me and that he should neglect nothing in order to induce the Illinois to send representatives to them to cover the death of their brothers and to make peace with that tribe.

The said Sieur Benoist informs me also that the person



son esclave ont été tués dans la riviere des Moëns par un party des petits Ossages, mais qu'il a fait tuer le coupable par Sa nation même et que le s. de Portneuf luy en a envoyé la Chevelure.

Il me confirme toutes les mauvaises nouvelles que jay eü des Miamis refugiés a la riviere a la Roche et ajoute que la

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Demoiselle chef de ces rebelles, fait tout son possible, a la sollicitation des Anglais pour attirer dans son party les nations de Sabache et meme celles qui sont domicilies dans le fort Chartres; quil y a eu des parolles et des colliers rependûs Jusqué dans le Missouri pour faire revolter toutes les nations et leur faire faire main basse sur les français, JI observe que pour peu de tems que le poste de la riviere a la roche, subsiste, les anglais parviendront a s'affider les dtes nations de Sabache, ensuite celles de son poste et insensiblement celles du Missouri ce qui donneroit lieu, non seulement a la perte de son poste, dont les anglais ne manqueroient pas de s'emparer, mais encore a la perte du commerce du Canada et de la communication du Missisipi.

[*Translation*]

called Giguere and his slave were killed on the Des Moines River by a party of the Little Osage, but that he has had the guilty man killed by his own tribe and that the Sieur de Portneuf has sent his scalp. He confirms to me all the bad news which I have had of the Miami who have taken refuge on Great Miami River and adds that La Demoiselle, chief of these rebels, is doing everything possible at the solicitation of the English to draw to his side the tribes of the Wabash and even those that are domiciled at Fort de Chartres; further, speeches and belts have been carried as far as the Missouri to make all the tribes revolt and to induce them to cut off the French completely. He observes that if the post on Great Miami River remains for only a little longer, the English will succeed in winning over the Wabash tribes already mentioned as well as those of his post and little by little those of the Missouri, which would occasion not merely the loss of his post which the English will not fail to seize but also the loss of the trade of Canada and the communication by way of the Mississippi River.

Vous voyez, Monseigneur, que le compte que ce commendant  
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me rend se rapporte parfaitement a celui que jay reçu du s. de Reymond et que les choses vont de mal en pire, Je luy ay encore ecrit le 10 juin dernier pour l'informer de tout ce qui est venu a ma connoissance et je lay exhorté a mettre tout en oeuvre pour la Sureté des français, de determiner les Sauvages qui peuvent s'être refugiés dans les environs de son poste a aller rejoindre leur nation et de saisir la premiere occasion pour faire un coup d'eclat Sur les anglais qui sont seuls coupables de tous les desordres.

Le dit S. Benoist n'a pû travailler a faire faire la paix entre les Cha&anons et les Illinois, par ce qu'il ignore ou se sont retirés les premiers, il sçait seulement que la bande de Chartier s'est retirée aux Alibamons. Je luy ay fait part de l'avis que

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jay eû par Mrs de Sabrevois et de Reymond que cette nation s'est jointe aux Chikachas et a une autre nation qu'on ne ma pas nommé pour détruire le convoy du Missisipi aux Illinois.

[Translation]

You see, Monseigneur, that the account which this commandant gives me corresponds perfectly to what I have received from Sieur de Raymond and that things are going from bad to worse. I further wrote him June 10 last to inform him of everything that had come to my knowledge, and I exhorted him to do everything possible for the safety of the French and to induce the Indians who might have taken refuge in the neighborhood of his post to go and rejoin their tribe as well as to seize the first occasion for striking a decisive blow against the English who are alone to blame for all these disorders.

The said Sieur Benoist has not been able to work at making peace between the Shawnee and the Illinois because he does not know where the first mentioned have gone. He knows only that Chartier's band has gone off to the Alibamu. I have communicated to him the information that I have from MM. de Sabrevois and de Raymond that this tribe has joined the Chickasaw and another tribe which was not named to me to destroy the Mississippi convoy for the Illinois.

Au surplus Je ne laisse point ignorer au dit s Benoist les missions dont jay chargé les Srs Marin et de Joncaire.

Je suis avec un très profond respect Monseigneur  
Vôtre très humble et très obeissant Serviteur

LAIONQUIERE

MICHEL TO ROUILLÉ, April 21, 1751

[A N Colonies C13A 35:194]

MONSEIGNEUR,

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Le retardement de ces Vaux a retardé le depart du convoie des Illinois, et je ne puis Esperer de Secours de cet endroit que l'autonne prochain, au moyen de quoy je Suis dans un Embarras bien violent, et encore plus interessant, Eu Egard au nombre des Soldats et nouveaux habitans de l'Espece dont ils Sont. Je Vous Suplie, Monseigneur, de ne perdre aucun instant pour nous en envoyer: il ne peut y en avoir trop ici, surtout pour les Com-mancemens, jusques a ce que toutes les garnisons Soient Etablies,

[*Translation*]

Further, I have not left Sieur Benoist in ignorance of the missions I have confided to the Sieurs Marin and de Joncaire.

I am with very profound respect, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

LA JONQUIÈRE

MONSEIGNEUR:

The delay of these vessels has delayed the departure of the convoy for the Illinois, and I cannot hope for help from that place until next autumn. Accordingly I am in a very serious difficulty, all the more in view of the number and sort of soldiers and new inhabitants. I beg you, Monseigneur, not to lose an instant in sending supplies to us. There cannot be too much here especially at the beginning until all the garrisons are established and until I

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Et que je puisse retirer des Secours plus Considérables des Illinois où j'ay déjà ordonné d'augmenter les Semances: Il Seroit Egalement bon d'envoyer du Lard, la viande Etant très rare ici.

.....

CÉLORON TO VAUDREUIL, April 23, 1751

[H M LO 280]

Repd du 25 Avril 1752.

MONSIEUR

J ay Receû avec La plus Vive Reconnoissance La Lestre que Vous maves fait L honneur de mcrire Le 6 aoust dernier il y avoit Longtems que je navois eü Cette Satisfactions, et Comme je ne suis pas nés hureux japrendois que vous ne mussies oublier et que quelcun jaloux des Bonté que vous avies pour moy ne vous en jndispossé, Vostre Lestre monsieur a detruit cette jdée chagrinante en me faisant voir que vous me conservé Les sentiments damities don vous maves toujours honoré, Je vous en fait mes tres humble Remercimens, et vous prie monsieur quil soit

[*Translation*]

can get more considerable help from the Illinois, where I have already ordered the sowings increased. It would also be good to send pork, meat being very scarce here.

.....

Answered April 25, 1752

MONSIEUR:

I have received with the liveliest gratitude the letter which you did me the honor to write me August 6 last. It is long since I have had that pleasure, and since I was not born under a lucky star I was afraid lest you had forgotten me and lest someone jealous of the kindness you had for me had turned you against me. Your letter, Monsieur, has dispelled that unpleasant idea, by letting me see that you retain for me the sentiments of amity with which you have always honored me. I offer you my very humble thanks, and beg you, Monsieur, that your sentiments may

jnalterable et que je puisse me flater destre toujours du nombre de ceux que vous Regarderez avec Bonté

Je fais partir Le 20e avril Les Lestre que vous aves ecrite a Mr Le marquis de Lajonquiere, qui mon ete adressé par Mr Benoist Cest Mr de Beaujeu<sup>1</sup> qui en est chargé que Jenvois a montréal Conduire Cinq Commerçans anglais que Je fait arreter a Sandoskez a la fin de 9bre,

Comme Je doutois si Cette demarche feroit du goût des hurons javois donné a Mr de Beaujeu 150 francois pour estre

[Translation]

be inalterable and that I may flatter myself that I shall always be of the number of those whom you regard with affection.

I sent off on April 20 the letter that you wrote M. le Marquis de la Jonquière which was forwarded to me by M. Benoist. I entrusted it to M. de Beaujeu,<sup>1</sup> whom I am sending to Montreal with five English traders whom I had arrested at Sandusky at the end of November.

As I doubted if this step would be to the liking of the Huron, I gave M. de Beaujeu 150 French that he might be prepared to lay

<sup>1</sup>Two officers of this name were prominent in the West. Daniel-Hyacinthe Liénard, Sieur de Beaujeu, baptized August 9, 1711, married Michelle-Elizabeth Foucault at Quebec March 4, 1737. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire*, 5:411. He died of wounds at Braddock's defeat, July 9, 1755, the burial register of Fort Duquesne listing him as: aged about forty-five, captain and commandant of Fort Duquesne and the army. *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, 19:196; A N Colonies F3, 14:119v. He signed as captain at Quebec, November 2, 1748 [*Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, 22:349] and was in command at Niagara, July-January, 1749-1750. *Ibid.*, 37:355. He then went to Detroit. A N Colonies C11A 97:113. In all probability therefore he is the Captain Baugier or Beaujeu to whom Céloron confided the English traders to carry to Montreal. *Post*, 495.

His brother, Louis Liénard, Sieur de Beaujeu de Villemonde, baptized September 16, 1716, married first, July 18, 1747, Louise-Charlotte Cugnet and second, February 22, 1753, Geneviève le Moyne. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire*, 5:412. He died at Isle aux Grues June 5, 1803. He was ensign in 1738, lieutenant in 1747, and captain in 1751. He received the Cross of St. Louis in 1759. *N.Y.C.D.*, 10: 75, 93; *W.H.C.*, 18:84n.; *Canadian Archives*, 1905, volume 1, part 6, p. 283. He commanded at Kaministiquia and Michipicoten in 1751 [*post*, 355] and at Mackinac from September, 1752. A N Colonies C11A 98: 342v, 343. September 28 as commandant he witnessed the inventory of goods in the estate of La Perrière Marin. C. H. S., Otto L. Schmidt Collection, 2:311. After the capitulation of Montreal he withdrew the garrison of Mackinac to the Illinois in the winter of 1760-1761.

en Etat den jnposser au nations qui voudroit apporter quelque oppositions a La prise de Ces anglais, jy avoit joint Vaing outa8oy afin de Leurs fair Voir que Les nations du detroit etois dispossé aprendre telle partie que je jugerois apropos, Cette precautions na pas été jnutile, Les hurons mesme Ceux qui nous paroissoit Les plus attaché, on été tres faché de la prise des anglais et on fait tous Leurs efforts pour quils fussent Relaché, Ce qui Leurs a été Cerslamente Refussé

Le Bons marché que Les sauvages on des anglois est une a pas Bien seduissant

Je nay Rien obmis monsieur pour engager Les hurons Rebelle qui Ce Son Retiré a Consaké, et Les miamis de La Rivierre a La Roche, a Revenir a Leurs Village par La Voy de douceur que monsr Le general ma jndiqués, Jay pour y Reussir jnteressé Les nations du detroit et de la Rivierre st Joseph a enterer dans Les negotiations, trente chef du detroit on été a la Rivierre a La Roche assurer La demoisselle et toute sa Bande que Leurs pere onontio Leurs pardonnois Les fautes passé au moien qu'il Renterroit dans Leurs devoir, et Ce Rangeoit a leurs Vil-

[*Translation*]

down the law to the tribes who might wish to offer opposition to the arrest of the English. I added twenty Ottawa in order to let them see that the tribes of Detroit were disposed to do as I saw fit. This precaution was not useless. The Huron, even those who seemed most attached to us, were much displeased at the arrest of the English and made all possible efforts to secure their release, which I sharply refused. The good bargains which the Indians have of the English are very seductive.

I have omitted nothing, Monsieur, to engage the rebel Huron who have retired to Conchaké, and the Miami of Great Miami River to return to their village, employing the method of gentleness which M. the general prescribed me. To succeed in it I have induced the tribes of Detroit and of St. Joseph River to enter into negotiations. Thirty chiefs of Detroit have been to Great Miami River to assure La Demoiselle and his whole band that their Father Onontio would pardon their past faults if they would return to their duty and settle down in their villages. It

lages, il a parut que les deux nations Repondoit a Ce que Lon exigeoit d'eux et dans Le tems ils on assuré tous Les deputé ausy Bien que nous par des Colier qu'il Reviendrait tous a Leurs Village, Ceux de La Rivierre a La Roche pour Constater Leurs fidelité a accompelire Leurs parol on envoie quatre chef a Mr de Villiers qui commande au miamis, pour L assurer qu'il Ce Rangeroit aupres de Luy et quil n'auroit aucune Liesson a La Venir avec Langlais, enfin Monsieur il nous paroissoit comme a toutes Les nations qui Estoit Jointe a nous pour negotierre cet affaire que toute alloit prendre une face nouvelle, et que toute alloit ce Retablir

fourberie jnsigne de La part de Ces Rebelles, Mr de Villier ne Voiant a La fin de mars, aucune apparence au Retour de Ces Sauvages, a été chez eux accompagné de chef outa8oy et poutouatamy pour Les sommer de Rempelire Les promesse quil avoit fait dautonne dernier, Cette maudit nations corompus par Les anglais, et par Les nations qui habitant La Belle Rivierre, Luy on Repondus avec une jnsolence que Mr Le general ne pourois

[*Translation*]

seemed that these two tribes were disposed to accede to what was required of them; and at that time they assured all the deputies as well as us by belts, that they would all return to their villages. Those of Great Miami River, as proof of their fidelity in keeping their word, sent four chiefs to M. de Villiers, who commands at Miamis, to assure him that they would settle down near him and that for the future they would have nothing to do with the English. Finally, Monsieur, it seemed to us as to all the tribes that had joined us to negotiate this affair that the whole matter was going to take on a new aspect, and that everything was on the point of settlement.

It was all a remarkable piece of knavery on the part of these rebels. M. de Villiers by the end of March seeing no appearance of the return of these Indians, went to see them along with Ottawa and Potawatomi chiefs to call on them to fulfil the promises which they had made in the previous fall. These accursed tribes, corrupted by the English, and by the tribes who inhabit the Ohio River, replied to him with an insolence which M.



suporter Lorsquil en sera jnstruite par Les Comptes que Je L honneur de Luy Rendre ils Ce son declaré qu'il ne Reconnoissoit point dautres pere que Langlais, que le francois etoit un fourbe et un traître avec La quelle ils ne vouloit plus avoir de Communications, et quil navoit qua Ce Retirer promptement quil savoit qu'on vouloit Les detruire mais quils avoit des allies qui Les soutiendroient et Les Renderoit puissant que Langlais, Les Iroquois cha8oybons Loup ouyatanons peangichias illinois mis-souris, le joindroit a ceux et que Lon Verroit qui emporteroit Les pieces, Jen voy a mr Le general tous ces Beaux discours et Luy fait Voire La nessesité de tomber sur Les Villages de La Belle Rivierre et sur celui de La Rivierre a la Roche et mesme Jusque dans ouyabache si les nations se declare contre nous, je Luy fais sentire que Le moindre delai a chatier avec Vigueure Ces Rebelles seroit tres prejudiciable a La Colonie, et quil est jnportant dareter Les progrêts des anglais, Si il veut conserver La Communication du Canada avec Le Missisipa Je Luy propose de fair passer par Le portage de Chatacoin 1200 francois avec

[*Translation*]

the general will be unable to bear when he learns of it from the accounts which I have the honor to send him. They said that they had no other father than the English, that the Frenchman was a knave and a traitor with whom they wished to have no more to do, and that all he had to do was to withdraw at once. They knew we wished to destroy them, but they had allies who would support them and make them strong. The English, the Iroquois, the Shawnee, Delaware, Wea, Piankashaw, Illinois, and Missouri would join them, and it would be seen who was joking. I sent all these fine sayings to M. the general and let him see the necessity of falling on the villages of the Ohio and Great Miami rivers, and even on those of the Wabash, if the tribes declare against us. I made him feel that the least delay in chastising these rebels with vigor would be very prejudicial to the colony, and that it is important to halt the progress of the English if he wishes to preserve the communication of Canada with the Mississippi. I proposed to him to send twelve hundred French with

une partie de nos sauvages domicillies, et denvoier par Le detroit six cents françois et en Viront Cents Sauvages, auxquelles ce joindroit Ceux qui Sont dans Les poste, Ces deux partie Reunie formeroit un Corps de pres de 2500 hommes et porteroit La terreur par toutes, nos sauvages ne Balanceroit pas a Ce joindre a nous Lorsquil Verroit des forces superieure, Je Luy donne toutes Les connoissance que jay put prendre dans mon Voiage de La Belle Rivierre, La situations des Villages et Les mesure, quil Convient deprendre pour Les approcher, a fin que personne ne puisse prendre La fuite, et si j'en puis cru on ne fera Cartier a personne, sur tous au anglais chaouynon et Loup qui sont Ses auteur de tous Les troubles, Les iroquois des cinq nations nous Sont ausy Contraire, mais il est dangereux de Les avoir pour ennemis,

Vous avez Bien Raison monsieur de dire au grand meaux Les grands Remedes, je ne doute point que vos Lestre ne determine mr Le general, a fair une marche qui Retablisce La tranquillité dans Les postes, nous sommes dans Le tems Le plus favorable pour Ces expeditions Lurope paroissant dans une paix

[*Translation*]

a party of domiciled Indians by way of the Chautauqua portage, and to send by Detroit six hundred French and about one hundred Indians to be joined by those in this post. These two parties united would form a corps of almost twenty-five hundred men and would carry terror everywhere. Our Indians would not hesitate to join us when they saw superior forces. I gave him all the information I had gathered in my expedition to the Ohio River, the location of the villages, and the measures to be taken to approach them so that no one may take flight. And if my advice were followed, no quarter would be given anyone, above all the English, Shawnee, and Delaware who are the source of all our troubles. The Iroquois of the Five Nations also cross us, but it is dangerous to have them for enemies.

You have indeed reason, Monsieur, to say that great evils call for great remedies. I doubt not that your letter will persuade M. the general to take a course which will restore tranquillity in the posts. We are at the most favorable time for such expedi-

profonde, (qui ne durera peutestre pas) il ne faut profiter pour Reduire Ces misserables,

pour setre paru a toute evenemens, je vais profiter des Eau de La Rivierre des miamis pour fair transporter Le plus de Vivres qu'il me sera possible, Rendus une fois au miamis, il ne sera pas difficile de Les fair porter a La Rivierre a La Roche,

a Vant mon depart de montreal je appris par monsieur Le marquis de Lajonquierre que Monsr de Rigaud etoit nomé a vostre gouvernement et qu'il devoir servir sous vos ordres une anée, Lorsque mr Le general dit cette nouvelle ils se tena une Voy qui demenda et monsieur de Vaudreüil qui devient il, mr Le general Repondit il ait Bien placé sans sexpliquer davantage, Ce qui nous fit juger que vous eties nomé au gouvernement general de Canadas ces donc au plus tard Lanée prochaine que nous aurons Le Bonneheure de vous posseder, vous seule pouves monsieur dedomager La colonie de La perte quelle fera de mr de Lajonquierre, vous estes Comme Luy fait pour Commander heureux Les sujets du Roy qui serve sous de telle generaux,

[*Translation*]

tions. Europe seems in a profound calm (which may not endure), and we must profit by it to reduce these wretches.

To be prepared for all events I am going to profit by the high water of the Maumee River to have transported as much provisions as possible. Once arrived at the Miamis post, it will not be difficult to have them carried to the Great Miami River.

Before my departure from Montreal, I learned from Monsieur le Marquis de la Jonquière, that M. de Rigaud was nominated to your government, and that he was to serve a year under your orders. When M. the general told this piece of news a bystander asked, "Monsieur de Vaudreuil, what will he be?" M. the general replied, "He is well placed," without explaining further. This made us judge that you were nominated to be governor-general of Canada. Therefore next year at the latest we shall have the happiness of possessing you. Only you, Monsieur, can recompense the colony for the loss of M. de la Jonquière. Like him you are born to command. Happy the subjects of the king who serve under such generals.

avec une Respectueuse Reconnoissance je Remercie madame La marquisse de L honneur de son souvenir et Vous prie monsieur de me permettre de Luy Renouveler Les assurances de mon profond Respect

Mde Celoron Recevera avec une joy inexprimable Les assurances que vous voules Bien Luy donner de vostre souvenir, elle estoit trop avancé dans sa grosse L'anée dernierre pour monter avec moy, Je Luy a envoyer une Canot, et je Latend a La fin de juliettes, Le detroit nes par une Sejours fort gratieux pour une jeune dames, et je ne vous dissimuleré point Monsieur que je voudrois Bien ny pas estre Longtems, si Lorsque vous seres en france, ils Ce trouvent une Lieutenances de Roy Vacante pour Le Canadas, je vous prie de vouloir Bien vous jnterresser pour Me La faire avoir vous Connoissé mieux que personne mes services, Je ne pas discontinuer d estre en Campagne depuis vostre depart de Canadas.

je ne fais pas Monsieur en finissant ma Lestre toutes Les expretions que mon atachement me dicte, ils serait peuestre trop

[*Translation*]

With respectful gratitude I thank Madame the Marquise for the honor of her remembrance and beg you, Monsieur, to permit me to renew to her the assurances of my profound respect.

Mme de Céloron will receive with inexpressible joy the assurances of your remembrance which you are good enough to give her. She was too far advanced in her pregnancy last year to come up with me. I have sent a canoe after her, and I expect her at the end of July. Detroit is not a very pleasant dwelling place for a young lady, and I will not conceal from you, Monsieur, that I would rather not remain here long. If when you are in France, there is a vacant lieutenancy of the king for Canada, I beg you to be good enough to interest yourself in securing it for me. You know better than anyone else what my services have been. I have not left active service since your departure from Canada.

I cannot, Monsieur, on finishing my letter employ all the expressions that attachment dictates. They would perhaps be

famillier, mes il seroit Bien expresife, Je me Renfermes seulement  
a vous Suplier de Recevoir Les assurances du profond Respect  
avec La quelle Jay L honneur destre Monsieur

Vostre tres humble et tres obeisant serviteur

CÉLORON

AUDETROIT ce 23e avril 1751.

VAUDREUIL TO ROUILLÉ, May 2, 1751

[A N Colonies C13A 35:90]

MONSEIGNEUR

Comme JI n'y a encore qu'une partie des recruës arrivées Je  
n'ay pu faire rendre Jus qu'a présent le sieur de Macarty au  
poste des Jllinois devant auparavant faire tirer au sort Les 37.  
Compagnies qui doivent fournir les Six qui Sont destinées a

90v

formér cette garnison, Je compte le faire partir au mois de  
Juillet prochain et Luy donner Lordre du commandement qui  
m'est prescrit Monseigneur, par vôtre dépêche du 11. Juin  
dernier; J'observeray même a ne rien obmettre dans les Instruc-

[*Translation*]

too familiar, but very expressive. I confine myself only to beg-  
ging you to receive the assurances of the profound respect with  
which I have the honor to be, Monsieur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

CÉLORON

DETROIT, April 23, 1751

MONSEIGNEUR:

Since only a part of the recruits have as yet arrived, I have  
not been able up to now to dispatch the Sieur de Macarty to the  
post of the Illinois before having drafted by lot from the thirty-  
seven companies the men who are to form the six intended for  
that garrison. I count on sending him off in the month of July  
next and on giving him his orders of command as was prescribed  
to me, Monseigneur, by your dispatch of June 11 last. I will take  
care to omit nothing in the instructions of that officer in order

tions de cet officier pourqu'il apporte dans la place qu'il va occuper une attention particuliere a engager les habitans a la culture des terres comme étant le principal objét de leur établissement et celui de mettre ce païs Sur un piéd de n'avoir plus rien a craindre de la part de Sauvages de ce côté La n'y des Anglois qui ne cherchent qu'a nous les aliener.

Je recommanderay même au Sr De Macarty des'entendre avec le commandant du detroit, et les officiers des postes des mis et des grans Ouÿas pourqu'ils puissent Mutuellement ensemble concourir au bien du service, comme d'avoir une correspondance

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suivie avec Mr le Marquis de la Jonquiére de tout ce qui se passera parmy les nations de ce continent, enfin de luy rendre compte de tout ce qui aura rapport a Ladministration de Son poste qui Sera plus en état que du passé a S'opposer aux entreprises des Anglois sur la Belle riviérre et a procurer aux habitans des Jllinois la facilité de Multiplier leur culture au moyen de

[*Translation*]

that he may bring to the place which he is going to occupy an especial attention at engaging the inhabitants in the cultivation of the soil as the principal object of their settlement; he must also put that country in the situation of having nothing to fear from the Indians of that region nor from the English who seek only to alienate them from us.

I will also recommend to the Sieur de Macarty to come to an understanding with the commandant of Detroit and the officers at the posts of the Miamis and of Ouiatanon in order that they may mutually concur for the good of the service; I will also prescribe him a regular correspondence with M. le Marquis de la Jonquiére concerning all that may happen among the tribes of this region. Finally I will instruct him to give an account of everything that may concern the administration of his post which will be more in a condition than formerly to check the enterprises of the English on the Ohio River and to procure to the inhabitants of the Illinois the opportunity of increasing their

L'augmentation de la garnison que J'ay Jugé devoir placér en ce poste particulièrement rapport. .à celle. du froment qui seroit déjà plus considerable aujourd'huy s'y J'eusse été Secondé a faire valoir icy les farines de ces habitans qui cy devant n'en ont a peine trouvé le débouché qu'a des prix bien audessous de celui des Jllinois qui Les avoient totalement dégoutés

J'ay coñféré ladessus plusieurs fois avec Mr Michél qui

91v

S'est a la fin déterminé de faire valoir les d'Enrées de ces habitans qui vont par la en augmenter de beaucoup la culture, et Lors qu'il arrivera Les fausoniérs et contrebandiérs que sa Majesté a destines a être tranferé en cette colonie Je feray passer aux Jllinois ceux que pourront y être employés utillement en prenant avec Mr L'ordonnateur les mesures qui a conviendront pour les y fixér et les mettre en état d'y former eux Même des Établissemens avec le tems.

.....

[*Translation*]

cultivation by means of the augmentation of the garrison which I have judged proper to place in that post. Especially does this apply to wheat which would be a yet more considerable crop today if I had been seconded in getting a price here for the flour of the inhabitants who up to now have scarcely found a market except at a price much below that of the Illinois which has totally disgusted them.

I have conferred on this several times with M. Michel, who finally has decided to set a price on the produce of the inhabitants, who will accordingly increase by much their sowings. When the salt tax evaders and smugglers whom His Majesty has proposed to be transferred to this colony arrive, I will have sent to the Illinois those who can be employed usefully, taking with M. the *ordonnateur* the measures proper to settle them there and to put them in a situation of forming settlements themselves in due time.

.....



VAUDREUIL TO ROUILLÉ, May 12, 1751

[A N Colonies C13A 35:112]

MONSEIGNEUR

.....  
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L'on Se persuade, Monseigneur, vous avoir Suffisamment Informé du motif de ces depenses quand on vous a legérement allaigué que ce sont les officiérs qui en occasionnent la plus grande partie mais l'on vous laisse ignorer que la veritable cause provient du peu de précaution que L'on prend dans les Magazins du Roy pour faire l'approvisionnement des postes dans des Saisons ou les Eaux Sont Si Basses dans les Riviéres qu'a peine les pirogues peuvent y monter et Souvent restent en chemin ce qui occasionne des dépenses considerables par Le transport qu'il faut ensuite

114v

faire par terre de ces approvisionnemens, outre que les Batteaux ou autres voitures sont pour L'ordinaire si mal griez que les officiérs charges de la conduite de ces effets ne peuvent les mettre a l'abris de L'injure du tems telle précaution qu'ils puissent prendre et telle representation que Jaye pu faire a cet

[*Translation*]

MONSEIGNEUR:

.....

They thought, Monseigneur, that they had sufficiently informed you as to the cause of these expenses when they frivolously alleged that it was the officers who were responsible for the greater part of them; but they left you in ignorance of the fact that the true cause arises from the small precaution taken in the king's storehouses against provisioning the posts in seasons when the water in the rivers is so low that pirogues can hardly ascend and often remain en route. This occasions considerable expenses for the transportation of the supplies which then has to be done by land. Moreover the bateaux or other transports are ordinarily so ill-found that the officers charged with the conduct of this property cannot protect it from injury from the weather. Such precautions as they are able to take and such representations as I have been able to make in this respect have

égard, elles ont toujours été vaines Jusqu'a present pour leur conservation.

.....  
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Quand aux dépenses et consoñations qu'occasionnent pour l'ordinaire les convois des Illinois il ne peut guères en être autre-

115v

ment c'est a dire qu'étant des voyages de long cours et tres fatigant il n'est pas possible de pourvoir aux détachemens sans une gratification bien modique aux Soldats qui les font et Sans que les consommations ne Soient considerables par le peu de précaution que l'on prend pour y faire rendre les effets du Roy qui sont pour la pluspart toujours avariés quand ils arrivent aux Illinois faute de prêlas et de Bonnes tantes sur les Batteaux qui en font le Transport, ce n'est pas manque asseurement que les officiérs commandants ces convois n'ayent faits dans l'occasion toutes les remontrances possibles pour Se mettre a L'abris de reproche de ce côté La, Mais quand il est question de tirer des magazins du Roy les Agrées de ces Batteaux l'on ne peut les

[Translation]

always been useless up to now to effect the preservation of the property in question.

.....  
As to the expenses and consumption which the Illinois convey ordinarily occasions, it can scarcely be otherwise. That is to say, the voyages being long drawn out and very fatiguing, it is not possible to get detachments without paying a very moderate gratification to the soldiers who make them up and without considerable consumption on account of the small precaution taken to protect the king's property which ordinarily is damaged when it reaches the Illinois for want of coverings and good tents on the bateaux which transport it. These assuredly are not wanting because the officers commanding these convoys have not on occasion made all possible remonstrances to shelter themselves from reproach on this side. But when it is a question of drawing from the king's storehouses the necessary equipment for these

avoir qu'avec de grandes Instances et pour <sup>116</sup> L'ordinaire tres mauvais.

A Legard de celles qu'ont occasionnés Les deux précédents convoys que l'on vous a marquez Monseigneur, être d'un objet trop considerable pour qu'il n'y ait point éû d'abus de la part des officiers qui les ont commandé L'on auroit dû aussy M'en faire part dans le temps pour que J'aye pu être aportée d'en connoître les motifs et de punir les officiers qui sont accusés de les avoir faites mal a propos, mais L'on S'est contenté, Monseigneur, de vous en rendre compte Sans s'embarasser apparament des Suites puisque les mêmes âbus qui s'étoient glissés dans le convoy de 1748 commandé par le Sieur de la Gautrais a la sollicitation de mr D'auberville Son cousin sont passez en celuy de 1749 Com-

<sup>116v</sup> mandé par le sieur de Moncharveau au quel Je cru pouvoir donner ce commandement Le connoissant bon officier et dans le cas de retourner a sa garnison des Illinois ne pouvant au surplus être commandé par un Lieutenant qui étoit le dit Sieur de la

[*Translation*]

bateaux, it cannot be had except with great insistence and ordinarily of very bad quality.

With regard to the expenses occasioned by the two preceding convoys of which you have been informed, Monseigneur, that they were too considerable in amount not to be the result of abuses on the part of the officers who commanded them: the matter might also have been communicated to me in time to enable me to learn the causes and to punish the officers who are accused of having done ill; but they contented themselves, Monseigneur, with giving you an account without apparently concerning themselves about the outcome. The same abuses which appeared in the convoy of 1748 commanded by the Sieur de la Gautrais at the sollicitation of M. d'Auberville, his cousin, occurred also in that of 1749 commanded by the Sieur de Montchervaux, to whom I thought I could give the command, knowing him to be a good officer and due to return to his garrison at the Illinois. Moreover he could not be commanded by a lieutenant such as was the

Gautrais a qui Je n'avois permis de remonter en ce poste que Sur les demandes réitérées de la part de Mr Michel et de celle de Mr D'auberville a qui Je l'avois refusés pour ne s'être pas tout a fait Bien comporté dans le premier de ces Convoys dont cet officier a dû faire toutes les depenses et consommations que J'ay ignoré par la mort de Mr Bertet qui m'en auroit informé.

Par la vous verrez, Monseigneur, que Le sieur de Monchar-  
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vaux ne peut être responsable que de celles du Second convoy sur lesqu'elles Je ne manqueray pas a luy faire les reproches qu'une paréille conduite a mérité, et S'il Se trouve coupable J'auray L'honneur de vous en rendre compte, Monseigneur, sans aucun Menagement

Sur ce qu'il m'étoit revenu que cet officier s'étoit un peu dérangé dans son commandement allant aux Illinois Je profitay des premieres occasions pour m'en éclaircir et attendre de luy la vérité du fait avant, Monseigneur, de vous en rendre compte, Il est convenu par la derniere occasion qui est descendüe de ce

[*Translation*]

said Sieur de la Gautrais. The latter I had permitted to go up to this post only on the reiterated requests of M. Michel and M. d'Auberville; I had previously refused because he had not altogether conducted himself well in the first of these convoys in which he incurred all the expenses and consumptions of which I was left ignorant by the death of M. Bertet, who would otherwise have informed me of it.

By that you will see, Monseigneur, that the Sieur de Montchervaux can only be responsible for the affairs of the second convoy on which I will not fail to make him the reproaches which his conduct merits, and if he proves to be blameworthy I shall have the honor to give you an account of it, Monseigneur, without any beating about the bush.

As to what has been reported to me that that officer was a little deranged in his command while going to the Illinois, I profit by the first occasions to inform myself on it and to expect from him the truth of the matter before, Monseigneur, giving you an account. It appeared by the last express which came down from

païs la, qu'il étoit Bien vrais qu'il n avoit pas tenu pendant la route avec les sieurs de la Gautrais une façon de vivre Bien régulière particulièrement dans les postes mais qu'elle n'avoit

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prejudicié en rien du Bon ordre de la dîcipline de son convoy qui étoit arrivé a bon port et qu' au surplus des qu'en cela Sa conduite avoit été Blamable il vouloit en reparer la faute par une plus reguliere, ce sont aussy les promesses que Le Sieur de la Gautrais ma faites a son retour et Sur les quelles J'ay crû pouvoir compter Jusqu'a present M'étant reservé, Monseigneur, de vous en rendre compte en cas de récidive de sa part, Mais il n'a point été question que Le sieur de Moncharvaux aye fait dans Les postes ou il a passé outre Son nécessaire a la Nouvelle Orléans d'autres achats de marchandises comme on L'en a accusé il n'a Jamais été Susceptible d'aucun Commerce Même dans les postes ou il a commandé, Loppoé en cela ne Se prouve que trop par L'indigence ou cét officier est réduit.

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Jusque La Je nay point connoissance que d'autres officiers

[*Translation*]

that country that it was very true that during the voyage he, with the Sieur de la Gautrais, had not kept to a very regular way of living, especially in the posts; but that had prejudiced in nothing the good order and discipline of his convoy, which arrived in good condition. Moreover since in that respect his conduct had appeared blamable, he wished to repair his fault by more regular conduct. These are also the promises which the Sieur de la Gautrais made me on his return and on which I thought I could count up to now, reserving it to myself, Monseigneur, to give you an account in case of any backsliding on his part. But there was no question of the Sieur de Montchervaux's having made, in the posts where he passed, other purchases of merchandise in addition to his necessities from New Orleans, as he has been accused of doing. He has never been suspected of any trade even in the posts where he has commanded; the opposite is but too well proved by the poverty to which that officer is reduced. Up to now I have had no knowledge that other officers were irregular

se soient déranges il est vrais qu'il s'en est trouvé les années dernières, mais ils ne Sont plus au Service de cette colonie pour vous en avoir rendu compte, Monseigneur, et a mr le comte de Maurepas dans le tems, S'il s'en rencontre d'autres Je me conformeray la dessus a vos intentions et auray L'honneur de vous proposer sans complaisance ce qu'il y aura a faire pour eux

Quand aux commandemens des Convoys des Illinois, J'observeray plus que Jamais de ne les donner qu'a des officiers dont la conduite me soit parfaitement connue quoique dans le choix que J'ay Sçu en faire Jusqu'a present il n'est resulte aucun accident, mais il Seroit a desirer que les moïens qui vous ont été proposés

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Monseigneur, pour en reduire les dépenses puissent avoir Lieu, dans ce cas Mr Michel pourra compter sur tout ce qui dependra de moy pour y contribuer

Je ne seray Jamais plus flatté que Lorsque L'on me fournira les occasions de pourvoir a L'administration de ce gouvernement avec moins de dépenses et de consommations, cependant Je ne dois pas vous laisser ignorer, Monseigneur, que Les moïens que

[*Translation*]

in their conduct. It is true that there were such in former years, but they are no longer in the service of this colony to be reported to you, Monseigneur, or to M. le Comte de Maurepas in former time. If others are found I will conform in that to your intentions, and I will have the honor without favor to propose to you what should be done in their case.

As to the command of the Illinois convoys, I will more than ever take care to give them only to the officers whose conduct is perfectly known, although in the choices that I have made up to now no accident has resulted. But it would be much to be desired that the means which have been proposed to you, Monseigneur, to reduce expenses could be adopted. In that case M. Michel can count on all that will depend on me to contribute to them.

I shall never be more flattered than when I shall be given the occasion to provide for the administration of this government with less expense and consumption, but I should not leave you

vous ont été proposés pour cela n'ont pas été Bien établis puisqu'il est moralement Impossible que des particuliers puissent entreprendre le transport des effets du Roy pour les postes des Illinois et autres Sans une dépense bien au dessus de celles qui ont été faites Jusqu'a present quoiqu'il en soit s y l'on peut

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prendre à cet égard quelqu'autres temparements Je contriburay de mon côté en tout ce qui dependra de moy

J'ay L honneur d'être avec un tres profond respect Monseigneur

Vôtre tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur

VAUDREUIL

A LA NOUVELLE ORLÉANS ce 12 May 1751

VAUDREUIL TO ROUILLÉ, May 15, 1751

[A N Colonies C13A 35:126]

MONSEIGNEUR

J'ay eu L'honneur de vous rendre compte en particulier des Raisons qui m'avoient détermines a placer six compagnies aux

[*Translation*]

ignorant, Monseigneur, that the means which have been proposed to you to that end have not been well conceived since it is morally impossible that private persons can undertake the transportation of the king's goods to the Illinois posts and the others without expenses much above those which have been incurred up to the present. However it may be, if other arrangements can be made in that respect I will contribute on my side all that may depend on me.

I have the honor to be with very profound respect, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL

NEW ORLEANS, May 12, 1751

MONSEIGNEUR:

I had the honor to give you a separate account of the reasons which determined me to place six companies in the Illinois; and



Illinois, et en commun avec mr Michél des dispositions que nous avons prises pour leur Logement aux Kaskakias ou il convient de faire le poste principal, par les raisons, Monseigneur que nous

<sup>126v</sup> vous en avons rapportées, mais comme Je n'ay point eû L honneur de vous les traiter en particulier Je commenceray par vous observer que le premier poste que l'on trouve en montant le Mississipy est le village des Kaskakias, a quatre Liéües de La est celui du Rochér, et a 2 Liéües plus haut est celui qu'on appelle L'établissement ensuite Le village de saint philippe qui se trouve dans L'espace de 15. Lieües qu'il y a de L'établissement pour aller aux Kaokias ou reside pour L'ordinaire une petite garnison avec un officier pour y contenir les habitans et être aportée de sçavoir ce qui se passe parmy Les nations de cet endroit

Le village de L'établissement a fait jusqu'a present le principal poste Sans en avoir trop compris les raisons C'est là ou est <sup>127</sup> scitué le fort de chartres et ou le commandant fait Sa Demeure avec là principale garnison

[*Translation*]

in my joint letter with M. Michel I indicated the arrangements which we had made for lodging them at Kaskaskia, where it is proper to make the principal post for the reasons, Monseigneur, that we reported to you. But as I have not had the honor of dealing with these questions with you in particular, I will commence by observing to you that the first post encountered ascending the Mississippi is the village of Kaskaskia; four leagues from that is the post of Du Rocher. Two leagues higher is that which is called The Settlement. Next is the village of St. Philippe, which is in the stretch of fifteen leagues between The Settlement and Cahokia, where ordinarily resides a little garrison with an officer to control the inhabitants and to be in a position to know what happens among the tribes of that place.

The village of The Settlement up to now has been the principal post without the reasons for it being too well understood. It is there that Fort de Chartres is situated and that the commandant makes his dwelling with the chief garrison.

J'ay chërché a M'eclërçir des Motifs de cët établissëment. J'ay trouvé qu'ëtant autrefois L'abort des voyageurs du Canada par la Rivière des Illinois et le premier endroit ou ils commencent a s'ëtablir faisant pour lors le centre des nations Illinoises qui se sont Bien divisées depuis, L'on Luy avoit donné la préférence lors qu'il fut question de placer une garnison avec un officier pour contenir les voyageurs et remédier aux désordres qu'ils commettoient parmy les nations outre qui ce fort par Sa Situation devoit couvrir les établissemens qui commençoient a se former au Rochër et aux Kaskakias.

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Ce dernier est aujourd'huy L'endroit Le plus considerable puis que Luy Seul renferme autant d'habitans que les quatre autres ensemble; C'est L'abort de nos Convoys, celuy des voyageurs du canada, des courriërs, des postes du Détroit, et celuy de la plus grande partie des nations Sauvages particulièrement de celles D'ouabaches qui sont les plus nombreuses et celles que L'on y voit le plus souvent par les frequens partis qui vont en guerre Sur les Chikachas et autres dont les démarches pour se

[Translation]

I have tried to inform myself as to the motives for this settlement. I have found that it was formerly the resort of the *voyageurs* of Canada by the Illinois River and the first place where they began to settle, as then being the center of the Illinois tribes who since then have been much scattered. Therefore it had been given the preference when it was a question of placing a garrison with an officer to control the *voyageurs* and remedy the disturbances which they made among the tribes. Further there was the fact that this fort from its location might cover the settlements which began to be made at Du Rocher and Kaskaskia.

This last named is today the most important place since it has as many inhabitants as the four others put together. It is the place of resort of our convoys, of the *voyageurs* of Canada, of the couriers from the posts of Detroit, and of the greatest part of the Indian tribes, especially those of the Wabash, which are the most numerous, and those which are most often seen there on account of the frequent war parties which go against the

rendre au fort de Chartres occasionnent des excédens de dépenses que l'on ne peut éviter non plus que tous les frais de voyage que le commandant et commissaire de la marine Sont obligés de faire pendant le courant de L'année pour venir aux Kaskakias ou le

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service les appelle continuellement et Souvent pour les moindres alèrtes qui ont été frequentes pendant la derniere guerre

Le fort de Chartre par ses logemens ne peut contenir au plus que deux compagnies et Sa Situation na rien d'avantageux, Sur d'autres pour continuer d'en faire le poste principal dès qu'il seroit toujours un sujet de dépense sans pouvoir y remediér par rapport a son éloignement au lieu qu'étant aux Kaskakias le commandant et le commissaire se trouveroient aportée de tout et rémédieroient par ce moïen aux dépenses superflües qui ne peuvent s'éviter autrement.

Il y a en cèt endroit une Rivière ou hývèrment pour L'ordinaire tous les Battéaux et Pirogues des Convoys qui ne seroient point en seureté sur le Mississipy, auprès de laquelle Se trouve

[*Translation*]

Chickasaw and others. The visits of these Indians to Fort de Chartres occasion excesses and expenses which cannot be avoided any more than all the expenses of the trips which the commandant and the commissaries of the marine are obliged to make during the year to go to Kaskaskia, whither the service continually calls them, and often for the slightest alarms which were frequent during the last war.

Fort de Chartres can contain at most two companies in its barracks, and its situation has no advantage over the others to warrant continuing to make it the chief post since it will always be an object of expense which cannot be remedied on account of its distance. On the contrary at Kaskaskia the commandant and the commissary would be close at hand and would remedy by that means the superfluous expenses which otherwise cannot be avoided.

There is at that place a river where ordinarily all the bateaux and pirogues of the convoy winter which would not be in safety

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une Situation tres convenable comme celle du fort de Chartre et a proximité des Bois et des pierres de toutes espèces et les plus propres aux Bâtimens.

Comme il n'est plus question aujourd'huy des raisons de préférence qui ont été données a cét etablissement dans sen principe et qu'il est Indispensable de procurer un logement a une garnison plus considerable, Je dois vous observer, Monseigneur, quand a la Dépence d'un fort elle sera toujours moins considerable en la faisant aux kaskakias et Bien plus utile puisque de la il doit resulter des avantages que l'on ne trouveroit point ailleurs et au surplus Bien moins de consommation. et comme cette dépense est absolument nécessaire pour le logement et la dîcipline de ces

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troupes J'en ay ordonné avec Mr Michél. L'apprais des Matériaux, persuadé Monseigneur, que vous voudré Bien L'approuver et la faire agreer au Roy afin qu'il puisse vous Intimer ses ordres en consequence, et en attendant que ce nouvel etablissement Soit fait J'auray Soin de pourvoir au logement de ces

[Translation]

on the Mississippi. Nearby is a very proper location like that of Fort de Chartres, close to timber and stone of all sorts, and these the most fit for buildings.

As it is no longer a question today of the reasons of preference which were given to that establishment at its beginning, and since it is indispensable to procure lodgment for a more considerable garrison, I ought to observe to you, Monseigneur, as to the expenses of the fort, that they will be always less considerable if it is built at Kaskaskia; and it will be much more useful since there all the advantages would be present which are not found elsewhere. Moreover there would be much less consumption; and since this expense is absolutely necessary for the lodgment and discipline of the troops, I have ordered in common with M. Michel the appraisal of materials. I was persuaded, Monseigneur, that you would be pleased to approve and would get the king's assent that he may give you his orders in consequence; and while waiting for this new establishment to be built I shall take care to provide

troupes chez les habitans après quoy il conviendra de laisser subsister Le fort de Chartre pour la residence d'une Compagnie entière avec ses officiers ce qui fera un poste comme a été Jusqu'apresent celui des Kaskakias qui deviendra par ces dispositions le premier et le principal de tous.

J'avois representé du tems de mr le comte de Maurepas L'utilité dont Seroit un fort a 15 Lieües du mississipy dans Le Ouabache<sup>1</sup> vis a vis la Rivière des Cherakis pour nous couvrir

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de ces sauvages Sur le fleuve et pour être aportée de Barrer les Anglois dans Le dessin qu'ils conservent a nous aliéner toutes les nations Douabache et de la Belle Rivière. Sa Majesté en avoit goûté la proposition Même du tems de Mr de Bienville, et M'avoit laissé depuis la Liberté d'en former L'établissement que J'ay toujours différé pendant la guerre pour n'avoir pas eü des ordres assez positives Sur l'exécution de ce projet duquel Je ne me departiray Jamais, comme étant L'établissement le plus es-

[*Translation*]

for the lodging of the troops among the inhabitants after which it will be proper to let Fort de Chartres remain as the station of a whole company with its officers which will make a post such as up to now Kaskaskia has been, which will now be by these dispositions the first and the chief of all.

I had represented in the time of M. le Comte de Maurepas the utility of a fort fifteen leagues from the Mississippi on the Wabash<sup>1</sup> opposite the Tennessee River to cover us from those Indians on the river and to be in a position to bar out the English in the design which they cherish of alienating from us all the tribes of the Wabash and the Ohio River. His Majesty had approved the proposal even in the time of M. de Bienville and had since left me the liberty of making the settlement which I had always deferred during the war, not having had sufficiently positive orders for the execution of the project. However I will never give it up as being the most essential establishment and that

<sup>1</sup> The reader is reminded that the French often spoke of the Wabash as the main stream and the Ohio as its tributary.

sentiel et le plus a portée de s'opposer aux entreprises des anglois  
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 sur le païs et Le vrai moiën den conserver Les Limites

J'ay L'honneur d'être avec un tres profond respect, Monseigneur

Vôtre tres heumble et tres obéissant serviteur  
 A LA NOUVELLE ORLÉANS 15 May 1751

VAUDREUIL

MICHEL TO ROUILLÉ, May 16, 1751

[A N Colonies C13A 35:202]

MONSEIGNEUR,

Je reponds aux lettres que vous m'aves fait L'honneur de  
 m'Ecrire les 26. 7bre et 2. 8bre de l'année derniere

Il est hors de doute que les abus ont été considérables Sur  
 les Depenses que les convoys des Ilinois ont occasionnées mais on  
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ne peut en attribuer la faute même aux officiers qui y ont  
 malversé puis qu'on leur a toujours fait entendre ici que ces com-  
 mandemens Etoient des gratiffons dont ils devoient profiter et

[*Translation*]

most in a position to oppose the enterprise of the English in the  
 country and the true means of preserving the boundaries.

I have the honor to be with very profound respect, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL

NEW ORLEANS, May 15, 1751

MONSEIGNEUR:

I reply to the letters which you did me the honor to write me  
 September 26 and October 2 of last year.

It is beyond a doubt that there have been considerable abuses  
 in the expenses occasioned by the Illinois convoys. But the fault  
 cannot even be attributed to the officers who have been guilty of  
 these malversations since here they have always been given to  
 understand that the commands of these convoys were favors from  
 which they expected to profit and that the command of them

qu'on en promettoit le Commandement d'avance à des créatures ; Et Si on en veut croire la critique, quelques uns en ont achetté le privilege indirectement. Les lettres et les menasses que vous avés proncées en ont imposé Sur tous faits, et je pense que Mr De vaudreüil y regardera à deux fois pour faire le choix des officiers qui devoit nous être commun ; Et Si cet uzage doit Subsister, j'espere Monseigneur, que vous n' aurés plus lieu de vous plaindre de la trop grande avidité des officiers auxquels Mr de Vaudreüil ne manquera pas de faire un Sermon. Je ferai mon

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possible pour metre ces convoys à l'entreprize ; mais je ne pense pas pouvoir réussir. il n'y a point ici de gens assés aizés pour pouvoir l'entreprendre ; Et les Sauvages du païs ont été gatés par des Tarifs avec lesquels on a toujours traité avec eux Et pour qu'un particulier peut Se Sauver, il faudroit necessairement que ces entreprises feussent à trop haut prix

Le Sr Demontcherveaux n'est pas plus coupable que ceux qui l'ont precedé

[*Translation*]

was promised in advance to favorites. And if one wishes to listen to criticisms, some have indirectly bought the privilege. Your letters and threats have made an impression on everyone, and I think M. de Vaudreuil will look twice hereafter in the choice of officers which should be common to us both. And if this usage is to continue, I hope, Monseigneur, that you will no longer have reason to complain of the too great greed of the officers to whom M. de Vaudreuil will not fail to preach a sermon. I will do all that I can to turn these convoys over to private enterprise, but I do not think that I can succeed. Here there are no people sufficiently well off to be able to undertake them. The Indians of the country have been spoiled by the scales of prices at which we have always traded with them, and for one private person to be able to extricate himself without a loss, it would be necessary that the enterprises should be carried on at too high a price.

The Sieur de Montchervaux is no more blameworthy than those who have preceded him. He has gone with the current and



Il a Suivi le Torrent et en a Eu je pense moins de quitte que bien d'autres; La pluspart de ces Messrs dont il est du Nombre regardoient tout revenant bon Sur cette partie comme gratification acquize et on leur fesoit entendre de même, ou fesoit plus

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car on les y autorizoit, et on plaidoit leur cause au besoin; ainsi je vous Suplie qu'il ait le Sort des autres. faites luy grace, Monseigneur, je vous en conjure; une lettre de reprimande de votre part un peu forte adressée à cachet volant à Mr De vaudreuil fera plus d'Effet, moins de mal et tombera plus a plomb. Et je ne doute point, Monseigneur, que vous n'en retirés tout le fruit que vous devés en attendre.

J'ay Signifié aux habitans du païs, la protection particuliere que vous voulés bien leur accorder pour faciliter leur Commerce en bois; Ils ont été très Satisfaits de vos bontés à ce sujet, Et C'est en verité une des parties les plus Essentielles et plus

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lucratives du Commerce de ce païs qui peut durer très longtems

[Translation]

has, I think, done less than many others. Most of these Messieurs of his sort would regard any profit on such an enterprise as an extra allowance duly theirs. They have been made to understand similarly or have done it because they have been authorized to do it, and their cause has been pleaded for them in need. Accordingly I beg you that he have the same treatment as the others. Pardon him, Monseigneur, I conjure you. A rather strong letter of reprimand from you addressed under a flying seal to M. de Vaudreuil will have more effect, will do less harm, and will fall with greater weight. And I do not doubt, Monseigneur, that you will get from it all the results which you have a right to expect.

I have indicated to the inhabitants the special protection which you have been good enough to accord them to facilitate their trade in lumber. They have been very well satisfied with your favors on this point, and it is in truth one of the most essential and lucrative parts of the trade of this country and one which may last a very long time.

Nous avons reçu l'habillement des Nouveaux et anciens Soldats tous de bonne qualités, il y a eu Seulement quelques avaries Sur quelques barriques de Chapeaux; j'en fais mes observations à Mr Le normant pour qu'il ordonne une plus grande exactitude Sur les Emballages.

Il paroît, Monseigneur, que Mrs De Vaudreuil est un peu revenu Sur les prevantions qu'on luy avoit inspirées a mon Sujet. Elles avoient tout au plus occasionné quelque refroidissement léger entre nous deux; Et j'ay l'honneur de vous assurer que j'ay toujours concoureu de mon mieux à l'union qui doit être entre

204v

nous. je n'ay jamais Epargne ny avances ny les differences convenables Ce que je suis disposé de faire en tout temps autant qu'il Sera possible. Mais ayiés agréable d'envisager que M. De vaudreuil a une femme qui n'est pas exempte d'interets et de passions: Elle Ecoute souvent des genies qui forment volontiers des tracasseries aux quelles ils trouvent leur compte. Mais pour Mr De Vaudreuil il y a trente ans que je le Connois et que nous Sommes amis, et je Vivrois toute la vie avec luy. j'espere que

[*Translation*]

We have received the clothing of the new and old soldiers all of good quality; only there has been some damage on some bales of hats. I am making my observations to M. le Normant that he may order greater care in the packing.

It would appear, Monsieur, that M. de Vaudreuil has recovered a little from the mistrust with which he had been inspired respecting me. At the most it has occasioned some slight coldness between us; I have the honor to assure you that I have always done my part as best I could for the good accord which there ought to be between us. I have never neglected making the first advances or showing a proper deference which I am disposed to do at all times as far as it is possible. But be good enough to consider that M. de Vaudreuil has a wife not free from partialities and passions. She often listens to people who willingly foment squabbles in which they find their advantage. But for M. de Vaudreuil, I have known him for thirty years during which we have been friends, and I would be willing to spend my whole life

vous Serés content de la lettre que nous avons l'honneur de vous écrire en commun à ce Sujet, dans les dispositions de la Suivre en tous points

Je suis avec un profond Respect, Monseigneur,  
Votre tres humble et très obeisst serviteur

MICHEL

A LA Nlle ORLEANS le 16 May 1751

VAUDREUIL AND MICHEL TO ROUILLÉ, May 19, 1751

[A N Colonies C13A 35:8]

MONSEIGNEUR,

Nous n'avons pu nous apercevoir de l'augmentation des Depenses du Convoe des Ilinois que depuis deux ans que Mr Michel est ici: c'est luy qui en a parlé le premier à Mr De Vaudreuil. Ces Depenses n'ont pô même parvenir à notre con-

8v

noissance qu'au retour du convoe un an après l'arrivée de M. Michel, temps auquel il a commencé à en parler à Mr De Vaudreuil avec qui il S'est entendu pour faire en Sort d'en diminüer les Depenses. Ils recommanderent de concert à Mr

[*Translation*]

with him. I hope you will be satisfied with the letter which we have the honor to write you on the subject jointly, determined to carry out these dispositions in all respects.

I am with a profound respect, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

MICHEL

NEW ORLEANS, May 16, 1751

MONSEIGNEUR:

We have perceived the increase of the expenses of the Illinois convoy only in the two years that M. Michel has been here. It is he who first spoke of it to M. de Vaudreuil. These expenses could only come to our knowledge on the return of the convoy a year after the arrival of M. Michel, the time at which he began to talk of it to M. de Vaudreuil, with whom he entered into an understanding to do something to diminish expenses. They recommended in concert to M. de Montchervaux to exercise an

Demonchervaux d'apporter une extreme Economie dans les Depenses qu'il Seroit obligé de faire, et de Se contenir dans les bornes prescrites; Il est vray que cet officier a fait un long Voyage et beaucoup de Depense, puis qu'il y paroît par les comptes qu'il a rendus luy même; Mais le Voyage est penible et Sujet a mil inconveniens et à beaucoup de mauvais temps. Mr De Vaudreuil

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ne l'ayant jamais connu yvrogne n'a pû le juger capable de Paresse: S'il l'est devenu c'est un malheur pour luy et Sa nombreuse famille: Mais Ses Voyages ont été une Suite de tous ceux qui Se Sont faits, et qu'il y a eu jusqu'à ce jour trop d facilité Sur tout; à l'exemple de Ses predecesseurs Il en a mesuré. Mais quoy qu'il en Soit, Monseigneur, nous Estimons qu'une reprimande de Votre part Sufira pour le Corriger. Il N'est peut être pas plus coupable que bien d'autres, qui ont été assés heureux pour profiter de ces petits avantages Sans que personne S'en Soit aperçû: Et Il Seroit malheureux que la première Rigueur des chatimens tombat Sur luy, qui est assés

[*Translation*]

extreme economy in the expenses which he should be obliged to incur and to keep himself within the prescribed limits. It is true that that officer made a long voyage incurring much expense as appears by the accounts which he himself has given. But the voyage is laborious and subject to a thousand inconveniences and to much bad weather. M. de Vaudreuil never having known him to be a drunkard could not think him capable of such sloth. If he has become one, it is a misfortune for him and his numerous family. But his voyages have been a result of all those which have been made, in which there has been up to now too much slackness in everything. Compared to his predecessors he has been circumspect.

But however it may be, Monseigneur, we consider that a reprimand from you will be a sufficient correction for him. He is perhaps not more blameworthy than many others who have been fortunate enough to profit by these little advantages without anybody having perceived it. And it would be unfortunate that the first harshness of chastisement should fall upon him who is

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misérable avec une nombreuse famille. Cet officier a Servi  
utillement depuis plusieurs années Etant connu et aimé de tous  
les Sauvages. Nous Esperons et vous Suplions, Monseigneur,  
de ne pas employer la rigueur dans cette premiere faute. Mr De  
Vaudreuil luy fera Sentir combien il est coupable

Il n'a pas été possible pour cette année de metre le Convoe  
des Ilinois à l'entreprise; Et nous ne Saurions même prendre les  
prècautions necessaires pour expedier dans ce goût celui de Mr  
Demacarty, qui partira dans le mois d'aoust. Nous le ferons crier  
au Rabais pour l'anneé prochaine; mais nous n'esperons pas  
réüssir, en ce que le peu de gens qui Seroient en Etat de  
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l'entreprendre Se tiendront toujours très haut pour le prix,  
comme ils font ici pour toutes les nouvelles entreprises: peu de  
personnes Sont en Etat de risquer: Et comme il faut necessaire-  
ment qu'ils Se Servent d'habitans pour mener les batteaux ils  
Sont trop peu communs et les journées trop cheres pour qu'ils  
puissent l'entreprendre à bon prix.

[*Translation*]

sufficiently wretched with a numerous family. This officer has  
served usefully during several years, being known and loved by  
all the Indians. We hope and we beg you, Monseigneur, not to  
employ severity for this first fault. M. de Vaudreuil will make  
him perceive how blameworthy he is.

It was not possible for this year to put the Illinois convoy  
on the footing of a private enterprise, and we are not able even  
to take the necessary precautions to send off in that fashion the  
convoy of M. de Macarty, who will leave in the month of August.  
We will put it up for auction for next year; but we have no hope  
of success since the few people who are in a condition to under-  
take it will always put their price very high as they do here for  
all new undertakings. Few people are in a position to take the  
risk; and as necessarily they must make use of inhabitants to  
man the bateaux, there are too few such persons and their wages  
are too high to enable it to be undertaken at a low price.

Les Negres du Roy, la pluspart trop vieux ne Sont assés forts ny assés nombreux pour Satisfaire au Service, il n'en a jamais été placé qu'un a chaque batteau pour ayder à Soulager les Patrons dans ces Voyages qui Sont penibles. Ce Sont les Soldats qui ont toujours Ramé, et il en Faut jusqu'à Vingt quatre

10v

par batteau. on leur donne une petite gratification Suivant la distance des lieux ce qui est très bien arrangé.

Les negres Surtout les hommes qui restent au Domaine la pluspart fort Vieux et infirmes Sont très utiles au Service et ils ne Sont jamais Vacans. il y en a de rependus dans tous les postes qui servent de Journaliers aux Gardes magazins; on En met dans tous les convois un dans chaque batteau: Ils Servent toute l'année aux Magazins de la Nlle orleans et de la Mobille, ils font tous les Voyages pour le Service qui Sont frequents et prissants. Ils dechargent les Vaux du Roy en un mot ils Sont continuellement occupés au Service Il y a des Calfats et des

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Charpentiers que Mr Michel a placés dans les ateliers ainsi

[*Translation*]

The king's negroes are most of them too old and neither strong nor numerous enough to undertake this service. Never has more than one been placed in each bateau to help the masters in these voyages, which are laborious. The soldiers have always rowed, and up to twenty-four are necessary for each boat. They are given a small gratification according to the distance, which is a good arrangement.

The negroes, especially the men who remain on the king's domains most of whom are very old and infirm, are very useful to the service, and they are never idle. There are such men dispersed throughout all the posts who serve as laborers for the storekeepers; they are put in each convoy, one to a bateau. They serve the whole year in the storehouses of New Orleans and Mobile and perform all the journeys for the service which are frequent and important. They unload the king's ships, and in a word they are continually occupied in the service. Some of them are caulkers and carpenters whom M. Michel has placed in the

que les jeunes gens qui Sont en petit nombre, et à qui on fait apprendre des metiers pour quils deviennent plus utiles. Les femmes Sont Egallement Employées dans les postes a décharger ici les Vaux et autres batimens, à netoyer les magasins, à cultiver un peu de Ris ou du jardinage pour leur usage, et à cercler devant les magasins du Roy et autres batimens; Et en fin à tous autres ouvrages utiles au Service. les uns et les autres Epargnent au Roy dans toute la Colonie au moins Cent mille livres de journées d'ouvriers ou journalliers qui Sont très chers ici. Et au lieu de les vendre il Seroit à Souhaiter que Sa Majesté fut en Etat de

11v

les Renouveler peu a peu par de jeunes gens afin que cet attelier qui est indispensable, peut Se soutenir toujours dans la meme force le Roy ne peut qu'i gagner de plus en plus.

Il ny a personne ici en Etat de faire faire et entretenir des bateaux aussi grands que ceux dont on Se Sert pour monter aux Illinois, qui Sont absolument necessaires pour y porter les Effets du Roy en Suretté: ainsi il faudroit necessairement, comme

[*Translation*]

workshops as well as the young men who are few in number and who are being taught trades to make them more useful. The women are likewise employed in the posts to unload the vessels and other boats, to clean the storehouses, to cultivate a little rice or a garden for their use, and to make casks at the king's storehouses and other buildings as well as for all other work useful to the service. Both men and women save for the king in the whole colony at least a hundred thousand livres in wages; workmen and laborers are very dear here, and instead of selling the negroes it would be desirable that His Majesty should replace them little by little by young men in order that this workshop which is indispensable can always be maintained with the same force. The king can only profit more and more from it.

No one here is in a position to have made and maintained bateaux as large as those which are used for going up to the Illinois which are absolutely necessary to carry thither in safety the goods of the king. Accordingly it would be necessary as is



on le fait en Canda fournir à l'entrepreneur du port des Effets, les Voitures dont il auroit besoin ; Et dès lors au lieu de Songer à les Vendre, il est important de Songer à en faire denouveaux,

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Mr Michel Nayant peu encore Satisfaire à tous ceux qui Etoient utiles au Service.

Nous Sommes avec un profond respect, Monseigneur,  
Vostres humbles et très obeissants Serviteurs

VAUDREUIL MICHEL

LA NLE ORLEANS le [19] May 1751.

MICHEL TO ROUILLÉ, May 23, 1751

[A N Colonies C13A 35:215]

MONSEIGNEUR,

.....  
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Vous trouverés, Monseigneur une grande quantité de farines dans l'Etat des demandes, mais il ny en a que pour l'Effectif ; les autres charges ny Sont point employées, et je tire Si peu de Secours des Illinois que je me vois tous les jours reduit aux ex-

[*Translation*]

done in Canada to furnish the person who undertakes to carry up the goods with the transportation which he would need. And instead of thinking about selling them it is important to think of making new ones, M. Michel having not yet been able to provide as many as would be useful to the service.

We are with very profound respect, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servants,

VAUDREUIL MICHEL

NEW ORLEANS, May 19, 1751

MONSEIGNEUR:

.....  
You will find, Monseigneur, a great amount of flour in the list of my requests, but it is only for the soldiers ; the other dependents are not included, and I draw so little help from the Illinois that I find myself every day reduced to expedients in that

pedients Sur cette partie. Il n'est pas gracieux de Se trouver  
Souvent à la veille de mourir de faim; Et il faut necessairement  
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et Subitement une fois un grand Secours, pour nous trouver  
au large, Sur celle partie qui est d'une Si grande Consequence,  
Sur tout aujourdhuy avec l'augmentation et l'espece de monde  
que nous avons à nourrir.

Les Illinois fourniront davantage dans la Suite Sur tout Si  
Mr De Vaudreuil veut y envoyer le plus de troupes qu'il Sera  
possible, comme je luy ay demandé. JI Est interessant en tous  
points que ce Poste Soit bien peuplé pour pouvoir y Contenir  
les Sauvages de toutes nations et Etre en Etat de leur en imposer.  
Il faut par un bon Etablissement faire perdre l'esperance aux  
anglois de S'y Etablir et de nous barrer le passage des deux  
Collonies, chose à quoy ils visent depuis longtemps. Et il convient  
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de faire en Sorte de jouïr de la fertilité et des avantages qu'on  
peut retirer de ce lieu, qui peut Se procureur un Commerce favo-  
rable à la Nlle orleans M. De Vaudreuil ne peut avoir trop

[*Translation*]

point. It is not pleasant to find one's self often on the eve of  
dying of hunger; necessarily a great supply is essential im-  
mediately if we are to find ourselves with a surplus on that com-  
modity which is of so great consequence, especially today with  
the increased numbers and kinds of people whom we have to feed.

The Illinois will furnish more in the future, especially if  
M. de Vaudreuil will send as many troops there as possible as  
I have asked him. It is important in every respect that that post  
should be well settled that we may be in a position to control the  
Indians of all the tribes and to lay down the law to them. A good  
settlement is necessary to make the English give up the hope of  
settling there and of barring to us the passage between the two  
colonies, a thing to which they have long looked forward. It is  
proper to make use of its fertility and of the advantages to be  
had from that place which can develop a favorable trade with  
New Orleans. M. de Vaudreuil cannot pay too much attention to

d'attention pour l'Etablissement Solide de ce poste. Et Il faut necessairement dans ce lieu Sous Ses ordres, un Commandant Sage, capable, vigilant et même Caracterisé. un lieutenant de Roy ny Seroit pas de trop avec le petit Etat major.

.....

MACARTY TO ROUILLÉ, May 27, 1751

[A N Colonies C13A 35:362]

MONSEIGNEUR

On a fait parti un petit Convois pour Les jllinois il y a pres de deux mois, qui doit faire dessandre des farines aux poste de la Route; sitot qu'on aprandra qu'ils en sont fournÿ je dois partir avec cinq compagnies et une de ceux, qui y sont formeront La garnison de ce Lieu fournissant aux postes qui en dependent. je compte partir a La fin de juillet, j'apreanderois d'hiverner en Route, si je partoix plustard avec un fort convois, de nouveaux soldats qui ne sont pas accoutume a la Rame et a de si grande chaleurs et n'ayant pas payé tribû au clima je ferai de mon mieux

[*Translation*]

the solid establishment of that post, and in that place under his orders there is need of a commandant who is wise, capable, vigilant, and of sufficient rank to be respected. A lieutenant of the king would not be too much with a small *état major*.

.....

MONSEIGNEUR:

A small convoy was sent off for the Illinois two months ago which should bring down flour for the posts on its route. As soon as we learn that they are supplied I am to leave with five companies; these with one of those which are there will form the garrisons for that place and for the posts which are dependent on it. I count on setting out at the end of July. I would be afraid of having to winter en route if I set out later with a large convoy of new soldiers who are not used to the oar and to the great heat and who have not paid tribute to the climate. I will

pour Les conserver et faire diligence a me rendre a vos ordres, sitôt que je serai aux jllinois j'engagera Les habitans a doubler la Culture des grins; je me flaterois même, en peu de temp de nourrir une grande partie de la collonie pour ne pas dire toute, si votre grandeur vouloit ordonner L'avance d'une charüe Et atelage aux nouveaux Collon qu'elle y enverra, cela vut a la somme de 700# qui seroit prelevé en farine sur Leur recoltes remis au

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magasin du Roy a un prix fixee et risonable sans predilection que quiconque en auroit Cent Livres ou mille y fussent recüe les habitant d'eux même mettrois toutes Leur forscce a faire des semances Estant sur de la defaite de leurs gréns jl ont estes degouté en ce qu'ils ont deffandu y si plusieurs, des farines sur Les quelles jls ont perdu beaucoup du pris qu'elles avoit Estes achette aux jllinois c'est ce qui Leur a fait diminuer Leur semances joint a ce qu'ils ne trouverent pas de monde a pouvoir serrer Leur recoltes, qui se germois souvant Dans les champ et

[*Translation*]

do my best to conserve them and to get there promptly, pursuant to your orders. As soon as I am at the Illinois I will induce the inhabitants to double their cultivation of grain. I even flatter myself that in a short time I shall be able to feed a great part of the colony, to say no more. If Your Greatness was disposed to order the loan of plows and teams for the new colonists who are to be sent there, it would cost seven hundred livres which would be levied in flour on their harvests and dispatched to the king's storehouse at a fixed and reasonable price without favor so that whether you had one hundred pounds or a thousand, it would be received there. The inhabitants themselves would then direct all their efforts to putting in crops, being sure of a market for their grain. They have been disgusted at having their flour prohibited here on several occasions; on it they have lost much of the price for which it had been bought in the Illinois. It is that which has made them decrease their sowings, as well as the fact that they do not have people to harvest their crops, which often sprout in the field and make very bad flour. The reinforcement

fessoit de tres mauvaise farine Le rendfort de garnison Leur sera d'un grand secour en Leur permettant de travailier

on pouvoit aussi fixer un prix au Lard qui seroit sallé en baril et recû pour Le Roy au magasin des jllinois cela devien droit en peu de temp Considerable pouvant nourrier dans Les Bois qui sont couvert de gland et de noix des troupeaux de porceaux Leurs sôn, et autres L'egumes qui viennent facilement, en Ce pays a cheverois de Les engresser, et cela seroit dun grand secour aux garnisons qui manquent la plus grande partie du temp de viande surtout de puis la mortalite des Bestiaux qui regnie ysi bas j'ay represanté ces choses a mrs de vaudreuil et michel qui agiront selon vos ordres

il est aisé de Construire de grand chalans pour dessandre Les danré de ce pays sans beaucoup de danger ni frais Les faisant dessandre par les Convois au changement de garnisons de chaque année

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Votre grandeur a eû des memoires qui tretent des ressources

[*Translation*]

of the garrison will be a great help to them by enabling them to work.

A price might also be set for pork which could be salted in barrels and received for the king's account at the Illinois storehouse. That in a short time would become a considerable item as the hogs can be fed in the woods, which are covered with acorns and nuts for droves of hogs. The bran and other pulse which grow easily in that country would finish fattening them and that would be a great resource for the garrisons which are short of meat the greater part of the time, especially since the mortality of cattle has prevailed here. I have represented these things to MM. de Vaudreuil and Michel, who will act according to your orders.

It is easy to construct large barges to bring down the harvests of this country without much danger or expense by the convoy at the change of the garrisons each year. Your Greatness has had memoirs which treat of the resources of this country for

de ce pays pour Le Commerse j'aura L'honneur de L'en instruire quand je serai sur Les Lieux

je vous supplie Monseigneur d'avoir egard a la demande que vous fait mr de vaudreuil d'un Brevet de Lt de Roy de ce poste je suis Le plus encien au service du Roy, des majors de la Col-lonnie j'ay eû l'honneur de vous represanter mes services depuis 1722 et nous sommes venû ensemble en 1732 mr de menbrede<sup>1</sup> Lt et moy ajde major d'ysi, c'est un poste considerable ou il y aura trois et quatre cents hommes, dans L'jntervalle des convois, de garnison et quelques fois des cinq a six cents voyageurs ou habitant ce qui merite deux a trois personnes a vellier a la Con-duite et dissipline des troupes et habitant

[Translation]

trade. I will have the honor to draw one up when I shall be on the spot.

I beg you, Monseigneur, to take heed to the request which M. de Vaudreuil makes you for a brevet of lieutenant of the king for this post. Of the majors of the colony, I am the senior in the king's service. I have had the honor to represent to you my services since 1722; in 1732 M. de Membrede<sup>1</sup> and I came together, he as lieutenant and I as aid major. It is a considerable post where there will be three or four hundred men in the intervals between the convoys and sometimes five to six hundred *voyageurs* or inhabitants; this requires two or three persons to watch over the conduct and discipline of the troops and inhab-itants.

<sup>1</sup> Jean Baptiste de Membrede. Served six years in the *Garde du Corps*. Came to Louisiana as a lieutenant in 1732. He was captain, September 8, 1733; major of New Orleans, December 1, 1747; lieutenant of the king at New Orleans, October 15, 1752; Chevalier of St. Louis, 1746. A N Colonies: D2C4; D2C51. In 1745 he was sued by his wife, Françoise Ruellan, widow of Gérard Pellerin, for separation. She alleged cruelty as evidenced by certain lumps and scratches. De Membrede pleaded that the scratches were self-inflicted and the bump when a door was opened while she was listening at the keyhole. His deposition indicates that he was serving with Bertet at the Illinois before 1745. *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, 14:93, 456, 572.

Si mieux n'aime votre grandeur m'accorder La Lieutce de Roy de la noulle orleans vaquante par la mort de mr de Noyant<sup>1</sup> qui m'aprocheroit d'un bien que j'ay formé avec paienne et qui me soutenoit avec honneur au service j'y Laisse ma famme et parti de mes enfants en ayant quatre en france; de quelques cottes qu'il plaise a votre grandeur me désigner elle peut estre assuré de toute satisfaction de ma part, plain de zelle pour La Collonnie

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d'exatitute pour Le service et d'envie de vous en convinere si votre Grandeur me L'aisse aux jllinois je la Supplié jnstament d'ordonner a Rochefort qu'il me soit embarque quatre tonneaux de provision sur Les vesseaux de Roy estant dans un poste au bout du monde sans aucune resource pour vin et autres provisions jl me seroit douloureux ayant toujours vecû avec mes camarades de ne pouvoir Les recevoir Commandant; Comme Les allant et venant et aider Les malades qui dans cet endroit n'ont autre

[*Translation*]

If Your Greatness would rather allow me the lieutenancy of the king at New Orleans vacant by the death of M. de Noyan<sup>1</sup>, it would bring me close to an estate which I have formed with difficulty and which would sustain me with honor to the service. I have left there my wife and some of my children, of whom I have four in France. Wherever it may please Your Greatness to station me, you may be assured of my complete acquiescence and of my being full of zeal for the colony, of exactness in the service, and of desire to convince you of it. If Your Greatness leaves me at the Illinois, I beg you forthwith to order at Rochefort that four tons of provisions may be loaded for me on the king's vessels as I am in a post at the end of the world without any resources for wine and other provisions. It would be a sad thing for me having always lived with my comrades not to be able to receive them as their commandant as they come and go, or to aid the sick who in that place have no other resource. This favor was

<sup>1</sup> Gilles-Augustin Payen de Noyan, 1697-February 26, 1751. Captain in 1731; major of Mobile, 1732; major at New Orleans, 1733; lieutenant of the king at New Orleans, October 1, 1741. A N Colonies—B 59:602v, 619; D2C4.



resource Cette grace a estes accordé a mes predessesseur qui n'avoit pas tant de monde je L'espere de votre grandeur; Sans laquelle je ne pouvois me soutenir avec 2200# d'apointement Laissant Les revenus de mon bien pour ma famme et L'educas-sion de mes enfants

j ay l'honneur destre avec un tres profond Respect Mon-seigneur

Votre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur

MACARTY MACTIGUE

CÉLORON TO VAUDREUIL, August 4, 1751

[H M LO 306]

Redu 25. avril 1752.

MONSIEUR

par La Lestre que jay eu L honneur de vous ecrire en averil dernier je eüe Celuy de vous jnformer de L etat presents des affair qui Conserne Les nations du sud et particulierement La demoisselle etablie a La Rivierre a La Roche,

[*Translation*]

accorded to my predecessor who had not so many men under him, and I hope it from Your Greatness. Without it I cannot sustain myself on 2,200 livres' allowance and leave the revenue of my estate for my wife and for the education of my children.

I have the honor to be with very profound respect, Mon-seigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

MACARTY MACTIGUE

Answered April 25, 1752

MONSIEUR:

By the letter which I had the honor to write you in April last, I had also the honor of informing you of the present situa-tion of affairs with respect to the southern tribes and particularly La Demoiselle's establishment at Great Miami River.

je vous et fait u'ne ample detaille des mesure que jay prie en Consequence de mes ordres pour Ramener Cette nations a Leurs devoir par La Voy de douceurs qui metois ordonné, Cette affair que jay Conduit avec toute La prudence que mon experience pouvoit me donner na pas eu Le succet que lon en devoit attendre, Ces sauvages apres avoir assures Leurs Retours au printems, par tous Ce quil y a de plus fort parmis eux, et avoir faites u'ne deputations a mr de Villier qui Commande au miamis, et a toutes Les nations qui on entré dans Cette negotiations pour Les Retablier, par Les quelles ils assuroit Leurs Retours, sans aucun delay, a en frait toutes les promesses, et Renouvelé toute Leurs jnsultes, en parlant a Mr de Villier qui Ces donné La peine d aller a Leur Village Les chercher, en terme si insolent que Je ne pensois pas que Lorsque Mr Le general en seroit jnformé, il put ne pas Les Reprimer, par La force des armes, et il etois de La derniere Consequence pour l honneur de la nation francoisse de faire un Coup de Etat qui a neenty Ces Rebelles, et tain Les autres nations en Respect

[*Translation*]

I gave you in full detail the measures I took in consequence of my orders to bring those tribes to their duty by the method of gentleness which was prescribed me. This affair which I have conducted with all the prudence my experience could suggest has not had the success to have been expected from it. The Indians after having given assurance of their return in the spring by all that is most binding among them, after having sent a deputation to M. de Villiers, who commands at Miamis, as well as to all the tribes that entered into that negotiation for their return, by which they gave assurance of their return without delay, have broken all their promises and renewed all their insults in their words to M. de Villiers, who gave himself the trouble of going to their village after them, and that in terms so insulting that I do not think that when M. the general is informed of them he can refrain from repressing them by force of arms. It is of the last consequence for the honor of the French nation to strike a coup d'état which shall annihilate these rebels and keep the other tribes respectful.

pour Cette effets j'avois eü L honneur de Rendre Compte a Mr Le marquis de La jonquairre, de la nessecité de fair partir u'ne gros par La Rivierre de chatacerien, et un par icy pour enveloper Toute Les nations qui nous son Contrain et particulierement Les negotian anglais qui son Les auteur de tous Les troubles, je prnois La Liberté en terme tres Respectueux de Luy faire Santir quil ny avoit pas a differer de fair un mouvement pour Conserver La Communication du Canadas avec La Lousienne, dont Les chemins seroit fermé si lon demeueroit dans Linactions, je Luy faisoit Voir Le progres que Les anglois faisoit sur Les prit de tous nos Sauvages par Les presents Considerables quils Leurs font, et par Le mediocre prix qu'il meet a Leurs marchandise

et enfin je Concluers par s'y engager davantage que nostre sentiment monsieur etoit de detruire de font enComble Letablissemen de La Rivierre a La Roche, qui etois L entrepost des anglais, et qui Leurs facilitois de Ce Repandre dans tous Les parts du Sud, et que de Ce mouvement dependois Le Retablissemens des affaires qui etois entierrement derrangé

[*Translation*]

To that end I had the honor of giving an account to M. le Marquis de la Jonquière of the necessity of sending off a strong party by the Chatauqua River and one by this place to envelop all the tribes which are defiant and especially the English traders who are the cause of all the troubles. I took the liberty in very respectful terms of letting him perceive that he could not defer making a movement to preserve the communication of Canada with Louisiana the routes of which would be closed if we remained inactive. I let him see the ascendancy the English were gaining over the minds of our Indians by the large presents they make, and by the low price at which they sell their goods. Finally I ended by giving assurance that our opinion, Monsieur, was for destroying from top to bottom the settlement of Great Miami River, which was the entrepôt of the English and which helped them expand into all the regions of the South; on this movement, I indicated, depended the resettlement of affairs now completely in disorder.

je Luy donnois avis aussy des Bonne dispositions dans Les quelles etois Les nations du detroit pour executer toutes Ces Volontes majant donné des assurance de Ce Lier a nous pour fair Retirer Lenglais et punir Les miamis Contre Les quelles ils etoit extremement piqué de Ce quil Leurs avoit manqué de part et pour preuve du Resentiment des outa8oy et pouteuatamis Contre Les Rebelles, je Les avoit déterminé a Leurs aller Reprocher a La Rivierre a La Roche, Leurs fourberies et Leurs manque de parol en Les menacant de tirer Leurs Resentiment et les assurer quil Ce joindroit a onontio pour tirer Vangeance de Leurs Manque de fidelité, ils on fait tous Ce que Je Voulut a Ce sujets, et je peut dire monsieur que si Mr Le general eû fait un mouvement tous Les sauvages Ce seroit joint a nous,

Mais aujourd'hui que tous mes projets non pas Lieux il vont Ce Ralentir et Lors que Lon voudra Les employer il ne seront peustestre plus dans de si favorable sentimens

Mr Le general me marques quil nes pas en État Cette anée de fair Ce mouvement par La dissete de Vivres de Canots et

[*Translation*]

I gave him also an account of the disposition of the tribes of Detroit to execute all our wishes, they having given me assurances of uniting with us to make the English withdraw and to punish the Miami against whom they were extremely provoked for their shortcomings toward them. As proof of the feeling of the Ottawa and Potawatomi against the rebels, I had induced them to go to Great Miami River to reproach the rebels for their mad acts and for breaking their word, and to threaten them with their resentment, assuring them that they will join Onontio to revenge their want of good faith. They did all I wanted to these people; and I can say, Monsieur, that if M. the general had moved, all the Indians would have joined us.

But today with none of my projects executed, they begin to draw back, and when we wish to use them they will not perhaps be in so favorable a mood.

M. the general informs me that he is not in a situation this year to move for want of provisions, canoes, and men, and that

d hommes, et que Ces parties Remisse a u'ne autre tems

Je souhaite plus que personne que de Ce delay il nen Resulte Rien de mauvais, Les anglais toujours attentifs a Ce qui Leurs est avantageux non fair sentire a toutes Les nations nos modique Forces et L impuissance dans Laquelle nous somme de Repouser Les jnsultes que Lon nous fait;

je nobmesterai Rien monsieur pour maintenir Les Sauvages qui depend de mon Commandement dans de Bons sentiments Jusque a Ce que Mr Le general puisse prendre un party au quelle il sera forcé de venir,

Content quil approuveroit Les arrangement que Je Luy avois envoyer, j avois profité des Belles Eaux de La Rivierre des miamis pour fair transporter des farine Lard et munitions de guerre au miamis, Ce point etres essentielle pour La subsistance de Larmé que je pensoit quil enveroit, ils deja prouve Cette envoy, ausy Bien que davoir arreté des negotians anglais qui avoit passé Les Borns que J'avois presque fit au hurons Lorsque je Leurs parla Lanée derniere a mon arrivé pour Les engager a Revenir a leurs mitions,

[*Translation*]

the expedition is deferred to another time.

I desire more than anyone that no ill results from this delay; that the English, ever attentive to their advantage, may not let all the tribes perceive our small force and our powerlessness to repel the insults offered us. I will omit nothing, Monsieur, to maintain the Indians who depend on my post in good sentiments until M. the general can take the course which he will be compelled to adopt.

Satisfied that he would approve the arrangement of which I had also informed him, I had profited by the high water in Maumee River to have flour, pork, and munitions of war transported to the Miamis. This point is essential for the subsistence of the army I think he will send. He has already approved sending these supplies as well as my having arrested the English traders who had passed the bounds I had laid down for the Hurons when I spoke to them last year on my arrival to induce them to return to their mission.

Je Leurs dit que pour Leurs faciliter Leurs Retours a Leurs Villages je laisserois depuis Conchaké (qui cest Lendroit ou il Ce son Retiré apres avoir tuer Les francois) la terre tranquille Jusque a la Riviere au Vermillions, Lieux ou Le pere de la Richardie hivernois, et jndiqué pour que tous Les hurons Rebelle devoit Ce Rassembler pour Revenir icy, mais en Leurs accordant Cette grace qu'il mavoit demendée par des Coliers et avec Beaucoup d'instance, je Les assuré que Sy Les anglais etois assé assé pour passer Lendroit marques et qu'il Vinse a sandosket, ou dans La Rivierre des miamis je Les fers arreter, ils en Convainre avec moy, je ne put me dispenser d accompelire Ce que J avois avanci sans matirer Le mepris de toutes Les nations qui auroit jnputé a Lacheté mon jnactions, daillieurs Comme vous savez que Cette nations est fort orguellieuse ils auroit pensé que Lon Les Craignoit, Ce quil Convenoit deviter, et Comme mon relachement etois en Etat de Leurs en jnposser, il non pas assé ce mertre endevoir de soposer a La prissee des anglais, Cette Capture na pas empeché u'ne partie des hurons de Revenir au Village, et Ceux qui ne

[*Translation*]

I told them that to facilitate their return to their villages I would leave the land at rest from Conchaké (which is the place to which they retired after killing the French) to the Vermilion River, the place where Father de la Richardie wintered, and where all the rebel Huron were to gather to return here. But allowing them that favor which they asked of me by wampum belts with great instance, I assured them that if the English should pass the indicated spot and come to Sandusky or on the Maumee River, I would have them arrested. They agreed with me. I could not avoid carrying out what I had proposed to do without drawing on myself the contempt of all the tribes who would have imputed my inaction to cowardice. Moreover as you know that tribe is very haughty, and they would have thought that we feared them, an impression it is well to avoid making. As my concession was a condition of laying down the law to them, it was not enough to restore them to duty to oppose the seizure of the English. That capture did not prevent a party of the Hurons from returning to the village, and those who did

Les on pas suivie on assuré que ce seroit pour Le printems, prochain Le pere de La Richardie plus hurons que francois et plus attaché a Cette Nations qua Nous, a fait entendre a Mr Le general par La Voy de ces clos que je L avois Croissé dans sa negotiations, L inposture de cette nature Jesuistique devroit estre connus de Mrs Les genereaux et je ne site point a dire que tant que Lon Les admetera dans Les affaires du gouvernement tout jra tres mal Si il ny avoit eû que Luy pour Ramener Les hurons ils seroit encorre tires dans leurs Rebellions,

mais il est Bien dure pour u'ne officier qui na dautre Jnterest que Le Bien du service et La tranquillité des nations de Ce voir des approuvé,

Mr Le marquis de Lajonquierre me dit que personne doit savoir que les hommes noir, son capable de tous Le mal apres Le tirer que Le pere tournois<sup>1</sup> Luy a fair L'anee dernierre, etant

[*Translation*]

not follow them, have assured us that they would do it next spring.

Father de la Richardie, who is more Huron than French, is more attached to that tribe than to us, and has given M. the general privately to understand that I had crossed him in his negotiation. The imposture of his Jesuitical nature should be known to MM. the generals, and I do not hesitate to say that in so far as one admits them into affairs of government all will go very ill. If it had rested with him to bring back the Hurons, they would still remain in their rebellion. But it is very hard for an officer who has no other interest than the welfare of the service and the tranquillity of the tribes to see himself overruled.

M. le Marquis de la Jonquière tells me anyone should know that the men in black are capable of any mischief after the time he had with Father Tournois<sup>1</sup> last year as missionary at Sault

<sup>1</sup> Jean Baptiste Tournois was born January 1, 1710 in Flanders. He entered the Jesuit order in 1727 and came to Canada in 1741, becoming missionary to the domiciled Indians at Sault St. Louis. He as well as the Demoiselles Desautier were repeatedly accused of encouraging the Indians in illicit trade with the English. La Jonquière fell heavily foul of him, recalling him to Quebec and sending him back to France. Duquesne on October 12, 1754 requested his return apparently without effect. *Jesuit Relations*, 69:286; *N. Y. C. D.*, 10:267.



Missionnaire au saut St Louis doun il a et  obelig  de Ce Retirer,  
par Ces mauvaiss  manoeuvre,

Cest ass  par L'daffaire, permet s qua present je vous entre-  
tienne du plaisir que toute La Colonie Resent de La douce  
esperance ou nous somme de vous posseder dans peut on a des Cer-  
titude a ne pouvoir douter que Lann  prochaine, Vous ne Venies  
faire Revivre un gouvernement dont La memoir est Respect  de  
tous Ceux qui abite Ce pais,

pour moy monsieur mon Respectueuse attachement doit vous  
persuader que Cest avec u'ne grande jnpatiance que j'atend Cette  
heureux jours, et que si il cestois en mon pouvoir de Lavancer  
vous jou r  dans Linstant de tous Les honneur que vos Vertus et  
votre Merite vous donne Lieux datende

Mde de Celoron qui est Venus me Rejoindre me charge de  
vous assurer et madame Lamarquiss  de ces tres humble Respect  
Jy joins avec vostre permissions Les miens, et La subplie de Ce  
Resouvenir que Lors quelles etois en Canadas elle mhonorais de  
son amities

[Translation]

St. Louis, whence he was obliged to withdraw him on account  
of his ill courses.

Enough of business. Permit me now to entertain you with  
the pleasure which the whole colony experiences from the fair  
hope which we have of possessing you shortly. We have an in-  
dubitable certainty that next year you will come to recall a term  
of office the memory of which is revered by all who dwell in this  
country.

For my own part, Monsieur, my respectful attachment should  
persuade you that it is with great impatience I await that happy  
day, and that if it were in my power to hasten it, you would im-  
mediately enjoy all the honors that your virtue and merit give you  
cause to expect.

Mme de C loron, who has come to join me, tells me to  
assure you and Madame la Marquise of her very humble respects;  
I join to them, with your permission, my own, and beg the  
Marquise to remember that when she was in Canada I was  
honored by her friendship.

Jay appris avec Bien du chagrin Le malheur arrivé a mr de La Barre, il est facheux de perdre un Bonne officier par u'n telle accident,

Madame de Rigaud jouït d'une parfaite santé et toute sa famille, on n avoit point encorre de nouvelles de frace Lors que Me de Celoron est partie de Montreal,

par u'ne Batiment Venus de Louis Bourd on assure que Mr Michel cest nommé Jntendant de La Loussianne, nous avons eü plusieurs Batiment partant de quebec pour porter des secours a Lacadie qui on été prit par Les anglais du part de chibouctous, Les officiers et troupes on été Reunies a Lisle Royale, Les navire et Carguison Confisque au profit du Roy dangletaire

Mr des hestre gouverneur de L'isle Royale a usé de Represaille Sur Les anglais et a fait prendre plusieurs Batimens, nous avons perdus Bien du monde en Canadas Cette hiver par u'ne maladie Venus dans Les Vaisseaux du Roy,

nos trente Compagnie on été Reduité a 50 hommes ou officiers quil y en a deux docmentations Cette anée

[*Translation*]

I have learned with much sorrow the misfortune that has befallen M. de la Barre. It is unfortunate to lose a good officer by such an accident.

Madame de Rigaud and all her family enjoy perfect health. When Mme de Céloron left Montreal, there was as yet no news from France.

By a ship from Louisburg we are assured that M. Michel has been named intendant of Louisiana. Several ships that have left Quebec with assistance for Acadia have been captured by the English in the region of Chibouktou. The officers and crews have been left at Cape Breton Island, and the ships and cargoes confiscated for the King of England.

M. de Hestre, governor of Cape Breton Island, has made reprisals on the English, and has had several ships taken.

We have lost many people in Canada this winter by a sickness which came in the king's ships. Our 30 companies have been reduced to 50 men and officers. There have been 2 replacements this year. There will be 150 men in garrison at these posts, that

il y aura 150 hommes de garnison des Ces poste icy, savoir 75 au detroit 25 au ouyatanon 25 au Miamis et 25 a sansdosket, Ce monde ne sera pas sufissant pour eloigner Les anglais ayant Les sauvages de La Belle Rivierre et de ouybache pour Les soutenir

Jentretendre avec plaisir un Commerce de Lestre avec Le Commandant des jllinois et Luy donneré Connoissance des affair qui consernerai Le Service

Continues moy monsieur Lhonneur de vostre amitiee a me faite La grace destre persuader du profond Respect avec Le quelle jay Lhonneur destre Monsieur

Votre tres humble et tres obeisant Serviteur  
AU DETROIT ce 4e aoust 1751

CÉLORON

[*Translation*]

is 75 at Detroit, 25 at Ouiatanon, 25 at Miamis, and 25 at Sandusky. These are too few men to keep off the English while they have the Indians of the Ohio River and the Wabash to sustain them.

I shall maintain with pleasure a correspondence with the commandant of the Illinois, and let him know what concerns the service.

Continue to me, Monsieur, the honor of your friendship and do me the favor of being assured of the profound respect with which I have the honor to be, Monsieur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

CÉLORON

DETROIT, August 4, 1751

ORDER OF COMMAND FOR MACARTY, August 8, 1751

[H M LO 325]

Ordre de commandement pour Mr de Macarty major du païs des Jllinois Du 8 aoust 1751

Nous pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreüil Chevalier de L'ordre Royal militaire de St Louïs gouverneur pour le Roy de la province de la Louïsiâne

Sa majesté ayant accordé a Mr de Macarty chevalier de St Louïs cy devant Capne dans les troupes du detachement de la marine en cette colonie, le Brevét de Major du païs des Jllinois, et voulant que cet officier pour pouvoir y commander soit pourvû par nous d'une ordre de commandement.

Nous avons envertu des pouvoirs qu'elle nous â repartis, nommés et nommons mondit sieur demacarty major et commandant du païs des Jllinois et de toutes Ses dependances pour y commander a tous les gens de guerre, milices, habitans, et voyageurs aux quels nous ordonnons au nom du Roy de Reconnoître mondit

[*Translation*]

Order of command for M. de Macarty, major of the Illinois country, August 8, 1751

We, Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, Chevalier of the Royal Military Order of St. Louis, governor for the king of the province of Louisiana :

His Majesty having accorded to M. de Macarty, Chevalier of St. Louis, formerly captain in the troops of the detachment of the marine in this colony, the brevet of major of the Illinois country, and wishing that that officer, in order to command there, should be provided with an order of command by us,

We have, in virtue of the powers His Majesty has bestowed on us, nominated, and nominate the said Sieur de Macarty, major and commandant of the country of the Illinois and of all its dependencies, there to command the military, militia, habitants, and *voyageurs* whom we order in the king's name to recognize the

sieur de Macarty en ces qualites et de luy obéir en tout ce qui Sera du Bien du service.

Mandons au Sr Benoist de Sainte Clere capitaine d'infanterie et Commandant au fort de Chartres de faire reconnoître mondit Sr de Macarty en ces dittes qualites de major et Commandant du païs des Jllinois et dependances pour en Jcelles y être reconnû et obéy partous Les gens de guerre, milices, habitans et voyageurs selon nos Jntentions.

Donnez ALA NOUVELLE ORLEANS sous le Séau de nos armes et Le contreséing, de nôtre Secretaire ordinaire Le 8. aoust 1751

Memoire pour servir d instruction a Mr de Macarty Chevalier de St Louïs Major et Commandant aux païs des Jllinois et dependance

Ausitôt que le dit sieur sera arrivé aux Jllinois il prenera une exacte Connoissance de L'état des differens établissemens qui y Sont formés et reformera le plustôt qu'il Luy Sera possible les abus qui peuvent S'y être glissés soit a Legard de la religion, la

[Translation]

said Sieur de Macarty in these capacities and to obey him in everything that shall be for the good of the service.

We direct the Sieur Benoist de St. Claire, captain of infantry and commandant at Fort de Chartres, to cause the said Sieur de Macarty to be received in these said capacities of major and commandant of the country of the Illinois and its dependencies that he may there be received and obeyed by all the military, militia, habitants, and *voyageurs* according to our intentions.

Given at NEW ORLEANS under the seal of our arms and the attest of our secretary in ordinary, August 8, 1751

Memoir to serve as instructions to M. de Macarty, Chevalier of St. Louis, major and commandant in the country of the Illinois and its dependencies

As soon as the said Sieur shall have arrived at the Illinois he will inform himself exactly of the state of the various settlements which have been made there, and will remedy as soon as he possibly can the abuses which may have intruded themselves whether with respect to religion, to the police, to the military

police, la discipline militaire, ou le gouvernement des sauvages qui Sont les principaux objets qui doivent partager son attention

son premier soin doit être de tenir la main a ce que les officiers Soldats, habitans, et voyageurs qui Seront dans L'etendue de son commandement vivent en Bons chrétiens a quoy il ne peut parvenir que par le Bon exemple qu'il doit en donner luy même, et les châtimens qu'il fera a ceux qui tiendront une mauvaise conduite et causeront du scandale, nous L'exortons pour la Même fin a seconder de son autorité Le zèle des missionnaires qui Sont établis audit pais et les faire respecter tant des françois que des sauvages.

Quoique Mr Buchette Commis principal de la marine Soit chargé particulièrement de Juger les procez qui peuvent survenir entre les françois mondit sr de Macarty de son côté les terminera autant qu'il luy Sera possible par la voye d'accommodement et les entretiendra dans ces dispositions, étant d'une consequence Jnfinie D'empêcher que L'esprit de chicanne ne S'introduise dans les nouveaux établissemens C'est pourquoy il

[*Translation*]

discipline, or to the government of the Indians, which are the principal objects which should divide his attention.

His first care should be to see to it that the officers, soldiers, habitants, and *voyageurs* who may be in the bounds of his command live as good Christians, which he can only do by the good example which he should himself give, and by the chastisements which he will inflict on those who hold to evil conduct and give rise to scandal. To the same end we exhort him to second with his authority the zeal of the missionaries who are established in the said country, and to cause them to be respected both by the French and the Indians.

Although M. Buchet, chief clerk of the marine, is especially charged with judging law suits which may arise among the French, the said Sieur de Macarty on his side will end them so far as he can by the method of accommodation and will entertain them for such disposal, it being of infinite consequence to prevent the spirit of chicanery being introduced in new settlements. For

S'opposera autant qu'il le pourra a ce que les habitans ne Se servent dans leurs discussions de gens d'affaires dont les Subtilitez deviendroient d'une dangereuse consequence.

La police se Divise en deux parties L'une generale et L'autre particuliere.

La Police generale doit être commune entre mondit sieur de Macarty et Le Sieur Buchette sub délégué elle renferme tout ce qui regarde Le commerce, Les Bornes et Les Limites, L'augumentation de culture Les nouveaux etablissemens et les concessions des terres qu'il pourra donner provisionnellement et conjointement avec Le subdélégué en observant de nous en Envoyer des Memoires pour qu'il en soit expedies des Lettres en france.

La Police particuliere comme il est dit cy dessus est Immediatement du ressort du subdelegues mais il est a Souhaiter pour L'avantage de L'établissement que tout se fasse de concert.

Un point essentiel de la police qui Regarde directement Seul Mr de Macarty est d'empêcher Les Mariages que Les françois

[*Translation*]

that reason he will oppose so far as he can the inhabitants' employing proctors in their disputes, whose subtleties would become of dangerous consequence.

His police divides itself into two parts, one general and the other private.

His general police should be administered in common between the said Sieur de Macarty and the Sieur Buchet, subdelegate. It includes all that concerns trade, bounds and limits, the increase of farming, new settlements and grants of land, which last he may make provisionally and jointly with the subdelegate, taking care to send us memoirs of the grants so that letters may be sent in France.

The special police as said above is immediately the concern of the subdelegate, but it is to be desired for the advantage of the settlement that all be done in concert.

An essential point of the police which directly concerns M. de Macarty solely is to prevent the marriages which the French



ont cy devant contractes avec les Sauvagesse cette alliance est honteuse et d'une d'engereuse consequence par la familiarité qu'elle occasionne des Sauvages avec les françois et la mauvaise race qu'elle produit.

Mr De Macarty est Jnformé combien Sa majesté â a coeur L'établissement du païs des Jllinois puis qu'elle S'est déterminée ay augmenter La garnison de 4 Compagnies qui feront avec les deux anciens 300 hommes de troupes réglées dont il disposera pour Munir les differens postes, Suivant L'occurance et la Nécessité des Endroits et comme il n'ignore point combien la discipline est nécessaire a une troupe dont elle fait toute La force, nous n'avons rien a luy prescrire a cet Egard.

Mais comme Le fort de Chartres qui a fait Jusqu'a present le principal poste de ce païs la Sans en sçavoir trop les raisons et la residence dun commandant tandis que que C'est L'un des endroits ou il y a Le moins d'habitans et celui qui occasionne le plus de frais et depenses au Roy par rapport aux nations Sauvages et aux courriers des postes du Canada, nous Jugeons

[*Translation*]

have hitherto contracted with Indian women. Such alliances are shameful and of dangerous consequence for the familiarity to which they accustom the Indians with the French, and for the ill breed which they produce.

M. de Macarty is informed how much His Majesty has at heart the establishment of the Illinois country, since he has determined to augment the garrison by four companies who will make with the two old ones, three hundred regular troops whom he will use to strengthen the various posts, according to events and the needs of various places. Since he is not ignorant how much discipline is necessary in troops, that being their whole strength, we have nothing to prescribe to him on that head.

But whereas Fort de Chartres has up to now been the chief post of this country—the reasons for which are not too apparent—and the residence of a commandant, although it is the place with the fewest inhabitants and that which occasions the greatest outlay and expense to the king with respect to the Indian tribes and

devoir pour le Bien du service de determiner celle dudit sieur de Macarty aux Kaskakias comme devant être le poste principal qui renferme luy Seul presque autant d'habitans que tous les autres ensembles étant L'abort de la plus grande partie des nations et la Situation la plus propre et la moins couteuse pour L'établissem. d'un nouveau fort capable deloger une garnison plus considerable que du passé, celui de Chartres ne L'étant point assez pour la Contenir

D'ailieurs les Kaskakias Sont L'abort de tous les voyageurs et des convoys et L'endroit Le plus propre a couvrir les differens établissemens de ce païs La, des entreprises que l'on peut y avoir a craindre de la part des Anglois et des Sauvages.

Et Comme la depense de ce fort n'est point encore ordonné et qu'il faudra du temps pour son exécution, mondit sr de Macarty prendra en attendant Le logement qu'occupe le commandant des Kaskakias et logera partie de sa garnison avec les officiers chez les habitans et l'autre au fort de Chartres ou il observera de la

[*Translation*]

the *coureurs* of the posts of Canada, we judge that for the good of the service we should fix the residence of the said Sieur de Macarty at Kaskaskia, that being the principal post, including almost as many inhabitants as all the others put together, being the place of resort of the greatest part of the tribes and the most proper and least costly site for the establishment of a new fort capable of lodging a larger garrison than in the past, Fort de Chartres not being large enough to hold it.

Moreover Kaskaskia is the place of resort of all the *voyageurs* and the convoys and the most proper place to protect the different settlements of that country from the enterprises that are to be feared from the English or Indians.

And as the expense of this fort has not yet been ordered, and as time will be necessary for its construction, the said Sieur de Macarty will meanwhile take the lodging occupied by the commandant of Kaskaskia, and will quarter part of the garrison with the officers on the inhabitants, and the rest at Fort de Chartres; the latter detachment he will take care to make as large as he can,

rendre La plus considerable qu'il pourra pour moins gesner Les habitans ainsy que dans les autres postes en attendant a L'establissement du fort projeté pour lequel nous luy donnerons des ordres particulieres ou en commun ainsy que pour les autres depenses.

en observant D'ailleurs que châque officier suivra Le Sort de Sa compagnie sans que sous quel pretexte que ce soit il puisse en être dispensé non plus que de permettre aux Soldats aucun changement de compagnie et cela Conformement aux ordres de sa majesté.

A La reserve toutefois de permettre aux officiérs établis en ce païs la de conserver leur residence ordinaire, mais d'aller faire Leur Service exactement ou leur Compagnies Seront détachées.

Quand aux detachemens qu'il Sera obligé de tirer de Sa garnison une fois réunie au fort projeté des Kaskakias pour le fort de Chartres et ceux des Pianguichias et Missouris et le poste des Kaokias. nous ne Luy en determinerons point la force luy laissant Même a Juger du Besoin de ces garnisons particuliere-

[*Translation*]

in order to incommode the inhabitants less at Kaskaskia, as well as in the other posts while he awaits the establishment of the proposed fort for which we shall give him orders separately or in common as well as for the other expenses.

He is to observe further that each officer is to stay with his company, which cannot be dispensed with on any pretext whatsoever; neither can he permit the soldiers any change of company, and this in conformity to His Majesty's orders. Always the exception is made that officers established in that country may keep their ordinary residence, always going to perform their service punctually where their companies shall be stationed.

As to the detachments he will be obliged to draw from his garrison, once it is established at the proposed fort at Kaskaskia, whether it be for Fort de Chartres, Vincennes, the Missouri, or the post of Cahokia, we will not decide their size for him, leaving him to judge of the needs of those garrisons especially those

ment celle des Kaokias et du Missouri nous nous en rapportons sur cela a Sa prudence et a Son experiance.

Quand au commandemt du fort de Chartres il doit être defféré au plus ancien capitaine de sa garnison qui Sera tenu de suivre les ordres et Instructions de mondit sieur de Macarty

Le gouvernement des sauvages est la partie La plus etenduë la plus difficile et la plus éssentielle du commandement des Jllinois Mr de Macarty est Jnformé que les nations de ces quartiers Sont un peu turbulantes par la proximité des Anglois mais peu guérriers particulièrement celles que L'on nomme Jllinois que nos foibles forces Jusqu'a present ont rendu insolantes nous esperons que Ses talens, Sa prudence, et Sa capacité les rameneront entièrement dans le devoir et luy gagnerons la confiance de ces peuples en Leur en passant moins cependant aujourd'huy que du passé eû égard aux forces dont il est pourvû, il conviendra neanmoins d'employer toujours pour y parvenir L'affabilites et les voÿes de de douceurs accompagnées de quelques

[*Translation*]

of Cahokia and of the Missouri. On that we refer to his prudence and his experience.

As to the command of Fort de Chartres, that ought to be assigned to the senior captain of his garrison, who will be required to follow the orders and instructions of the said Sieur de Macarty.

The government of the Indians is the most extensive, the most difficult, and the most essential part of the command at the Illinois. M. de Macarty is informed that the Indians of these regions are somewhat turbulent from the nearness of the English, but not warlike, especially those called the Illinois whom our small force up to now has rendered insolent. We hope that his talents, his prudence, and his capacity will entirely bring them back to their duty, and will gain him the confidence of these peoples; he is to suffer less from them now however, than in the past, in view of the forces with which he is provided. Nevertheless it will be proper always to this end to employ affability and gentle methods accompanied by some small presents, made at the

petis presens faits apropos, mais pour prevenir les querelles qui ne sont que trop frequentes entre nos françois et les Nations du paÿs qui Sont Souvent des causes de rupture avec eux, il doit premierement empêcher suivant les ordres du Roy qu'on Leur traitte de l'eaudevie sous quel pretexte que Ce soit.

Pour cela il fera a son arrivée publier cette deffens sous péine d'amande et de punition Corporale pour les contrevenant, en Second Lieu il doit Empecher que Les françois ne forment des établissemens trop voisins de ceux des sauvages pour que les Traitteurs d'eaudevie aient moins d'occasions a faire ce commerce.

Les presens des sauvages du païs des Jllinois ont été fixés du tems de Mr de Bienville<sup>1</sup> a 3000<sup>4</sup> prix de france qui doivent faire Six mille Livres rendus aux Jllinois, Mr de Macarty Se conformera toujours a Ce reglement dans Les distributions qu'il fera des marchandises de traitee qu'on Envoyera pour ce poste dont il aura Le choix Sur toutes.

[*Translation*]

right time. But to forestall the quarrels which are but too frequent between our French and the tribes of the country which are often the cause of ruptures with them, he should first of all, in accord with the king's orders, forbid trading with them in brandy under any pretext whatsoever.

To that end on his arrival he will publish that prohibition under penalty of fine and corporal punishment for those who violate it. In the second place he should prevent the French from making settlements too near those of the Indians, so that dealers in brandy may have fewer opportunities to carry on that trade.

The presents for the Indians of the Illinois country were fixed in the time of M. de Bienville<sup>1</sup> at three thousand livres French prices, which should make six thousand livres laid down in the Illinois. M. de Macarty will always conform to this regulation in the distributions he may make of the trade goods which will be sent to that post of which he will always have the first choice.

<sup>1</sup> Jean Baptiste le Moyne, Sieur de Bienville, 1680-1768. Governor of Louisiana, 1718-1724, 1733-1743.

Mr De Macarty est Jnformé que Sa majesté a aussy a coeur L' établissement du détroit et qu'il est d'usage pour le Bien du service que le commandant des Jllinois Sentende avec celui de cet endroit pour quoy nous luy recommandons de ne rien negliger pour y entretenir une correspondance la plus étroite, ainsy qu'avec les commandans des autres postes de la dependance du Canada a fin d'être Jnformé de ce qui Se passera parmy les nations sauvages et être aportée parla de pouvoir y remediér avec plus de de Succes et S'opposer de concert aux entreprises des anglois Sur nos terres particulièrement Sur la Belle Rivière ou les Anglois ont grande envie de S'etabliir, Syl'on en peut Juger par les Secours qu'ils s'efforcent de donner aux Sauvages refugies Sur la rivièrre a la Roche qui forment Aujourdhuy une espèce de Republique composée de Renegas de presque toutes les nations des pays d'en haut pour quoy nous invitons Mr de Macarty de ne rien negliger avec le comdt du Detroit pour dissiper cette Republique qui est d'autant plus déngereuse qu'elle est Soutenuë

[*Translation*]

M. de Macarty is informed that His Majesty has also at heart the settlement of Detroit, and that it is customary for the good of the service that the commandant of the Illinois keep up a good understanding with the one at that place. Therefore we recommend him to neglect nothing to maintain the most frequent correspondence with him, as well as with the commandants of the other posts dependent on Canada in order to be informed of what is happening among the Indian tribes and to be thus in a position to deal with the situation most successfully, opposing in concert the enterprises of the English on our lands, especially on the Ohio River where they have a great desire to establish themselves. So at least one would judge from the help which they are hastening to give the refugee Indians on Great Miami River who form today a sort of republic composed of renegades of almost all the tribes of the upcountry. Accordingly we invite M. de Macarty to neglect nothing in concert with the commandant of Detroit to break up this republic. It is the more dangerous in that it is supported by the English who may in the sequel make



par Les Anglois qui pourroient faire par la suite de cet endroit un Second Choüaguin

Outre cela S'il arrivoit que les derniers voulussent comme ils y ont tenté déjà plusieurs fois, former quelques etablissemens a la portée des Jllinois soit Sur la Rivierre o8o ou Sur celle des Chérakis ou ailleurs Mondit sr de Macarty ne Balancera pas de sy opposer a force ouverte et dans le cas ou Ses forces ne Puis- sent luy permettre d'en empêcher L'exécution, il auroit agreable de Se pourvoir aupres du Commandant du detroit pour prendre avec Luy les temperamens a rendre Jnutilles a cet egard Les efforts de ces Anglois, ce commandant doit recevoir sur cela des ordres de Mr Le marquis de la Jonquiere qui est prevenu de nos desséins.

Et Comme il est du Bien du service que le General Soit informé de ce qui Se passera dans Le païs des Jllinois touchand Les nations Sauvages pour qu'il puisse de son côté contribuer a y remediér mon dit sieur de Macarty ne Balancera point a Le faire Sans pour cela qu'il Soit dispensé de nous rendre un

[*Translation*]

that place a second Oswego.

Furthermore if it happens that the English wish, as they have already tried several times, to form some settlements in the neighborhood of the Illinois, whether on the Ohio or the Tennessee River, the said Sieur de Macarty will not hesitate to oppose it by open force. In case his forces do not permit him to prevent the execution of the project, he will find it well to apply to the commandant of Detroit and to take with him the measures requisite to render useless the efforts of the English to this end. That commandant should receive on this the orders of M. le Marquis de la Jonquière, who is informed of our plans.

And as it is for the good of the service that the general should be informed of what happens in the Illinois country touching the Indian tribes that he may on his side contribute to a remedy, the said Sieur de Macarty will not hesitate to do it, without being thus excused from giving us a detailed account



compte détailles de toutes choses il doit au contraire pour ne rien oublier de ce qui est important que nous scachions, mettre en notte tout ce qui arrivera de remarquable pour nous en rendre compte lorsqu'il aura occasion de le faire, et dans les Cas qui pourroient tirer a consequence, il ne doit point hesiter à nous Les faire Scavoir Même par des occasions expresses et les plus promptes par terres ou par Eaux a fin de pouvoir en Juger et luy donner nos ordres en Consequence.

Quand a ceux qu'il pourroit recevoir de Mr de la Jonquiere il ne doit pas faire de difficulté de les exécuter lors qu'il vaira evidemment que L'exécution en Sera avantageuse mais Lors qu'il La croira douteuse il nous en informera avant L'Exécution et attendra nôtre reponce sans que pour cela il puisse être Soupçonné avoir refusé de reconnoître L autorité de ce General, mais parceque n'étant pas aportée n'y en occasion de connoître aussy parfaitement que nous Les Veritables Jnterêts de L'établissement du païs des Jllinois nous sommes plus en état d'y donner les ordres convenables a son avantage.

[*Translation*]

of everything. On the contrary he should, in order to forget nothing that is important for us to know, note down everything remarkable that happens, in order to report it to us when he has the opportunity to do it. In cases which might have important consequences he should not hesitate to let us know as promptly as possible even by expresses by land or by water, that we may judge of affairs and give our orders in consequence.

As to the orders he may receive from M. de la Jonquière, he should make no difficulty about executing them when he clearly sees that their execution will be advantageous. But when he thinks it doubtful he will inform us before executing them and will await our reply; in this he cannot be suspected of refusing to recognize the authority of that general, who is not in a situation or occasion to perceive as perfectly as we ourselves the true interests of the settlement of the Illinois country; therefore we are in a better position to give the orders appropriate to its welfare.

Mr de Macarty aura aussy une attention particulière pour Les compagnies de milices Bourgeoises en observant de les faire assemblee Souvent en châce endroit pour qu'elles fassent L' exercice et qu'elles apprennent celui qui est nouvellement ordonné par sa majesté duquel nous luy avons remis plusieurs exemplaires tant pour les milices de châce endroit que pour les troupes qu'il aura attention de faire Bien discipliner.

Il observera aussy qu'aucun habitans domestiques n'y ouvriers ne Soient exempts de cet éxercice et dans le cas ou il Se trouveroit des Genatils hommes qui refusassent de prendre des places d'officiers dans Ces milices, il Les y fera servir comme Soldats L'intention du Roy étant qu'il n'y ait d'exempt de ce service que Les officiérs pourvûs de Commissions Brevets ou Lettres de service.

Il aura soin de les Entretenir dans l'exercice des armes et tiendra la main auqu'ils Soient Bien armes et a ce que Les officiérs qui feront les fonctions de Major et d'ayde major fassent de frequentes revuës Lors qu'il ne pourra pas Luy même les faire; enfin il ne négligera rien de ce qui pourra contribuer a la bonne

[*Translation*]

M. de Macarty will give special attention to the bourgeois militia companies, making them assemble frequently in each place to drill, and having them learn the drill recently ordered by His Majesty of which we have sent several copies both for the militia of each place and for the troops, whom he will take care to have well disciplined.

He will also see to it that no habitants, servants, or workmen are exempt from this drill, and in case he finds gentlemen who refuse to take places as officers of the militia, he will make them serve as privates, the king's intention being that none should be exempt from that service, save officers with commissions, brevets, or letters of service.

He will take care to keep them trained to arms and will see to it that they are well armed and that the officers who act as major and aid major hold frequent reviews when he cannot hold them himself. Finally he will neglect nothing that may contrib-

discipline pour Les rendre capables de se deffendre en cas d attaque, comme de Bien servir Lors qu'il jugera apropos de les employer a quelques entreprises de guerre en observant néanmoins demenager leur mouvemts et leur exercice de manière qu'ils ne Soient point détournés Sans une nécessité absolue, de la culture de leur terre.

Le froment vient abondamment aux Jllinois il est Jñportant que Mr Demacarty excite de plus en plus Les habitans a cette Culture pour produire au Bas de la colonie une plus grande quantité de farine, mais leur faire connoître que la déféctuosité de ces farines provient plus encore de ce qu'elles Sont mises en Sacq trop fraiches, que de la façon dont elles Sont fabriquées par de mauvais moulin a cheveaux pour quoy il faut les jnviter a faire resuer ces farines et a les Bien faire Sécher avant de les mettre en Sacq, et encore Mieux en garde par L experiance que nous en avons depuis deux ans et pour que La qualité en Soit encore méilleure les exciter a faire des moulins à Éau y ayant pour Cela des Situations tres propres a portéé de Kaskakias.

[*Translation*]

ute to good discipline to make them capable of defending themselves in case of attack, and of serving well when he shall think fit to use them on some warlike enterprise. Nevertheless he will take care to arrange their movements and their drills in such a way that they may not be taken away without an absolute necessity from the cultivation of their lands.

As wheat yields abundantly in the Illinois it is important that M. de Macarty induce the inhabitants to raise more and more of it in order to procure for the lower part of the colony a greater supply of flour. He will make them understand that the poor quality of the flour more often is caused by putting it in sacks when too fresh, than by the way it is made by bad horse mills. Accordingly they must be urged to sweat their flour, and to dry it well before putting it in sacks; better yet we may profit by our experience of the last two years, and to improve the quality, stir them up to build water-mills. There are very proper sites for them near Kaskaskia.

Il ne doit point aussy Laisser negliger la culture du Lin qui vient parfaitement Bien et comme il y a nombres de canadiens tixerans, ils pourroient faire des toilles par la suite, comme de s'attacher autant qu'il Sera possible à attirer aux Illinois de nouveaux habitans du Canada a quoy il ne peut parvenir que par la sagesse et la Douceur de son commandement ; il doit aussy engager de Bonne heure les garçons et filles au Mariage cest á quoy Les chefs de familles Se porteront des qu'ils y seront Invites.

Quand a ceux que les troupes Se trouveront vouloir contracter Mr de Macarty n'en permettra aucun et nous en rendra compte comme des talens des Soldats qui voudront S'etablir pour nous mettre a portée d'en Juger et Leur en envoyer la permission.

A Legard des officiérs s'il S'en trouve veillent Se marier ils ne pourront non plus contracter Sans une permission de nous.

Et Comme mon dit sieur de Macarty doit contribuer en tout ce qui Sera En Son pouvoir pour faciliter aux habitans la culture

[*Translation*]

He should not allow the culture of flax to be neglected either ; it grows perfectly, and as there are numbers of Canadian spinners, they could in time make linens. He should set himself so far as possible to draw new habitants to Illinois from Canada, which can be done only by the wisdom and gentleness of his government. He should also induce youths and girls to marry at an early age, in which the heads of families will assist when they are so requested.

As to marriages that the soldiers may wish to contract, M. de Macarty will in no case permit them, and will give us an account of them as well as of the abilities of the soldiers who wish to settle down to enable us to decide and to send them permissions.

With regard to the officers, if there are any who wish to marry, they too may not contract without our permission.

And as the said Sieur de Macarty should contribute in all that is in his power to assist the habitants in cultivating the

des terres il permettra en chaque garnison aux Soldats de travailler chez L'habitans en Se reservant Seulement Le nombre de troupes qui Sera necessaire pour Le service actuel de chaque garnison

Il est aussy informe que le pas des Jllinois est tres propre a y elever des Bestiaux par Ses grand paturages il excitera par la les habitans a auguementer leur troupeaux qui Sont deja considerables et leur permettra d'en deboucher dans Les postes du Canada particulierement au detroit pour en favoriser Letablissement que la Cour paroit avoir fort a coeur.

Mr Demacarty nignore point que des salaisons de Boeufs et de cochons ne deviennent au Bas de la Colonie d'un tres grand avantage a Ses habitans pour que y il ne doit rien negliger pour les y engager et leurs Jnspirer de construire des Chalans propres a en faire le transport qui Leur reviendrait a Bien moins de frais comme celui de leur farine et autres denrees.

Il convient pour Le Bon ordre que Mr de Macarty exige que Les habitans et Voyageurs qui vont en traite aux Missouris

[Translation]

soil, he will permit the soldiers in each garrison to work for the habitants, retaining only the number of troops necessary for the actual service of each garrison.

He is also informed that the Illinois country is very well adapted for raising cattle due to its great pastures. He will stir up the habitants to increase their herds which are already considerable. He will permit their marketing them in the posts of Canada, especially Detroit, to assist the settlement there which the court seems to have much at heart.

M. de Macarty is by no means ignorant of the fact that salted beef and pork sent to the lower colony would greatly repay his inhabitants. He should neglect nothing to induce and inspire them to build barges fit to transport such meats which would yield them a return at much less expense like their flour and other produce.

For good order it is fitting that M. de Macarty require the inhabitants and *voyageurs* who go to trade with the Missouri, the

aux Ouyatanons ou ailleurs ne partent point Sans permission par Ecrit qu'il doit refuser a ceux qu'il connoitra Libertins et capables de nous aliener les nations.

Il tiendra un petit Journal des partis de guerre que pourront faire les Illinois, Pianguillas, Ouyatanons, et autres Sur les Chikachas et nous informera de la quantite de chevelure et de prisonniers que ces nations pourront faire comme de ne rien negliger pour les y engager.

Il donnera au Sr St Ange qui command au fort des Pianguichias sur Ouabache les Instructions qu'il Croira nécessaires suivant nos Intentions, Sur la conduite qu'il doit tenir tant par rapport aux Soldats de sa garnison qu'aux habitans de l'endroit, et aux voyageurs qui passent dans Ce quartier

Nous Sommes Informés d'ailleurs que Le sr ste Ange possede la confiance des nations de Ce continent chez les qu'elles il est accrédité pour quoy il conviendra de luy conserver Le commandement de Ce poste et de faire delivrer tous les ans des magazins du Roy et d'envoyer a cet officier les presens qu'on a

[*Translation*]

Wea, and elsewhere not to leave without written permission, which should be refused to those whom he perceives to be libertines likely to alienate the tribes from us.

He will keep a little journal of the war parties which the Illinois, Piankashaw, Wea, and others may make against the Chickasaw, and inform us of the number of scalps and prisoners these tribes take; and he will neglect nothing to induce them to this service.

He will give the Sieur St. Ange, who commands at Vincennes on the Wabash, such instructions as he thinks necessary in accord with our intentions, as to the conduct he should pursue to the soldiers of the garrison, to the inhabitants of that place, and to the *voyageurs* who pass in those parts.

We are further informed that the Sieur St. Ange has the confidence of the tribes of that region, among whom he is in good standing. Accordingly it will be proper to keep him in command at that post and to have delivered yearly from the king's stores

coutume de leur donner pour les attacher a nos Jnterêt et nous Les conserver.

Mr de Macarty est Jnformé que les nations D'ouabaches depuis L'établissement des refugiés Sur la Rivierre a la Roche, Se Sont portées a aller en traiter en cet endroit ou les anglois les attirent pour quoy il ne negligera rien pour les en détourner ainsy que les Jllinois qui commencent a en prendre Le Chemin.

Comme La pluspart de ces nations reçoivent de nous des presens que nous pouvons retrancher aujourd'huy étant en situation de leurs en jmposer plus que du passé, ce Sera un moyen a Mr de Macarty pour les détourner de ce Commerce et punir ceux d'entre eux qui deviendront reprehensibles a L'égard des françois comme il arrive Souvent aux nations Jllinoises qui tuent les Bestiaux ou causent d'autres préjudices aux habitans qui pourroient tirer a a consequence.

Jl convient que Mr de Macarty leurs fasse Bien Sentir que les present que nous leur faisons ne Sont qu'en consideration des

[*Translation*]

and sent to that officer the presents we are accustomed to give the Indians to attach them to our interest and to retain them.

M. de Macarty is informed that the Wabash tribes since the settlement of the refugees at Great Miami River have been disposed to go and trade at that place, whither the English attract them. Accordingly he will neglect nothing to deter them as well as the Illinois who are beginning to go there.

As most of these tribes receive presents from us which we can cut off, being today in a situation to lay down the law to them more than formerly, this will be a means by which M. de Macarty can deter them from that trade and punish those of them who become obnoxious with respect to the French, as often happens among the Illinois tribes who kill cattle or injure the inhabitants in other ways which may have serious results.

It is proper for M. de Macarty to make them feel that the presents we make them are only in consideration of the occasions



occasions ou ils Se porteront a nous rendre Service et a nous donner des marques de leur attachement Loing de S'en eloigner comme ils font Souvent et que dans celles ou ils ne Se comporteront point a nôtre egard comme ils Le doivent ils ne pourront plus compter sur nos presens a L'avenir.

Jl conviendra aussy qu'il Soit envoyé aux Pianguichias et remis au sr Ange des munitions de guerre, Vermillons, Couteaux et autres menuës Marchandises pour être distribuées de tems a autres aux partis qui vont en guerre Sur les Chikachas et qui passent en ce poste sans qu'ils Soient obliges d'aller Jusqu'aux Jllinois pour S'equiper comme du passé cequi a fait le double de depenses pour Ces partis de guerre Jusqu'a present.

Mr Demacarty est Jnformé de la circulation qu'il doit y avoir dans Les troupes annuellement afin qu'aucune compagnie ne Se trouve dans le cas de contracter des habitades prejudiciables au Bien du service pour quoy il y aura de Sa garnison deux ou trois compagnies relevées tous les ans et comme nous ne pouvons cette année faire monter aux Jllinois Les 6. compagnies nouvelles

[*Translation*]

when they so act as to do us service, and give us marks of their attachment instead of holding aloof as they so often do; and in cases when they do not behave toward us as they should, they cannot in the future count on our presents.

It will also be proper to send to Vincennes and to dispatch to Sieur Ange munitions of war, vermilion, knives, and other small merchandise to be distributed from time to time among parties going to war against the Chickasaw, and passing that post, without obliging them to go as far as the Illinois to equip themselves as in the past. Up to now this has doubled the expenditure for these war parties.

M. de Macarty is informed of the rotation that should take place annually among the troops so that no company may be in the case to contract habits prejudicial to the good of the service. Accordingly two or three companies of his garrison will be relieved each year. As this year we cannot send up to the Illinois the six new companies which should comprise it, he will be good

qui doivent la composer, il aura agreable de renvoyer Seulement une ancienne compagnie qui Sera Suffisante pour descendre les Batteaux du convoi Sous Le commande d'un officier dez L'automne prochaine S'il est possible

Il est Informé d'ailleurs que Sa majeste veut Bien accorder tous les ans deux conges par compagnie aux Soldats dont les engagemens Se trouveront expirés et qui voudront s'etablir dans la colonie dans ces cas ceux qui nauront plus le goux du service pourront esperer cette grace du Roy a mesure que les compagnies pourront être relevées et dans celui ou il prit envie a quelques Soldâts de s'etablir dans la colonie et y faire valoir les terres avant L expiration de leur engagement nous leur permetterons de prendre Ce party Sur le compte que Mr de Macarty Nous rendra de leurs talens et de leur conduite et ceux de qui Les engagemens par la suite Se trouveront expirés et qui voudront continuer Le service Seront réngages a la nouvelle orleans pour six ans en leur payant le prix convenû Sans qu'ils Soient Libres de renouveler Leurs engagemens dans aucun detachement.

Il permettra au retour de ce convoi a Mr Benoît de Ste

[*Translation*]

enough to send back only one old company which will be sufficient to take down the bateaux of the convoy under the command of an officer next autumn if possible.

He is further informed that His Majesty is pleased each year to accord two leaves a company to soldiers whose enlistments have expired and who wish to settle down in the colony. In this case those who have no taste for further service can hope for this favor from the king as the companies can be relieved; and in companies where several soldiers take the notion of settling in the colony and in improving land before the expiration of their enlistment, we will permit them to do so, on the reports M. de Macarty will give us of their talents and their conduct. Those whose enlistments shall have expired in future and who wish to continue in the service will be reënlisted at New Orleans for six years, on paying them the rate agreed on, without their being free to reënlist in any particular detachment.

On the return of the convoy he will permit M. Benoist de

Clère de descendre icy avec Sa compagnie m'ayant demandé L'agrement d'y venir recevoir la croix de st Loüis.

Les Sauvages Jllinois s'étant Souvent plaints que les traitteurs françois portoient aux nations du Missouris Leur plus Belle marchandise et cette preference étant un de leurs principaux griëfs contre nous Mr de Macarty aura L attention de leur donner satisfaction la dessus autant qu'il le pourra Sans cependant gesner trop Le commerce des françois

Jl conviendra que Mr Demacarty a son arrivée fasse assembler les differens villages de la nation Jllinoise pour recevoir les presens annuels qui leurs sont destinés et qu'il leurs fasse quelques reproches Sur le peu de fidelites qu'elles temoignent avoir pour le françois et que leur pere S'est déterminé a retrancher Les presens a celles qui ne travailleront pas d'orenavant a luy donner des marques de Leur attachement et de leur fidélité.

Jl ne manquera pas aussy de leur parler des nouveaux Motifs que nous avons de nous plaindre des Ozages qui abusans de la facilité avec laqu'elle nous leurs avons pardonnées ;

[*Translation*]

St. Claire to come down with his company, as he has asked my consent to come to receive his Cross of St. Louis.

As the Illinois Indians have often complained that the French traders carry their best goods to the Missouri tribes, and as this discrimination is one of their chief grievances against us, M. de Macarty will take care to have them given satisfaction so far as he can without however hampering too much the trade of the French.

It will be proper for M. de Macarty on his arrival to assemble the different villages of the Illinois tribe to receive the annual presents intended for them, and for him to make them some reproaches on the small fidelity which they manifest for the French, and tell them that their father has decided to cut off the presents of those who do not endeavor henceforth to give proofs of their attachment and fidelity.

He will not fail also to speak to them of the new reasons we have to complain of the Osage who abuse the facility with which we have pardoned them, on account of the Illinois for

a leur consideration, plusieurs Jnsultes, continuent de nous en faire de nouvelles a L'occasion des Arkansas et des Kadodakioux<sup>1</sup> nos alliés et enfans comme ca de leur pere, ce qui ne nous Laisse pas douter qu'ils n'ayent dessein de nous declarer la guerre, pourquoy Mr demacarty declarera dans L'assemblée quil fera de ces Jllinois qu'en consideration de L'interêts qu'ils ont toujours pris a cette nation Jnquiète et turbulante nous avons différés à faire marcher nos allies contre elle Jus qu'as que nous Soyons informés de leur Sentimens sur leur jncartades réitérées mais que nous esperons que loing de des approuver nôtre ressentiment ils y prendront part et se joindront aux autres pour punir une nation qui ne connoît n'y amis ny aillies a moins quelle ne Veuille changer.

Et Lorsque Mr de macarty aura occasion de voir ces Ozages il n'hezitera point cependant avec un certain menagement de leur faire Sentir leur faute a L'egard de nos allies les Arkansas et les

[*Translation*]

several insults; they continue to give us fresh insults by attacks on the Quapaw and Kadohadacho<sup>1</sup>, our allies, and like them, children of their father. This leaves us no room to doubt that they design to declare war on us. Accordingly M. de Macarty will declare in the assembly of the Illinois that in consideration of the interest they have always taken in that restless and turbulent tribe we have put off making our allies march against them until we were informed of the Illinois' sentiments as to their repeated outbreaks; but that we hope that far from disapproving our resentment they will take part and join the others to punish a tribe which knows neither friends nor allies, at least unless it is disposed to alter its conduct.

And when M. de Macarty shall have occasion to see these Osage he will not hesitate, though with a certain tactfulness, to let them know their fault with respect to our allies, the Quapaw

<sup>1</sup> A tribe of the Caddo confederacy living on the Red River of Louisiana. Friendly relations established when the remnants of La Salle's party visited them in 1687 continued throughout the French period. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, 1:638.

Kadodakious et leur dira que leur pere a force de temporiser leur demarche, et leur Jnsulte s'en Laissera et trouvera Les moyens de les en faire repentir en allienant contre eux toutes les nations et en faisant Marcher sur eux Ses propres guerriers, et qu'avant d'en venir La il commencera par deffense a tous les françois d'avoir avec eux aucun commerce directement ny Jndirectement.

Comme La garnison des Jllinois à des occasions frequentes a Se deranger nous pensons que le moyen d y remediér est que Mr de Macarty tienne La main a ce que tous les Soldâts qui serviront dans L'etenduë de son commandement fassent ordinaire par chambrée, comme ils ont faïts Sous celui de Mr De Bertet, pour cet éffét il doit leur être délivres Les vivres pour 15 Jours ou un mois au plus dans châque garnison, étant contre Le Bon ordre de leur faire de plus longueur avances qui mettroient Le Soldat déranges dans Le cas de vendre Ses farines pour Boire d'ou S'en suiveroit la désertion qu'il faudroit punir que l'on evitera par la et par un soin continuel d exercer les troupes et a Véiller Sur la conduite qu'elles tiendront.

[*Translation*]

and the Kadohadacho, and to tell them that their father by temporizing on their act and insult will find the way to make them repent it by turning against them all the tribes, and by marching his own warriors against them; also before coming to that course he would begin by forbidding all the French to have any trade with them direct or indirect.

As the garrison of the Illinois has frequent opportunities to get into bad ways we think the remedy is, that M. de Macarty see to it that all the soldiers who serve under his command live ordinarily in mess rooms as they did under M. de Bertet. To that end he should have their rations issued for two weeks or a month at the most in each garrison. It would be contrary to good order to issue them farther in advance as that would put the soldier of bad character in a situation to sell his flour for drink. Desertion which would have to be punished would result: it must be avoided by punishment and by constant care in drilling the troops and watching their conduct.

Nous recommandons encore a Mr Demacarty d'entretenir une relation exacte avec le commandant du detroit, ceux des Ouyatanons, des Miamis, et autres pour s'instruire mutuellement des desseins et des mouvemens des nations Sauvages dont il nous informera Regulierement et particulieremt de tout ce qu'il apprendra d'interessant.

Il ne permettra point aux françois d'aller faire Leur chasse sur la Rivierre o8o crainte de tomber dans quelques partis de cherakis de la fidélité des quels nous ne sommes pas encore Bien assurés quoiqu'ils n'ayent faits aucune iruption Sur nous depuis leur embassade, ces anneés dernieres du Mr de Berthet leur promet de ne point envoyer en guerre sur eux Ce a quoy Mr de Macarty Se conformera amoins d'jrruptions de leur part.

Il y a aussy des Menagemens a garder pour les voyageurs qui demanderont a aller en traite et en chasse Sur le Mississipy audessus de la Rivierre des Jllinois crainte d'être Insultés par les Scioux qui frequentent ces quartiers quoique depuis 4 ou 5 ans il ne Soit arrivé a nos Chasseurs aucun accident de leur part comme ils nous L'avoient promis Ce sera a Mr de Macarty a

[Translation]

We further recommend to M. de Macarty to keep in close touch with the commandants of Detroit, Ouiatanon, Miamis, and others to be mutually informed of the designs and movements of the Indian tribes, of which he will regularly inform us, taking especial care to let us know anything of interest.

He will not allow the French to go and hunt on the Ohio River lest they fall in with parties of the Cherokee, of whose fidelity we are not yet well assured although they have made no raid on us since their embassy. The last few years M. de Bertet promised them not to send war parties against them to which M. de Macarty will conform at least until raids on their part occur.

Management is also necessary for the *voyageurs* who ask to go to trade or hunt on the Mississippi above the Illinois River, lest they be insulted by the Sioux who frequent those regions, although, for four or five years past, in accord with their promises to us, no accident has befallen our hunters from them. It will be for M. de Macarty to judge, being on the spot, of the possibility



Juger, étant Sur les lieux, de la possibilité de ces Chasses tant a L'égard des Sciaux que des Renards Sakis et a8080is.

Les Peorias nations Jllinoises nous ont plusieurs fois prier d'establir chez eux un officier avec une petite garnison pour contenir les Voyageurs du Canada feu Mr De Berthet leur avoit fait esperer et en consequence avoit accordé sans nôtre agrement La traite exclusive chez eux au nommé Décary traitteur du Canada qui y a fait un fort ces anneés dernieres, comme il y a apparance que Ce traitteur se sera dedomagé des fraîts qu'il a fait et qu'il convient que toutes ces traittes Soient Libres, ce Sera a Mr de Macarty a Juger de la nécessité de Laisser Subsister ce fort et d'y avoir une petite garnison avec un officier: dans le cas ou il Soit necessaire il pourra donner ce commandement a un officier avec une petite garnison telle quil la Jugera devoir être, et obligera tous les traitteurs qui voudront aller en traite ché cette nation de porter a cet officier et a Sa garnison Leur Sub-sistance afin qu'il n'en coute point au Roy et pour que Ce fort ne luy Soit point onéreux, les traitteurs et voyageurs qui pas-

[Translation]

of such hunts with respect to the Sioux as well as the Foxes, Sauk, and Iowa.

The Peoria, an Illinois tribe, has several times begged us to establish an officer among them with a little garrison to control the *voyageurs* from Canada. The late M. de Bertet had let them hope for it and consequently without our assent allowed their exclusive trade to a trader from Canada called Descaris, who built a fort there in the last few years. As it seems that this trader has been reimbursed for his expenditure and as it is proper that all such trading regions should be free, it will be for M. de Macarty to decide as to the need of allowing this fort to remain and of keeping a little garrison in it with an officer. In case it is necessary he can give this command to an officer with a small garrison such as he thinks it should be, and require all the *voyageurs* who wish to go and trade with that tribe to carry the rations for that officer and his garrison so that it may cost the king nothing. That the fort may not be a burden on the king, the traders and *voyageurs* who pass that place will be obliged to make repairs, with the more



seront en cet endroit Seront tenû d'en faire les repations avec d'autant plus de raisons que cet usage Se pratique dans tous Les postes Du Canada et qu'au Surplus Sa Majesté deffend expressement la multiplicité des forts de la colonie.

Il en Sera de même au Missouris pour contenir nombre de traitteurs qui Souvent vexent Les Sauvages dans leur commerce et pourroient par leur mauvais conduite occasionner quelque rupture; mais comme ce poste ne pourroit que être très Lucratif a L'officier que Mr de Macarty choisiroit pour y commander nous pensons qu'il Seroit apropos que cet officier Se chargeat du transport des marchandises destinées a la subsistance et a L'entretien de cette garnison, ou d'en charger S'il est possible les traitteurs, Cest Surquoy Mr Demacarty Se reglera et nous informera du party qu'il prendra a cet egard et au Sujet des Piorias

Mr De Macarty aura aussy attention de nous envoyer tous les ans un état general des milices et un Recencement general de tous les françois, hommes, femmes, et enfans Jusqua La mamelle avec la quantité d'esclaves Rouges et noirs distribués par Châque établissement.

[*Translation*]

reason since that usage is followed in all the posts of Canada, and since moreover His Majesty expressly forbids a multiplicity of forts in the colony.

The same will apply at the Missouri, to control the numbers of traders who often in their trade annoy the Indians and who may by their ill conduct occasion some rupture. But as this post cannot but be very lucrative to the officer M. de Macarty will choose to command there, we think it proper that the officer in question should charge himself with the transportation of the merchandise destined for the subsistence and maintenance of that garrison, or if possible, charge the traders with it. M. de Macarty will decide and inform us of the course he takes on that matter, and on the subject of the Peoria.

M. de Macarty will take care to send us every year a general roll of the militia and a general census of all the French, men, women, down to infants at the breast, together with the number of red and black slaves in each settlement.

Comme Les contrées des Jllinois Sont abondantes et fertiles en Mines de differens metteurs Mr de macarty ne negligera rien pour en decouvrir les Sources par le moïen des nations Sauvages et des voyageurs chez elles de la qualité des qu'elles il exigera des Echantillons qu'il nous enverra et nous rendra compte du Lieu et de l'abondance ou ces Mines Se trouveront

Au reste pour les cas Jmprevûs nous nous en rapportons a Sa prudence, Son experiance, et son Zèle pour le Bien du service persuadé qu'il fera tout pour Le Mieux.

Donné A LA NLE ORLEANS Ce 8. aoust 1751

Instruction pour la conduite du convoy commandé par Mr Demacarty chevalier de st Louïs Major et commandant du pais des Jllinois

Jl partira Jncessamment avec 4 compagnies du detachment de nos troupes composées chacune de leurs officiers, et soldats des qu'elles il prendra Le commandement et ne negligera rien pour

[Translation]

As the lands of the Illinois abound in rich mines of various metals, M. de Macarty will neglect nothing to discover their sources through the Indian tribes and the *voyageurs* who go among them. He will obtain samples of their quality and will give us an account of the places and of the abundance in which these mines are found.

For the rest, for unforeseen cases we rely on his prudence, his experience, and his zeal for the good of the service, persuaded that he will do all for the best.

Given at NEW ORLEANS, August 8, 1751

Instructions for the conduct of the convoy commanded by M. de Macarty, Chevalier of St. Louis, major and commandant of the Illinois country

He will leave at once with four companies of the detachment of our troops, each composed of its officers and soldiers; he will take command of them and neglect nothing to make the

faire vivre en paix et en Bonne union pendant la route les officiers de ces compagnies

Nous recommanderons a mon dit sr de Macarty de veiller sur Sa route a la conservation des effets du Roy et a la Seureté du detachment qui Luy en est confié en faisant faire une garde exacte et en y etablissant L'ordre de marche qui y conviendra Comme d' observer a ne choisir Ses campemens que dans des lieux ou il ne puisse être Surpris par L ennemy

S y dans la marche qu il tiendra il tombe quelques Soldâts malades et aux risques de perdre la vie dans ce Cas Seul il Sera Libre a Mr De Macarty de laisser les Malades dans les postes ou il passera sans qu'il Soit de Besoin de S'adresser aux commandans des dits postes pour les remplacer, a moins de cas Bien Imprevûs ou de L'impossibilité ou pourroit Se trouver Son convoi a Suivre Sa route pour cause de maladie dans ce cas il conviendrait defaire la retenue de la gratification qui est accordée a châques Soldâts pour Ce Voyage en faveur de ceux qui marcheroient a leur place

[*Translation*]

officers of these companies live in peace and good union during the voyage.

We recommend to the said Sieur de Macarty on his voyage to look to the preservation of the king's goods and the safety of the detachment confided to him, having an exact guard kept and maintaining the proper march discipline, as well as taking care to choose his camp sites only in places where they cannot be surprised by the enemy.

If on his journey some soldiers fall ill and in danger of their lives, in this case only M. de Macarty may leave his sick in the posts which he passes, without having to request the commandants of those posts to replace them, except in unforeseen cases or in the impossibility in which his convoy may find itself of proceeding on its way because of sickness. In such a case it will be proper to retain the gratification allowed each soldier for the voyage for the benefit of those who go in their stead.

Lorsque ce convoy Sera arrivé au Bas de la rivierre des Arkansas, Mr De Macarty fera rendre au sr Dulino commandant en ce poste les effets du Roy qui y Sont destinés et dont il est chargé, y prendra les rafraichissemens ordinaires et y fera le moins de sejour qu'il pourra.

Et comme son convoy pourra avoir Besoin de rafraichissement avant d'arriver aux Jllinois il S'entendra avec le sr Dulino pour dépêcher des courriers au sr Benoît de st Clére commandant au fort de Chartres pour luy donner avis de sa marche et pour qu'il en recoive les rafraichissemens ordinaires.

D'ailleurs nous Croyons inutile de luy recommander de faire Le plus de dilligence qu'il pourra afin de Se rendre a Sa destination avant les glaces pour cet éffet il doit faire le moins de séjour dans les postes qu'il pourra, et pour qu'il Soit dans Le Cas d'y moins Séjourner JI conviendra qu'il dépêche aux aproches des Natchez et des Arkansas une des pirogues qui Sont a la suite de son convoy pour donner advis de sa marche aux commandans de

[*Translation*]

When the convoy arrives in the lower Arkansas River, M. de Macarty will have delivered to the Sieur de Lino, the commandant at that post, the goods of the king intended for him, with which M. de Macarty is charged; he will take the ordinary supplies and stay there as short a time as possible.

And as his convoy may have need of supplies before arriving at the Illinois, he will come to an understanding with the Sieur de Lino to dispatch expresses to the Sieur Benoist de St. Claire, commandant at Fort de Chartres, to inform him of his approach, so as to receive ordinary supplies.

Otherwise we think it useless to recommend him to be as diligent as he can to reach his destination before the river freezes. To that end he should remain in the posts as short a time as possible. To avoid a situation which may cause him delay, it will be well for him to dispatch on his approach to the Natchez and the Arkansas one of the pirogues which follow his convoy to give notice of his approach to the commandants of the posts that they

les postes afin qu'ils tiennent prêts les rafraichissemens qu'il aura a y prendre

Au surplus S'il arrivoit sur la route des cas que nous ne pouvons prevoir nous nous en rapportons a la prudence, experience et capacité de Mondit sr de Macarty persuades qu'il fera tout pour le Mieux et pour l'avantage du service du Roy

Fait A LA NOUVELLE ORLEANS ce 11 aoust 1751

A Monsieur Le Marquis de la Jonquière gouverneur general de la Nouvelle france au Canada Ce 8. Aoust 1751

MONSIEUR

J'ay eû Lhonneur de vous Ecrire ce printemps par Les païs d'enhault et par L'isle Royale et de vous marquer entre autre chose que la Cour avoit nommé Mr De Macarty Major du païs des Jllinois auquel J'ay donné un ordre de commandant et ay inséré dans Ses Jnstructions de vous rendre compte Monsieur de ce qui Se passera d'interessant parmy les nations Sauvages pour que vous puissie de vôtre côté luy donner les ordres con-

[*Translation*]

may have ready the supplies which he will have to take on.

Finally if on the route occasions arise which we cannot foresee, we will rely on the prudence, experience, and capacity of the said Sieur de Macarty, persuaded that he will do all for the best and for the advantage of the king's service.

Done at NEW ORLEANS, August 11, 1751

To Monsieur le Marquis de la Jonquière, governor-general of New France in Canada, August 8, 1751

MONSIEUR:

I had the honor to write you this spring by the upcountry and by Cape Breton Island and to inform you among other matters that the court had named M. de Macarty major of the Illinois country. I have given him an order of command and have inserted in his instructions that he is to inform you, Monsieur, of what of interest happens among the Indian tribes in order that you on your side may give him the appropriate orders. I have

venables Je luy ay aussy Jntimé de S'entendre avec le commandant du detroit et les officiérs commandans dans les autres postes de vôte domination afin d'être mieux Jnstruit de leurs demarches et de pouvoir de concert avec ces officiérs y apporter le remede le plus efficace a remplir en cela les vuës que nous avons de concourir ensemble et mutuellement au Bien du service

Comme celuy de ces offrs doit tendre a la même fin Je ne doute point Monsieur que de vôte côté vous ne leur Jntimier et au commandant du Détroit vos ordres en conformité des mêmes a mondit sr de Macarty qui ne negligera rien pour Entretenir avec eux la plus étroite correspondance.

Et dans les cas dentreprises de la part des Anglois Sur nos Rivierres ou ils ne manqueront pas de faire de nouvelles tentatives Soit du côté des Jllinois ou du détroit pour y former quelques etablissements Je donne ordre au sr de Macarty dependre avec le comdt du detroit les temperamens Les plus Justes pour S'oposer a leurs desseins et travailler de concert a les faire Echoüer dans leurs entreprises Même d'opposer pour cét effét

[*Translation*]

also directed him to maintain an understanding with the commandant of Detroit and with the officers commanding the other posts under your control, in order to be better informed of their movements and to be able in concert with these officers to apply the most efficacious remedies, in this fulfilling our views of concurring mutually together for the good of the service.

As the views of these officers should tend to the same end, I doubt not, Monsieur, that you on your side will intimate to them and to the commandant of Detroit orders in conformity to mine to the said Sieur de Macarty, who will neglect nothing to maintain with them the closest correspondence.

And in case of enterprises of the English on our rivers where they do not cease to make new attempts, whether on the side of the Illinois or of Detroit, to make settlements, I am ordering the Sieur de Macarty to take along with the commandant of Detroit the most proper means to oppose their designs, and to work in concert to cause their enterprises to fail, even to that end opposing

la force a la force dans les cas pressans et qui ne pourront tirer a consequence autrement ils differeront leurs entreprises et attenderont sur cela vos ordres et les Miennes.

Ces Raisons m'ont Determinés a placer aux Jllinois Six compagnies de 50 hommes chacune avec leurs officiérs qui contribueront pas peu ay former des établissemens solides par la suite qui avec celui du détroit que vous paroissé Monsieur, avoir a coeur seront en état d'en Jñprimer aux nations de tous les païs d'enhault cependant toujours avec Menagement Mais avec un peu plus de fermeté que du passé.

LA JONQUIÈRE TO ROUILLÉ, August 26, 1751

[A N Colonies C11A 97:60]

.....  
61 . . . .  
2 M. de Celoron na point Executé a la Lettre les ordres que Je luy donnay l'année derniere par mon Jnstruction Secrette. Les Nations Sauvages de la Belle Riviere n'en Sont devenues que plus Jnsolentes, et nous devons aux Soins du R. P. La Richardie qui

[*Translation*]

force to force in pressing cases, which cannot otherwise be dealt with. Otherwise they will postpone their enterprises awaiting your and my orders.

These reasons have determined me to place in the Illinois six companies of fifty men each with their officers who will contribute not a little in the event to forming permanent settlements, which with that of Detroit, which you, Monsieur, seem to have at heart, will be in a position to impress all the upcountry, always however with tactfulness, but with a little more firmness than in the past.

.....  
Second. M. de Céloron has not executed to the letter the orders which I gave him last year by my secret instruction. The Indian tribes of the Ohio River have only become more insolent; we owe to the pains of the Reverend Father la Richardie, who



vient d'arriver du Detroit le retour d'une grande partie des hurons fugitifs; j'l me fait Esperer que les autres ne tarderont pas a Suivre leur Exemple. Jay pris des nouvelles mesures pour reparer la faute de M. de Celoron et faire faire mains basses Sur ces Rebelles. Cette affaire Jmportante est d'un trop grand Detail  
 61v  
 pour que Je puisse y Entrer Actuellement

.....  
 Je Suis avec un tres profond Respect Monseigneur  
 Votre tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur  
 LAJONQUIERE

INSTRUCTIONS FOR SAUCIER, August 27, 1751  
 [A N Colonies C13A 38:20]

Instruction pour le Sr Saussier Ingenieur, allant aux Ilinois pour le Retablissement du Poste des Caskaskias.<sup>1</sup>

Etant Informés du déperissement Entier des Postes Etablis par le Roy au fort de Chartres et des Caskaskias, et Etant d'une

[*Translation*]

has just come from Detroit, the return of a great part of the fugitive Huron. He gives me hope that the others will not delay in following their example. I have taken new measures to repair the fault of M. de Céloron and to lay hands on these rebels. This important affair is too much detailed for me to enter into it.

.....  
 I am with a very profound respect, Monseigneur,  
 Your very humble and very obedient servant,  
 LA JONQUIÈRE

Instruction for the Sieur Saucier, engineer, going to the Illinois to reestablish the post of Kaskaskia.<sup>1</sup>

Being informed of the entire destruction of the posts established by the king at Fort de Chartres and at Kaskaskia, and it

<sup>1</sup> These were instructions, given by Vaudreuil and Michel August 27, 1751, that were inclosed in a letter of Kerlérec and D'Auberville of July 14, 1754.

nécessité indispensable d'en Retablir qu'ant a present au moins un des deux qui puisse retirer et Loger la forte Garnison que le Roy nous a ordonné d'y Envoyer Tant pour y continuer la Possession que pour en imprimer aux sauvages et y fixer et arreter les progres des Anglois sur nos Terres, en suivant les ordres que nous avons Reçus de sa Majesté, les connoissances que nous avons prises de la situation des Lieux et pour Eviter les Depenses Excessives que Sa Majesté a été obligé de faire pour les Transports lors que le Principal Etablissement se trouve au fort de 20v

Chartres, Nous avons Reglé et arreté que le fort le plus considerable sera Etably au Poste des Caskaskias sur le Bord du fleuve autant que la situation et la sureté du lieu pourra le permettre et par preference celui qui coutera le moins de fraix au Roy pour les Transports

Le Sr Saussier se rendra le plus tot qu'il sera possible au dit Poste des Caskaskias ou en consequence des presentes instructions il assemblera Mrs de Macarty commandant et Buchet

[*Translation*]

being indispensably necessary to reëstablish at present at least one of the two which may accommodate and lodge the strong garrison which the king has ordered us to send there, to insure the possession of the country, to make an impression on the Indians, and to check and halt the progress of the English in our territory: we have, following the orders which we have received from His Majesty, and the information which we have taken as to the situation of the places and in order to avoid the excessive expenses which His Majesty was obliged to pay for transportation when the chief settlement was at Fort de Chartres, ordained and established that the most important fort shall be established at the post of Kaskaskia on the shore of the river so far as the situation and the security of the place will permit and by preference where it will cost the king the least for transportation.

The Sieur Saucier will repair as soon as he can to the said post of Kaskaskia, where in consequence of these present instructions he will assemble MM. de Macarty, the commandant, Buchet,

Ordonnateur les Principeaux officiers du Poste et Tous de concert Visiteront Ensemble le Terrain sa situation ses commodités ou incommodités le plus ou le moins de Depense, les inconveinans qui pourront se rencontrer, Tant dans un Lieu que dans un autre soit pour Etre commandé ou plus mal fortifié. Tiendront Conseil sur le tout et nous Envoyeront le plustôt qu'il sera possible le

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resultat du Conseil avec leur avis bien circonstanciés pour nous mettre en Etat de prendre un party solide et recevoir nos ordres par les Arkanças le plustot qu'il sera possible

Le Sr Saussier nous enverra un plan pour la construction du dit fort Egallement approuvé par le dit Conseil conforme a la situation et aux aisances des Lieux, et un devis détaillé et circonstancié de la Depense quil en pourra couster au Roy.

Mais comme les Etablissements que l'on a fait en Bois dans la Colonie, n'y ont point duré, qu'ils ont été peu solides et sujêts a des Reparations immenses; il sera par comparaison l'Etat ou

[*Translation*]

the *ordonnateur*, and the chief officers of the post, and they shall together inspect the terrain, its situation, its advantages or disadvantages, and the greater or less expense involved, as well as the difficulties which may be met in one place or the other whether on account of its being either commanded by higher ground or less strong by nature. They shall take counsel on the whole and shall send us as soon as possible the result of their deliberations with their conclusions in considerable detail in order to enable us to make a sound decision and to dispatch our orders as soon as possible by way of the Arkansas.

The Sieur Saucier will send us a plan for the construction of the said fort also approved by the said council and conformed to the situation and to the facilities of the place, as well as a detailed and circumstantial account of the expense it will entail on the king.

But since establishments which have been built in wood in the colony have not lasted since they are not permanent and subject to immense costs for repairs, he will give comparative esti-

devis Estimatif tant en bois qu'En maçonnerie et donnera son avis sur l'un des deux ainsy que tous ceux qui composeront le dit Conseil.

Mais pour pouvoir fournir ses projets avec connoissance de Cause, nous Etablissons icy les Regles Principales de la Construc-

21v

tion de ce fort Lequel sera un quarré flanqué de quatre Bastions Terrassé en dedans de dix pieds ou Environ jusques au dessous du cordon et soutenu d'une autre muraille en dedans sur laquelle on pourra apuyer en apenty les Batiments du fort Lesquels doivent au moins contenir Trois cens hommes de Garnison, avec les autres Etablissements Utiles et des Magasins pour un an de vivres a toute la ditte Garnison

Si cet Etablissement ne pouvoit avoir Lieu de cette façon, par des Raisons que nous ne pouvons prévoir il nous en fera sentir les inconveinans en nous envoyant le Plan qu'il aura formé avec ses observations en consequence et les Raisons qui l'y auront déterminé

[*Translation*]

mates both in wood and masonry and will give his opinion for one or the other as well as the opinions of all those who compose the said council.

But in order that these plans may be drawn with understanding, we set forth here the chief principles for the construction of this fort which shall be a square flanked by four bastions terraced inside for ten feet or thereabout below the stone coping and supported by another wall within, on which the buildings of the fort may be supported; these buildings should at least accommodate a garrison of three hundred with the other requisite buildings, and storehouses for a year's rations for the whole garrison.

If this post cannot be constructed in this fashion for reasons which we cannot foresee, he will indicate to us the disadvantages, sending us the plan which he shall have formed with his observations and with the reasons which shall have decided him.

Le Sr Saussier observera qu'a situation Egale et même par Preference, il doit Toujours construire Le fort dont il est question du même coté de L'Etablissement du fort de Chartres

22  
Tant pour procurer avec ce fort une communication Necessaire et Utile que pour Eviter les Dépenses d'un Bacq et autres Embarras qui pourroient subvenir par les glaces et autres incidents

Le Sr Saussier de concert avec Mrs Macarty et Buchet prendra d'avance et en attendant nos derniers ordres, tous les arrangements necessaires pour faire abatre des Bois en Bonne saison et preparer les autres materiaux convenables afin de ne point perdre de temps lorsque la saison et nos ordres luy permettrons de commencer le dit Etablissement.

Il prendra d'avance avec les dits Sieurs commandant et ordonnateur les arrangements convenables pour donner chaque partie de ces ouvrages a l'Entreprise: si cet arrangement et plus convenable au bien du service et a L'Economie que nous ne

[*Translation*]

The Sieur Saucier will observe that other things being equal between the sites, and even by preference, he should always construct the fort in question on the same side as the settlement of Fort de Chartres both to insure the necessary and useful communication with that fort as well as to avoid the expense of a ferry and other difficulties which may arise as a result of the ice and other incidents.

The Sieur Saucier, in concert with MM. Macarty and Buchet, will make, while awaiting our final orders, all the necessary arrangements for having the timber felled at the proper season and for preparing the other requisite materials in order to lose no time when the season and our orders permit them to begin the enterprise in question.

He will make in advance with the said Sieurs commandant and *ordonnateur* the proper arrangements for letting each part of the work to private persons if that arrangement is most proper for the good of the service and for the economy which we cannot

pouvons Trop luy Recommander, et s'Entendra avec le Sieur

22v

Buchet pour faire les marchés autant qu'il sera possible en marchandises au prix des lieux afin que le Roy Profitte comme les Particuliers de ce Bénéfice. Monsr De Macarty commandant luy fera fournir par Escoüade les soldats dont il aura Besoin, pour servir de journalliers chaqu'un à leur Tour, lesquels seront Taxés a quinze sols par jour prise du Tarif du magasin ce qui leur sera avantageux si cependant dans les circonstances ce prix n'Etoit pas suffisent, nous nous en Raportons a ce qui sera Reglé par les Srs Macarty commandant et Buchet ordonnateur, que nous chargeons de supleér a tout ce qui pourra n'etre pas preveu par la presente instruction

Fait A LA NLE ORLEANS Le 27e Aoust 1751.

[*Translation*]

too much recommend to him. He will consult with the Sieur Buchet to make his contracts as far as possible in merchandise at the price of the country in order that the king, like private persons, may profit.

M. de Macarty, the commandant, will furnish him by squads the soldiers whom he shall need to serve as workmen each in his turn; they shall be paid at fifteen sous a day at the prices of the storehouse which will be advantageous to them. If however in the circumstances this price is not sufficient, we will adopt what shall be decided by the Sieurs Macarty, commandant, and Buchet, *ordonnateur*, whom we wish to take any measures that cannot be foreseen in the present instruction.

NEW ORLEANS, August 27, 1751

## CHAPTER IV

### THE COLLAPSE OF LA JONQUIERE'S POLICY, SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER, 1751

VAUDREUIL TO MACARTY, September 9, 1751

[H M LO 309]

A Mr de Macarty commdt des jllinois Et Commandant le Convoy a la Nelles Orleans ce 9ie 7bre 1751.

J'ay recu Monsieur la lettre que vous vous este donnees la peine de m 'Ecrire de chevr blancpain<sup>1</sup> Et autres je suis charme que vostre convoy aille bien, cete marche me fait Esperer que vous vous rendrez plus promptement que vous ne pensies Et jl est meme necessaire de la presser le plus que vous pourron afin de vous rendre a vostre destination cet authonne, vostre presence est Necessaire au pay's des jllinois ou langlois n Epargnent rien pour

[Translation]

To M. de Macarty, commandant of the Illinois and commanding the convoy. At New Orleans this ninth of September, 1751

I have received, Monsieur, the letter you gave yourself the trouble to write me by the Chevalier Blancpain<sup>1</sup> and others. I am delighted that your convoy goes well; this makes me hope that you will arrive sooner than you expected. It is necessary to make as much haste as you can so as to arrive at your destination this autumn. Your presence is necessary in the Illinois country, where the English spare nothing to alienate from us its tribes and

<sup>1</sup> Probably the Joseph Blancpain who figured in trade and exploration along the Texas frontier. June 19, 1745 his will was filed at New Orleans prior to an expedition into Texas to search for the Chevalier Grenier. *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, 15:670. October 29, 1752 he appeared at Natchitoches. H M LO 401. In 1754 he was arrested on the Texas coast by the Spaniards. H. E. Bolton, *French Intrusions into New Mexico, 1749-1752*, reprinted from H. M. Stephens and H. E. Bolton, *The Pacific Ocean in History*, 406-407.



nous aliener ces nations et celles D'ouabache Si lon en peut juger par le Compte que Mr Benoist m'en rend.

Outre cela j'ay vû par des lettres de Mr de Celoron Comdt du Detroit et par celles du Sr de Villier comdt au Miamis que les Republiquins de la Riviere a la Roche ont tout à fait adopté l'anglois Et rejetté les françois ce qui a Engage le Sr Celeron a en rendre Compte des le petit printemps a Mr le Mqis dela jonquierre qui Envoyera jndubitablement un partis du Canada Capable de réprimer l'audace de Ces Refugiés, Dans le Cas ou jl vous soit Monsieur demandé du secour pour cete Expedition, soit en vivres ou en hommes vous vous y preterres en tout ce qui dependra du vous.

J'ay vû par une lettre du Sr de villiers que les Anglois formoient Encory un fort sur la Rivierre blanche que l'on dit estre a 40 lieux des Miamis vous vous en ferons jnformer et dans le cas ou cet Etablissement ne soit pas douteux jl conviendrat de vous entendre avec le sr de Celoron pour vous y opposer et em-

[*Translation*]

those of the Wabash, at least if one can judge by the account M. Benoist gives me.

Besides that I have seen by letters of M. de Céloron, commandant at Detroit, and by those of the Sieur de Villiers, commandant at Miamis, that the republicans of Great Miami River have wholly adopted the English and rejected the French. This led the Sieur Céloron early in the spring to give an account to M. le Marquis de la Jonquière, who will indubitably send a party from Canada capable of curbing the audacity of these refugees. In case he makes any requests of you, Monsieur, for help for this expedition, in provisions or men, you will lend yourself to it in all that may depend on you.

I have seen by a letter of the Sieur de Villiers that the English are also establishing a fort on White River, which is said to be forty leagues from Miamis. You will inform yourself as to this, and in case that settlement definitely exists, it will be best to come to an understanding with the Sieur de Céloron to oppose

pecher son Execution En Employant meme la force a la force  
En Cas de besoin.

Il en doit estre de meme des autres Etablissemens que ces Ambitieux pourroient bien former Sur la belle Rivierre ou autres a nostres proximité quil ne faut point absolument Souffrir c'est a dire mettre tout en usage pour vous y opposer.

Dans les Conjonctures presentes Il conviendra de voir toutes les nations d'ouabaches et scavoir dans quelles dispositions ou elles sont a nostre Egard, l'on m'asseure que les peanguichias, les Kikapoux et Mascoutins Et un village des Miamis nen sont point encorey allés a la Riviere a la Roche Sil est vray que ces Nations tiennent encory pour les françois vous feron bien de vous en assurer Et les tenir dans des dispositions a vous servir en Cas de besoin ainsy de celles du vermillons ou Il peut y en avoir une partie dans nos jnterests; Quoy que la demoiselle l'un des chefs des miamis et le principal mutin des refugiés Sur la Rivierre a la Roche ait dit au Sr de villiers qu'il estoit assurés de toutes les

[Translation]

and prevent its completion, even using force against force if necessary.

The same applies to the other settlements that these ambitious people may make on the Ohio River or on others in our neighborhood which absolutely cannot be suffered. In other words, take all measures to oppose them.

In such circumstances it will be proper to see all the Wabash tribes and find out in what disposition they are as regards us. I am assured that the Piankashaw, Kickapoo, Mascoutens and a village of Miami have not yet gone to Great Miami River. If it is true that these tribes still hold by the French, you will do well to make sure of it and to keep them in a disposition to serve you in case of need. The same applies to the Vermilion Indians where there may be a party in our interests, although La Demoiselle, one of the Miami chiefs, and the principal mutineer among the refugees at Great Miami River, told the Sieur de Villiers that he was assured of all the tribes of the Wabash, the

Nations d'ouabache, du jllinois, Sakis, Renards puans, Missouris, outa8ois, loups jroquois et autres En Cas que le francois voulut faire quelqués entreprise sur Eux, ce sera a vous Monsieur a vous asseurer des sentimens de toutes celles qui sont dela Dependance des jllinois.

JL paroist bien que les jllinois ont Eté l'jstrument des parolles et des colliers des Anglois ches toutes les Nations du Missouris et autres sur le haut du Miscissipy puis quils sont venu jusqu'a ches les Arkansas ou leur demarches n'ont pas Eue à la verité grand succes mais comme jl na pas dependu de leur soins jl est bon que vous les fascies assembler et que vous leur fascies scavoir que je n'ignore point toutes leurs menées, les Avertir que j'ay donné des ordres de les faire arreter Et de me les Envoyer jcy Sil leur arrive davantages de porter aux arkansas ou ailleurs de mauvaises parolles Et vous leur Signifires de se declarer dans quel sentimens jls sont a nostre Egard c'est à dire sils sont françois ou Anglois, quils ayent a nous le dire parceque, Estant francois nous les traiterons comme nos Enfans, mais qu'Estant

[*Translation*]

Illinois, Sauk, Foxes, Winnebago, Missouri, Ottawa, Delaware, Iroquois and others in case the French sought to carry on some hostile enterprise against him. It will be for you, Monsieur, to assure yourself as to the sentiments of all the Indians of the Illinois group.

It indeed seems that the Illinois have been the carriers of English messages and belts among all the Missouri tribes, and others on the upper Mississippi since they have gone as far as the Quapaw, where their maneuvers have not indeed had great success. But as that is not their fault, it would be well for you to have them assembled and to let them know that I am in no wise ignorant of all their maneuvers. Warn them that I have given orders to have them arrested and sent to me if they chance again to carry ill messages to the Quapaw or elsewhere. You will bid them declare what their sentiments are with respect to us, whether they are French or English. Say to them that they must tell us because, if they are French, we shall treat them like our children, but if they are English we shall regard them as our

Anglois nous les regarderons comme nos Ennemis, Qu'au reste la Conduite qu'ils ont tenu depuis quelques temps ne nous a que trop prouvés qu'ils avoient le Coeur mal fait pourquoy J'Exige deux qu'ils se declarent entierrement pour nous ou pour l'anglois afin que nous sachions á quoy nous en tenir.

Le Sr Girardot<sup>1</sup> avec des voyageurs ont debité jcy quá leur depart des sauvages jllinois du village des Kaskakias avoient assassinés deux Negres a trois lieux de la village; comme Mr benoist ne me rend point compte de cette action ce sera á vous Monsieur a vous en faire jmformer et dans le Cas ou elle soit vraye, jl ne nous Conviendrait pas dela laisser jmpunie, pour quoy vous feriez assembler Ce village et Exigerois de luy de vous livrer les meurtriers de ces negres que vous feriez passer par les Armes Et dans celuy ou les villages refuse cete Satisfaction vous leur parleriez avec fermeté et avec un certain menagement pendant lequel vous prendriez les Mesures qui conviendroient pour les

[Translation]

enemies. For the rest, they are to know that their conduct toward us for some time has but too clearly proved to us that they have evil hearts, wherefore I require of them that they declare themselves entirely for us or for the English that we may know on whom we can count.

The Sieur Girardeau<sup>1</sup> with the *voyageurs* has bruited it about here that at their departure Illinois Indians of the Kaskaskia village had killed two negroes three leagues from the village. As M. Benoist gives me no account of this affair, it will be for you, Monsieur, to inform yourself on it; and in case it is true, it does not become us to leave it unpunished. Accordingly you will have that village assembled and require them to deliver to you the murderers of these negroes, whom you will have shot. In case the villages refuse this satisfaction you will speak to them with firmness and with a certain tactfulness while you take the

<sup>1</sup>Two officers of this name served in Louisiana. Girardeau [o, ot], *l'aine*, was *ensign en second*, June 11, 1750, and *ensign en pied*, February 1, 1754. Girardeau, *le cadet*, was *ensign en second*, October 15, 1752, and *ensign en pied*, 1759. A N Colonies D2C4. Neither can be definitely identified with the various Girardots, especially the Pierre Girardot prominent in the Illinois in the British Period.

forcer a nous rendre Satisfaction sur cet attentat degres ou de force Et en faire un si bon Exemple que le reste de cete Nation puisse s'en souvenir, mais pour cela jl faut bien considerer si d'autres nations ne prendroient point part a la querelle, tout cela demande beaucoup menagement Et de Considerations qui ne peuvent se faire que sur les lieux pourquoy je ne puis vous donner Mr la dessus des ordres positives je ne puis que m'en rapporter a vostre prudence et a vostre Experiance Sur cete affaire et sur toute autres qui ont des circonstances á Examiner de prés

D autres m'ont rapporté que ces deux negres avoient été tués a 30 lieux des Kaskakias par un partis de guerre que les avoit rencontrés au nombre de 4 negres—Marons qui à L aspect De Ce partie, prirent la fuite ce qui porta ces sauvages a faire feux sur Eux de facon quil y en a Eüe deux de tué et deux quil ont sauveés. Si la chose est cete, les circonstances de cete action Sont bien differentes et n'exigent aucune Satisfaction de la part de ces sauvages il sera a vous Mr a vous faire jmformer du fait.

[*Translation*]

measures proper to force them to give us satisfaction on that account, either by good will or by force, making so good an example that the rest of the tribe may remember it. However on this it is necessary to consider if the other nations may not take part in the quarrel. All this calls for much tact, and for reflections which cannot be made save on the spot. Accordingly on this, Monsieur, I do not give you positive orders. I can only rely on your prudence and your experience in this affair and in all others whose circumstances need to be examined on the spot.

Other people have reported to me that these two negroes had been killed thirty leagues from Kaskaskia, by a war party which had met them to the number of four runaway negroes who at the sight of the war party took flight. This led the Indians to fire on them in such fashion that two were killed and two were saved. If the thing is thus, the circumstances of this action are very different and require no satisfaction on the part of these Indians. It will be for you, Monsieur, to inform yourself as to what happened.

Mr Benoist me marque que toutes les nations de la dependance des jllinois ont formes une Conspiration contre tous les francois de ce paÿs, quils doivent détruire à l'jnstigation des Anglois, je n'en crois rien l entreprise me paroist un peu folle pour elles, mais quoy quil en soit, vous approfondires la chose et vous prendres a cet Egard les mesures qui conviendront pour n'avoir rien a craindre d'elles et pour leur en jmprimer ce que je crois fort possible Etant persuadé que Vostre Arrivée avec ce detachement de troupe et d'officiers, discipera tout cet orage ou la Crainte a souvent plus de part quil ny a de mauvaise jntention de la part de ces Sauvages.

Le Sr Saucier part chargé de mes jnstructions quil a ordre de vous communiquer et des quelles nous vous vous envoyons copies et a Mr Buchet sur l Etablissement du fort projeté aux Kakaskias au sujet duquel je vous fais part avec Mr Michel de mes jntentions que vous aurez agreable de suivre et de m'en rendre Compte

Je souhaiterois que les Arkansas voulussent s'Etablir sur

[*Translation*]

M. Benoist informs me that all the tribes of the Illinois dependence have formed a conspiracy against all the French of this country, whom they are to destroy at the instigation of the English. Of this I believe nothing. The enterprise seems to me a little foolish for them; but however it may be, you will go to the bottom of the affair and take in this respect the proper measures so as to have nothing to fear from them, and so as to dominate them. This I think quite possible, being persuaded that your arrival with this detachment of troops and officers will dissipate the storm completely, in which fear often has a larger part than bad intentions on the part of these Indians.

The Sieur Saucier is leaving, furnished with my instructions, which he has orders to communicate to you, and of which we are sending copies to you and to M. Buchet as to the establishment of the proposed fort at Kaskaskia. On this subject I communicate to you in concert with M. Michel my intentions which you will be good enough to follow, giving me an account respecting it.

I could wish that the Quapaw would settle on the river eight

le fleuve a 8. lieues au dessus je trouveray bon que vous puissies les y determiner

Je vous Envoye cy joint une lettre pour le sr de porneuf qui commande au Missouris par la quelle je luy donne ordre de satisfaire aux Engagemens quil à avec Mr olivier qui luy fit en 1746 des avances de neuf mil et quelque cent livres aux quels cet officier n'a encore satisfait qu'en partie vous luy ordonneres Monsieur de finir cet affaire afin qu je n'en Entende plus parler

jl y a ausy un Nommé Debillite dit la jeunesse Sergent de la Compagnie du Sr de moncharvaux qui doit depuis 4. ans a mon dit sr olivier 150<sup>l</sup> dont le Billet est entre les mains du Sr de Villiers, Je vous Seray Monsieur oblige de donner ordre á ce sergent de satisfaire a cet Engagement.

jl y ausy M. de Gruis qui doit a mon dit Sr olivier une somme de Six mil et quelques cent livres depuis 4. ans, au payement de la quelle Monsieur je vous prie de vous jntresser Et dans la Cas ou cet officier ne s arrange pas pour Satisfaire á cet

[*Translation*]

leagues higher. I shall be glad if you can induce them to do it.

I send you annexed a letter for the Sieur de Portneuf, who commands at the Missouri, by which I order him to discharge his indebtedness to M. Olivier, who in 1746 advanced him nine thousand and some hundred livres, which that officer has as yet only paid in part. You will, Monsieur, order him to settle this business that I may hear no more of it.

There is also someone called Debillite, *dit* La Jeunesse, a sergeant in the Sieur de Montchervaux's company, who for four years has owed to the said Sieur Olivier 150 livres the note for which is in the hands of the Sieur de Villiers. I shall, Monsieur, be obliged to you, if you will order this sergeant to pay this obligation.

There is also M. de Gruis, who for four years has owed to the said Sieur Olivier the sum of six thousand and some hundred livres. I beg you, Monsieur, to interest yourself in securing its repayment; and in case that officer does not arrange to discharge



Engagement par le prochain Convoy, vous aurez Agreeable de luy en ordonner le payement

Il y a aux Illinois le Sr Despins<sup>1</sup> pour le quel je m'interesse Et qui doit descendre icy a la premiere occasion je vous seray oblige Mr de luy favoriser son passage icy en tout ce qui dependra de vous.

Depuis ma lettre Ecrite j'ay euë occasion d'interroger un anglois que Mr Benoist ma Envoyé icy qui vient de la Riviere a la Roche; par la jnterrogation que Je luy ay faites j'ay decouvert que les refugiés de cet Endroit ne sont point du tout a l'abris d'un Coup de main que l'on pouroit faire sur Eux Et capable de reprimer leur audace, n'estants nullement fortifies Et ne faisants consister leur force que dans l'appuis des Nations d'ou ces refugiés Sont sortis et de celles avec qui ils Comptant avoir formes des Alliances.

[Translation]

his obligation by the next convoy, you will be pleased to order him to pay it.

There is at the Illinois the Sieur Despins,<sup>1</sup> in whom I take an interest, and who should come down here at the first opportunity. I shall be obliged to you, Monsieur, to help his journey in all that may depend on you.

Since my letter was written I have had occasion to question an Englishman whom M. Benoist sent me here, who comes from Great Miami River. By my examination of him I have found out that the refugees at that place are in no wise secure against a surprise attack such as could be made on them to repress their insolence; for they are no ways fortified, and their strength rests solely in the support of the tribes whence these refugees have come, and from those with whom they count on forming alliances.

<sup>1</sup> Several men of this name appear as *voyageurs* and traders in the West. *L'Archiviste* . . . de Québec pour 1922-1923, 226, 245, 250; 1931-1932, 351; A N Colonies C11A 119:30. This may be the Pierre René [or René Lemoine] Despins, who died at Kaskaskia in June, 1775. He was the son-in-law of J. B. St. Gemme Beauvais. See *post*, 741. The inventory of his goods June 14, 1775 lists him as Pierre René Despin. French MS. Tanguay [5:338] indicates René Lemoine Despins was baptized in 1715 and buried at Kaskaskia, June 10, 1775.

J'ay ausy fait jnterroger cet Anglois Sur le pretendu Etablissement que lon disoit Se former de la part des anglois sur la Rivierre blanche, jl n est question que d'une traitte que ces Anglois vont y faire au printemps pour etre plus aportée des nations d'ouabache et dans celles des jllinois, quoyquil en soit ne negligés rien Mr pour vous faire jnstruire de tout ce que se passera dans ces continents de Contraire a nos jnteresses a fin de vous y opposer Et vous mettes a portéé par la de detruire les moindres troubles dans leur Naissances.

Vous connoisses le Sr Saucier qui vous remettra la presente avec le plus de diligence qui luy possible, je suis persuadé Mr que vous aurez pour luy les Egards quil merite et que lon ne peut refuser a ses talens et a son service.

J'ay reçu ausy la lettre que vous avies pris la peine de m'Ecrire á la pointe coupée je suis charmé que vous marchies bien Et que vous ne Compties Rester aux Natches qu'on jour en prenant la precaution pour donner avis de vostre Marche aux Arkansas vous ny ferez pas grand Sejour Et parla vous aurez du

[*Translation*]

I have also had this Englishman questioned on the supposed establishment which is said to be forming by the English on White River. It is a question only of a trade which these English wish to carry on in the spring in order to be more convenient to the Wabash tribes and those of the Illinois. However it may be, neglect nothing, Monsieur, to inform yourself of all that happens in those regions contrary to our interests in order to oppose it and thus be able to check lesser troubles at the outset.

You know the Sieur Saucier, who will deliver you this letter as soon as he possibly can. I am persuaded, Monsieur, that you will show the respect for him which he merits, and which cannot be denied to his talents and to his service.

I have also received the letter which you took the trouble to write me at Pointe Coupée. I am delighted that you make good progress and that you do not count on remaining at Natchez more than a day. By taking the precaution to give advance notice of your approach at Arkansas you need not make a long

temps a vous rendre cet authonne a vostre destination, ce que je Souhaite ardemment.

je donne ordre au Sr saucier de faire le plus de diligence quil pourra afin de vous rejoindre promptement et de vous mettre en Etat parlá de procurer á vostre detachement les rafraichissemens ordinaires que produit la chasse.

je ne suis pas moins flatté que vous ayes Embarqué le Sr Gaudot avec toute sa famille malgré l'embaras quelle vous couteras, cet homme vous sera d'un grand secours et jl Seras Juste de Luy faire payér les Medicamens sil a fournit á vostre detachemen

Quant a vous raprocher d jcy Soyez persuadé que jen fais-eray volontiers l ocassion et que je serois charmé de vous y scavoir nous tacherons pendant vostre absence de la faire oublier pour quelques momens a Me de Macarty qu'y'auray toujours honneur de voir avec plaisir.

[*Translation*]

stay there, and thus you will have time to reach your destination this autumn, which I earnestly wish.

I am giving orders to the Sieur Saucier to use as much diligence as he can to rejoin you promptly, and thus enable you to procure your detachment the relief which hunting ordinarily affords.

I am not less pleased that you have taken on the Sieur Gaudot with his whole family in spite of the inconvenience which it will cost you. This man will be of great help to you, and it will be right to pay him for the medicines he may have furnished to your detachment.

As to bringing you closer to this place, be assured that I will willingly use the opportunity and that I should be delighted to know you were here. We will try during your absence to make Mme de Macarty forget it for a few moments; I shall always with pleasure have the honor of seeing her.

LA JONQUIÈRE TO ROUILLÉ, September 16, 1751

[A N Colonies C11A 97:65]

MONSEIGNEUR,

J'Éus lhonneur de vous rendre compte par ma lettre du 18 aoust de lannée derniere que j'avois donné le commendement de La Baye Et des Sioux au S. Marin Capitaine d'Jnfanterie et de l'importance de tous les objets qui forment sa mission.

Le dit S. Marin s'est rendu suivant mes ordres a la Baye ou il a rétably l'union entre les nations de ce poste et les Sioux.

Jl n'a trouvé chez les folles avoines ny chez les Puants aucun des mauvais Sujets qui avoient coutume de sy réfugier, Jl leur a dit de ne plus en recevoir, ces nations luy ont repondû que

ne pouvant les chasser de force, sans <sup>65v</sup> s'exposer a des discussions, elles leur signifiroient mes intentions et les Engageroient a se rétirer dans leur villages.

Une grande partië des Puants sont allés en guerre sur les Missouris dés le commencement du mois de mars, Jls sont partis

[*Translation*]

Monseigneur :

I had the honor to inform you in my letter of August 18 of last year that I had given the command of Green Bay and of the Sioux to the Sieur Marin, captain of infantry; I also indicated the importance of all the objects included in his mission.

The said Sieur Marin has gone in accord with my orders to Green Bay, where he has reëstablished harmony between the tribes of that post and the Sioux. He has found neither among the Menominee nor among the Winnebago any of the bad characters who formerly took refuge there. He told those tribes no longer to receive these people; the tribes answered that not being able to drive them away by force without exposing themselves to disputes they would indicate my intentions and induce these people to go back to their villages.

A large party of the Winnebago went to make war on the Missouri at the beginning of the month of March. They went

a l'insçu du S. Marin, aiant ténû leur projet très secret, Je souhaite qu'a leur rétors JI les détermine a finir cette guerre et a faire leur paix.

Le Nommé la Mothe Chef folle avoine qui m'est venû voir a montreal m'a promis qu'il donneroit tous ces soins pour arreter ces partys, cy joint Copie de ses parolles et de mes reponses.

Jl s'etoit formé plusieurs autres partis de guerre pour aller frapper sur les dits Missouris, mais heureusement le S. Marin en a eû connoissance au commencement du Printems et avec l'aide d'un chef folle avoine, Jl a arrêté ces partys, Jl a même si bien apaisés ces nations, que peinnés d'avoir formé ces partys contre

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ma volonté, les folles avoines ont voulû Etrangler un saulteux de la grosse Isle qui les avoit Jnduits a faire ces mouvements.

Un 8ta8ois et une Saulteux de Missilimakinack ont porté des Eaux de vie anglaises chez ces nations, Le S. Marin a saisi leurs barils, étant a présumer que c'etoit un present que les anglais

[*Translation*]

off without the knowledge of the Sieur Marin, having kept their plan quite secret. I desire that on their return he may induce them to end that war and to make peace.

The chief of the Menominee named La Mothe, who came to see me at Montreal, promised to do all he could to stop these parties. I annex a copy of his speeches and of my answers.

Several other war parties were formed to attack the Missouri, but happily the Sieur Marin knew of them at the beginning of the spring and with the help of a Menominee chief he stopped these parties. He has even so well appeased these tribes that in penitence for having organized these parties against my will, the Menominee wanted to strangle a Chippewa of Grosse Isle who had induced them to make these expeditions.

An Ottawa and a Chippewa of Mackinac have carried English brandy among these tribes. The Sieur Marin seized their barrels on the supposition that it was a present which the English sent them. I have written on this occasion to M. Duplessis-

leur faisoient faire, Jay escrit a cette occasion a M Duplessis fabert<sup>1</sup> qui témoignera a ces Sauvages le mécontentement que jay de leur procédé.

Le S. Marin s'est transporté chez les sioux, Jl leur a expliqué ma parolle et mes intentions, Jl a été très bien reçu de cette nation, elle est en paix avec les Saulteux, folles avoines et autres nations qui ont hiverné sur leurs terres.

Un Sioux des prairiës qui alloit en guerre ces dernieres <sup>66v</sup> années contre les Jllinois, tua un francais nommé Marin Urtubize, le S. Marin vouloit se faire remettre le meurtrier, la nation a fait toutes les soumissions possibles elle avoit chasse le meurtrier et on ne sçait pas ce qu'il est devenu.

Les Sioux ont rémis au S. Marin le fils du chef Christinos qu'ils détenoient prisonnier depuis quelques années, Ce Jeune

[*Translation*]

Fabert,<sup>1</sup> who will express to these Indians my discontent at their proceedings.

The Sieur Marin has gone among the Sioux and has explained to them my speech and my intentions. He has been very well received by that tribe which is at peace with the Chippewa, the Menominee, and the other tribes that have wintered on their lands.

A Sioux of the prairie who in recent years has gone to make war on the Illinois killed a Frenchman named Marin Urtubize. The Sieur Marin wished to have the murderer given up, and the tribe has made all possible submission; it has driven away the murderer, and no one knows what has become of him.

The Sioux have returned to the Sieur Marin the son of the Cree chief they had held prisoner for some years. This

<sup>1</sup> François Lefebvre, Sieur Duplessis-Fabert. According to Tanguay he was baptized November 11, 1689. *Dictionnaire*, 3:544. However he is said to have been cadet in 1698; ensign in 1700; lieutenant in 1714; captain in 1727. He commanded at La Baye, 1726-1727. *W. H. C.*, 17:17n. He signed at Mackinac as commandant, July 28, 1749. *A N Colonies C11A* 119:55. He was accused of running up excessive bills there, and in May, 1750 the minister signified his approval for removing him [*W. H. C.*, 18:61], but he was still there June 8, 1752 [*A N Colonies C11A* 119:311v]; Beaujeu took over in the next month. *Ibid.*, 310.

homme n'a pas voulu se séparer de cette nation, le S. Marin doit faire son possible cette année pour luy persuader qu'il doit retourner dans sa patrie et aux chefs Sioux qu'ils ne doivent point le garder parmi eux, JI le renvoyera a M de St Pierre, J'espere que les Sioux n'hesiteront pas de conclure leur paix avec les Cristinos, n'ayant formé aucun party de guerriers contre cette nation et aiant promis au S. Marin qu'ils fairoient sa volonté.

Le dit S. Marin n'a pû aller dans le haut du missisipy et Jusqu'a Sa source, parceque les nations de la Baye et les Sioux

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qui vinrent me voir l'année derniere, le prièrent Instamment de les attendre a la Baye et que ces nations n'ont été de rétour que fort tard:

Dailleurs il trouva les nations de la Baye dans une très grande Inquiétude, aucune de ces nations ne vouloit se rétirer dans son village, JI s'etoit répendû un bruit (peut etre que les anglais en sont les auteurs) que j'avois rétenû a Montreal les derniers Sioux pour les faire mourir, ce qui avoit donné une si grande alarme, que le S. Marin pour rassurer ces nations fut contraint de rester

[*Translation*]

young man did not want to leave that tribe. The Sieur Marin did everything possible this year to persuade him that he should return to his own people and to persuade the Sioux chiefs that they should not keep him among them. He will send him back to M. de St. Pierre. I hope the Sioux will not hesitate to conclude their peace with the Cree as they have sent no party of warriors against that tribe and have promised the Sieur Marin that they would do what he wished.

The said Sieur Marin could not ascend the upper Mississippi as far as its source because the nations of Green Bay and the Sioux who came to see me last year begged him earnestly to wait for them at Green Bay, and these tribes returned too late. Otherwise he found the tribes of Green Bay very much disquieted. None of these tribes wishes to go to its village. The rumor had spread about (perhaps the English were responsible for it) that I had held at Montreal the Sioux last mentioned in order to have them killed. This gave so great alarm that the Sieur Marin, to re-



auprès d'elles, Sans quoy JI auroit été a craindre, qu'elles ne se fussent portées a quelque extrémité contre les français.

Après que les Sioux furent arrivés, le S. Marin fit connoitre a toutes les nations le tort qu'elles avoient d'avoir ajouté foy a cette nouvelle, JI leur renouvela les bontés de Sa Majesté pour

elles et partit tout de <sup>67v</sup> Suite pour aller faire les découvertes dont je l'ay chargé, mais les glaces l'arretèrent et il fut obligé d'hiverner au Lac Papin.

Il me marque qu'il fera cette année toute la diligence possible pour faire ces découvertes, les sioux ont promis de l'y accompagner et luy ont dit qu'il estoit apropos d'attendre que M de St Pierre eut tranquilisé les nations qui sont sur le Missisipy.

Jay particulierement chargé le S. Marin de ne rien négliger pour decouvrir une mine de cuivre qu'on dit etre a la riviere de Bon Secours et S'il parvient a la trouver d'en envoyer des morçeaux a M de Vaudreül pour vous les faire passer.

Du reste le S Marin a distribue les présents que je luy fis

[*Translation*]

assure these tribes, was compelled to remain among them. Otherwise there was reason to fear that they might have taken desperate measures against the French.

After the Sioux had arrived, the Sieur Marin showed all the tribes how wrong they had been to credit such news. He once more repeated His Majesty's bounty to them and left immediately to make the discoveries which I had entrusted to him; but the ice stopped him, and he was obliged to winter on Lake Pepin. He indicates to me that this year he will use all possible diligence to make these discoveries. The Sioux have promised to accompany him and have told him that it would be well for him to wait until M. de St. Pierre had quieted the tribes of the Mississipi.

I have especially instructed the Sieur Marin to neglect nothing to discover a copper mine which is said to be on the river of Bon Secours, and if he succeeds in finding it to send samples to M. de Vaudreuil to be dispatched to you.

Otherwise the Sieur Marin has distributed the presents which I had delivered to him last year. He has decorated several

délivrer l'année dernière, JI a décoré plusieurs chefs de la médaille du Roy et leur a bien fait valoir les générosités de Sa Majesté.  
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Quoyque les nations de la Baye aient été bien dérangées, les voyageurs n'ont pas laissé que d'y bien traiter leurs marchandes et JI y a apparence que cette traite augmentera.

Je suis avec un très profond respect Monseigneur

Vôtre très humble et très obéissant serviteur

LAJONQUIERE

LA JONQUIÈRE TO ROUILLÉ, September 17, 1751

[A N Colonies C11A 97:69]

MONSEIGNEUR

Jay l'honneur de vous rendre compte de ce qui s'est passé d'intéressant dans le poste de Missilimakinack et ses dépendances.

J'eus l'honneur de vous prévenir l'année dernière par ma lettre du 20 Septbre de la grande quantité de pelleteries que les nations de ce poste avoient porté chez les Anglais et des colliers que les

[Translation]

chiefs with the king's medal, and has given them reason to prize His Majesty's generosity.

Although the tribes of Green Bay have been much disordered the *voyageurs* have done a good business with their merchandise, and it seems likely that that trade will increase.

I am with very profound respect, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

LA JONQUIÈRE

MONSEIGNEUR:

I have the honor to give you an account of whatever of interest has happened at the post of Mackinac and its dependencies.

I had the honor to inform you last year by my letter of September 20 of the great quantity of peltry which the tribes of that post had carried to the English and of the wampum belts

Anglais faisoient introduire chez ces nations par la voye des Jroquois pour les dégouter du commerce quelles faisoient avec les français et les indisposer contre eux.

Les ordres que je n'ay point discontinué de donner à M.

Duplessis fabert a cette occasion, n'ont pas laissé que de <sup>69v</sup> produire un assez bon effet. il est parvenu à dissuader le nommé Nouk8ata de l'attachement qu'il avoit pour les anglais Il a retiré un collier qu'il avoit de leur part ce qui a fait echouer le projet qu'une grand partie des guerriers avoient fait, de se dévouer entierement aux anglais, et de suivre par tout le dit Nouk8ata s'il acceptoit la place de Chef que les Anglois luy offroient.

Vous verrés, Monseigneur, par les parolles cy jointes des Kiskakons du 5 Juillet et de mes reponses que le dit Nouk8ata paroît très repentant de sa faute.

Jay l'honneur de vous envoyer aussi cy Joint le conseil que jay tenu avec les 8ta8ois sinagos le même jour dans lequel je les ay Invittés, eux, et les Kiskakons d'aller faire coup sur nos

[Translation]

which the English were having introduced among those tribes by the medium of the Iroquois to disgust them with the trade which they carried on with the French and to turn them against us.

The orders which I have continued to give to M. Duplessis-Fabert on this occasion have not ceased to produce a good effect. He has succeeded in dissuading the Indian named Noukouata from the friendship which he had for the English. He has got back a wampum belt which Noukouata had from them, and this has caused the failure of a plan which had been made by a large party of warriors to devote themselves entirely to the English and to follow the said Noukouata everywhere if he accepted the place of chief which the English offered him. You will see, Monseigneur, by the annexed speeches of the Kishkakon of July 5 and by my answers that the said Noukouata appears to be very penitent for his fault.

I have the honor to send you also annexed the minutes of the council which I held with the Ottawa Sinago the same day, in which I invited them and the Kishkakon to go and attack

rebeles a la Belle riviere, Jls m'ont promis qu'ils fairoient partir une bande de leurs Jeunes gens, des qu'ils seroient arrivés dans leur village, Sur quoy Je donne des ordres précis a M. Duplessis  
70

Le dit S Duplessis a encore rétiré une médaille, un collier, et un pavillon anglais qu'un considéré Saulteux avoit accepté, de même qu'un collier que les anglais avoient remis aux 8ta8ois.

En conformité de mes ordres Jl a arreté une bande des saulteux du Castor qui avoit chanté la guerre dans son poste.

Il n'a pû avoir le même succès près des saulteux de la Grosse Isle dont un party est allé fraper sur les Jllinois a l'invitation des P8tet8atamis vraisemblablement de la riviere de Chikagou, car ceux de la riviere St Joseph n'ont point sorty de leur village

Ce qu'il y a de plus facheux, c'est qu'un des dits Saulteux a tué un français dans la riviere des Jllinois au Rocher, ces Saulteux découvrirent quatre cabanes des Jllinois, ils se déterminèrent a les attaquer, désque le jour paroistroit, Jl n'y eut personne dans ces cabanes qu'un français qu'on découvrit après  
70v une recherche

[*Translation*]

our rebels on the Ohio River. They have promised me that they would send off a party of their young men as soon as they arrived in their village. Upon this I give precise orders to M. Duplessis.

The said Sieur Duplessis has also got back a medal, a belt, and an English flag which a prominent Chippewa had accepted, as well as a belt which the English had sent to the Ottawa. In conformity with my orders he has checked a band of the Chippewa of Beaver who had sung the war song in his post. He did not have the same success with the Chippewa of Grosse Isle a party of whom have gone to attack the Illinois at the invitation of the Potawatomi, presumably those of Chicago River; for those of St. Joseph River have not left their village.

What is more annoying is that one of these Chippewa has killed a Frenchman on the Illinois River at Starved Rock. These Chippewa discovered four cabins of the Illinois and determined to attack them at daybreak. There was no one in the cabins but

exacte, un sauvage du party prit d'abord ce français a la brasse pour le mettre a couvert, il cria aux autres, mais trop tard, que c'etoit un français, JI reçut un coup de fusil dans le même instant qui l'etendit sur la place, et entrebrula la peau du sauvage qui vouloit le garantir. ce français se nomme Jean Brossac.

Les Saulteux en corps ont été raporter dans les mêmes termes cette facheuse nouvelle a M Duplessis, Jls luy ont demandé grâce, JI n'a point voulu recevoir leur parolles, et leur a dit que c'etoit a moy directement qu'ils devoient S'adresser.

Les Saulteux prétendent que ce français a été tué sans dessein prémédité et que lorsqu'on cria au Sauvage, il avoit laché la guchette de son fusil.

Cependant M Duplessis m'ecrit du 16 du mois dernier que ce meurtre a été fait par une trahison insigne, que les saulteux et gens de l'Isle des poux aiant été rejoindre les P8tet8atamis a

71

Chikagou qui les avoient conviés pour un party de guerre, Jls

[*Translation*]

a Frenchman who was found after a careful search. An Indian of the party at first took the Frenchman by the arm to put him in shelter and called to the others, but too late, that it was a Frenchman. At the same instant the Frenchman received a gunshot which killed him on the spot and burned the skin of the Indian who wished to save him. This Frenchman was named Jean Brossac.

The Chippewa have been in a body to report this unfortunate news in these same terms to M. Duplessis. They have asked forgiveness of him. He would not receive their speeches and told them that they must address themselves to me directly. The Chippewa claim that this Frenchman was killed without premeditated plan and that when the Indian was called to, he had already pulled the trigger of his gun.

However M. Duplessis wrote me the sixteenth of last month that this murder was a piece of rank treachery. The Chippewa and the people of the Isle des Poux had rejoined the Potawatomi at Chicago, who had summoned them for a war party;

se mirent tous en marche qu'aïant trouvé ce français, Jls burent et mangerent avec luy, et le tuerent.

Je donne ordre a M Duplessis de dire aux Saulteux que je ne laisseray point la mort de ce français Impunië, qu'il faut absolument qu'ils viennent a Montreal Eux memes, l'année prochaine pour me livrer le meurtrier a discretion et que s'ils y manquent, J'en vengeray La mort et ne leur fairay point de quartier.

L'année prochaine J'examineray cette affaire de bien près et si ce sauvage a réelement fait ce coup par trahison, Je luy fairay casser la tête, cette Expedition étant indispensable.

Le feu a pris a la gueritte du fort de Missilimakinack, cette incendie a été occasionnée par des fumeurs, le dommage a été réparé et chaque voïageur aourny un pieu pour cet effet.

71v

Comme le fort a besoin de plusieurs réparations, Jay permis au s. Duplessis de le faire élargir du coté du Lac, de faire faire un Corps de garde neuf et quelques autres réparations qui ne couteront rien au Roy, attendû que Jay donné ordre au dit S.

[Translation]

they all set off, and having found this Frenchman they ate and drank with him and then killed him.

I am giving orders to M. Duplessis to tell the Chippewa that I will not leave the death of this Frenchman unpunished, that it is absolutely necessary that they come to Montreal themselves next year to deliver up the murderer to me at discretion, and that if they fail in it I shall revenge the death and shall give them no quarter. Next year I shall examine into this matter quite closely, and if this Indian has really done this deed by treachery, I shall have him tomahawked as this disposition of the affair is indispensable.

The watch tower at the fort at Mackinac has taken fire; the fire was caused by smokers. The damage has been repaired and each *voyageur* has furnished a picket for it.

As the fort needs several repairs I have permitted the Sieur Duplessis to enlarge it on the side of the lake, to have a new guardhouse built and some other repairs which will cost the king

Duplessis d'y employer les fonds provenant de la vente de quelques emplacements, et si ces fonds ne sont pas suffisants, il y fera contribuer les voyageurs par Egalles parts.

La meilleure nouvelle que je puisse avoir l'honneur de vous donner, Monseigneur, est le retour des 8ta8ois Sinagos qui depuis quelques années s'étoient réfugiés au Saguinan ou ils ont tué des français. depuis que je suis dans la Colonie Je n'ay point cessé d'ordonner a M Duplessis de mettre tout en usage pour les rappeler Il y est parvenu ce printems, Il les a très bien reçus et vous verrés par leurs parolles cy jointes en datte du 13 Juillet  
72  
avec quelles instances ils m'ont demandé      grâce Je la leur ay accordé.

Ils m'ont dit qu'une autre bande des dits 8ta8ois s'est retirée au Détroit, qu'elle a été très bien reçue par M de Celoron auquel J'avois donné les mêmes ordres qu'a M Duplessis, mais M. de Celoron ne m'en dit rien.

Il reste encore un nombre de saulteux au Saguinan, les

[*Translation*]

nothing since I have given orders to the said Sieur Duplessis to employ to this end the funds coming from the sale of certain lots; if these funds are not sufficient he will make the *voyageurs* contribute equally.

The best news which I can have the honor to give you, Monseigneur, is the return of the Ottawa Sinago who for some years took refuge at Saginaw, where they had killed some French. Since I have been in the colony I have not ceased to order M. Duplessis to do everything possible to recall them. He succeeded this spring; he received them very well, and you will see by their speeches annexed under date of July 13 with what entreaties they ask me to pardon them. This I have accorded to them. They have told me that another band of the said Ottawa has gone off to Detroit, where it has been very well received by M. de Céloron. To him I had given the same orders as to M. Duplessis, but M. de Céloron tells me nothing of it.

There still remain a number of Chippewa at Saginaw. The



8ta8ois sinagos m'ont promis qu'ils fairoient leur possible pour les faire révenir a leur ançien village a Missilimakinack. M Duplessis a ordre de ne rien négliger de son coté.

Jay donné le commendement du poste de la riviere St Joseph au s. de la Corne La Colombiere<sup>1</sup> a la place du S. de Repentigny<sup>2</sup> qui doit cette année aller joindre sa garnison a Louisbourg

Le dit S. de Repentigny m'a rendu compte des soins qu'il s'est donné pour empecher les nations de son poste d'aller venger la mort du P8tet8atamis qui a été tué par les Jllinois, a quoy il  
72v  
a reussy, ces nations ont envoyé le Crapaud la soeur du deffunct,

[Translation]

Ottawa Sinago have promised me that they will do all possible to make them return to their old village at Mackinac. M. Duplessis has orders to neglect nothing on his side to that end.

I have given the command of the post of the St. Joseph River to the Sieur de la Corne la Colombière<sup>1</sup> in the place of the Sieur de Repentigny,<sup>2</sup> who should this year go to join his garrison at Louisburg.

The said Sieur de Repentigny has given me an account of the care which he has taken to prevent the tribes of his post from going to avenge the death of the Potawatomi who was killed by the Illinois, in which he has succeeded. These tribes have sent

<sup>1</sup> Pierre-Antoine de la Corne, Sieur de la Colombière. Baptized December 1, 1708; married, November 16, 1744, to Marguerite Petit le Villiers. He was recommended for a lieutenancy, October 20, 1743. A N Colonies C11A 79: 196v. In that same year he performed *foi et hommage* to the Baron de Longueuil for a fief. *L'Archiviste . . . de Québec pour 1921-1922*, 104. He received the Cross of St. Louis in 1757 and was a captain by 1756. *Canadian Archives*, 1905, volume 1, part 6, p. 237; *L'Archiviste . . . de Québec pour 1928-1929*, 8. He commanded at St. Joseph, 1751-1753. A N Colonies C11A 119:403; 98:342. He was taken prisoner at the battle of the Plains of Abraham and carried to England. *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, 6:348.

<sup>2</sup> Pierre-Jean-Baptiste-François Xavier le Gardeur de Repentigny was born in 1719 and died in 1776. He killed the Bourgeois Philibert in January, 1748. *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, 11:203. November 1, 1741 he was recommended as *ensign en pied* [A N Colonies C11A 75:239v]; and was promoted lieutenant in 1748. *Canadian Archives*, 1905, volume 1, part 6, p. 104. He was made commandant at St. Joseph in 1750, but he was relieved by La Corne de la Colombière the next year. A N Colonies C11A 95:238v; 119:368, 403. See also *post*, 918.

et un Jllinois chef a médaille du village de St Joseph aux Jllinois pour terminer cette affaire a l'amiable, Je ne doute pas de la reusite de leur voïage, parceque j'avois deja donné ordre a M de Benoist St Clin Commandant au fort Chartres de disposer les Jllinois a envoyer des deputés a st Joseph pour couvrir et pleurer le mort, faire des Excuses a la nation et faire leur paix

Jay appris ce printems qu'un des chefs P8tet8atamis de St Joseph qui vinrent me voir l'année derniere fut avec sa bande a Ch8aguen en partant de Montreal qu'il reçut une parolle des anglais de la part des Cha8anons, des Misamis et autres nations réfugiées a la Belle riviere, avec une couverte bleuë garnië de desseins de porcelaine et des presents considerables pour les Jnvitter a etre de leur party et a trahir les français et que ce

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chef et sa bande parurent disposés a remplir les vuës de ces rebeles, Je donne ordre au S. de La Corne de prendre connoissance de cette affaire, d'en arreter les Suites, de se faire rémettre cette parolle et cette couverte et de me les Envoyer.

[*Translation*]

Le Crapaud, the sister of the deceased, and an Illinois medal chief from the village of St. Joseph to the Illinois to settle the affair peaceably. I do not doubt of the success of their expedition since I had already given orders to M. de Benoist St. Claire, commandant at Fort de Chartres, to dispose the Illinois to send deputies to St. Joseph to cover and to bewail the death, to make their excuses to that tribe, and make their peace.

I learned this spring that a Potawatomi of St. Joseph who came to see me last year, on leaving Montreal went with his band to Oswego, where he received a message from the English on the part of the Shawnee, the Miami, and other refugee tribes of the Ohio River, together with a blue blanket ornamented with designs in wampum and considerable presents to invite them to be of their party and to betray the French; I learned also that this chief and his band seemed disposed to fulfil the wishes of these rebels. I am giving orders to the Sieur de la Corne to inform himself on this affair, to forestall its consequences, to get back this speech and this blanket and to send them to me.

Le S. de Beaujeu Villemonde<sup>1</sup> Commandant a Camanestig8ya et Michipicotton m'a rendu compte qu'en consequence de mes ordres, JI est parvenu a rétablir la paix et la tranquillité parmy les Sauvages de son poste et a les empecher d'aller faire la guerre contre les Sioux, ce qui sera porte parfaitement a ce que le S. Marin m'a marqué a cette occasion.

Le dit S. de Beaujeu m'informe en même tems que de quarante sauvages qu'il y avoit dans le poste de Michipicotton, JI en est mort trente quatre et que les six autres se sont retirés du coté de la baye d'HUDSON.

73v

a l'Egard du poste de Ch8agamigon JI ne s'y est rien passé d'Interessant, tout y est fort tranquile.

Je suis avec un très profond respect Monseigneur

Vôtre très humble et tres obeissant serviteur

LAJONQUIERE

[Translation]

The Sieur de Beaujeu Villemonde,<sup>1</sup> commandant at Kaministiquia and Michipicoten, has informed me that pursuant to my orders, he has succeeded in restoring peace and quiet among the Indians of his post, as well as in preventing them from making war on the Sioux. This corresponds perfectly to what the Sieur Marin writes me.

The said Sieur de Beaujeu informs me at the same time, that of forty Indians in the post of Michipicoten, thirty-four are dead and the remaining six gone off toward Hudson Bay.

With regard to the post of Chequamegon, nothing interesting has happened. Everything is very quiet. I am with very profound respect, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

LA JONQUIÈRE

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, 245 n.

LA JONQUIÈRE TO ROUILLÉ, September 25, 1751

[A N Colonies C11A 97:82]

MONSEIGNEUR

Jay été informé de tout ce qui s'est passé d'interessant aux Illinois par les lettres que M. de Benoist St Clin Commandant au fort Chartres m'a écrites les 28 may 1750, 4 mars, 9 et 20 may de la presente année, Je vais avoir l'honneur de vous en rendre compte.

J'eus celuy de vous marquer, Monseigneur, par ma lettre du 15. 8bre 1750 que M de st Clin avoit eû satisfaction du meurtre que les Petits ossages avoient commis en la personne d'un français nommé Giguere qui estoit en chasse dans le haut de la riviere des Moëns, que la nation avoit fait périr le meurtrier et en avoit

82v

envoyé la chevelure au dit S. de St Clin: depuis ce tems là les Missouris ont fait courrir le bruit que les petits ossages avoient tué le frere du coupable et que celuy cy qui avoit d'abord disparû, estoit revenû dans le village: cette nouvelle aiant été Jusqu'aux petits ossages, ils se sont saisis du veritable meur-

[Translation]

MONSEIGNEUR:

I have been informed of everything of interest that has happened at the Illinois by the letters which M. de Benoist St. Claire, commandant at Fort de Chartres, wrote me May 28, 1750 and March 4, May 9 and 20 of the present year. I shall have the honor of giving you an account of affairs.

I had the honor of informing you, Monseigneur, by my letter of October 15, 1750, that M. de St. Claire had obtained satisfaction for the murder which the Little Osage had committed on a Frenchman named Giguere, who was hunting on the upper Des Moines River. The tribe had put the murderer to death and had sent his scalp to the said Sieur de St. Claire. Since then the Missouri have circulated the rumor that the Little Osage had killed the brother of the guilty man and that the man himself, who had formerly disappeared, had returned to the village. When this news reached the Little Osage they laid hands on the real

trier et l'ont mené à M. de St. Clin. un chef des Missouris et 15 hommes de la nation s'y sont trouvés et quoy qu'ils eussent les premiers révélé la méprise des petits ossages, ils ont dit qu'ils n'en avoient aucune connoissance positive, mais les petits ossages certains que l'innocent avoit pery pour le coupable, ont prié M. de St. Clin d'envoyer dans leur village le S. de Portneuf, pour qu'il fut témoin de la mort de l'innocent et du coupable. on ne peut rien ajouter à la soumission de ces petits ossages, leur droiture surpasse tout ce qu'on peut attendre d'une nation sauvage

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Les Grands ossages aussi orgueilleux que les petits ossages sont soumis, ont eû un echec auquel ils ne s'attendoient pas. Les Panis noirs et picqués<sup>1</sup> sur lesquels ils alloient continuëlement en guerre et dont ils avoient achevé de détruire un village entier que la rougeole et la picotte avoient commencé, ont imploré le secours des Laytannes nation voisine des Espagnols, cette nation touchée

[Translation]

murderer and sent him bound to M. de St. Claire. A chief of the Missouri and fifteen men of that tribe were present at the time, and although they had been the first to reveal the mistake of the Little Osage, they said that they had no positive knowledge of it. However the Little Osage, certain that the innocent man had perished in place of the guilty, have begged M. de St. Claire to send the Sieur de Portneuf into their village that he may be witness to the death of the innocent and the guilty. Nothing more can be exacted in the way of submission from the Little Osage. Their uprightness surpasses anything to be expected of an Indian tribe.

The Great Osage, as proud as the Little Osage are submissive, have suffered a reverse which they did not expect. They have been continually making war on the Black Pawnee and Picques<sup>1</sup> and have completed the destruction of one of their villages, which was begun by the measles and the smallpox. These tribes begged help of the Ietan, a tribe close to the Spaniards.

<sup>1</sup> Both Black Pawnee and Picques are synonyms for Wichita.

de leur état, s'est jointe a ceux et tous ensemble sont arrivés au village des grands Ossages, dans le tems qu'une partie de leurs gens étoient allés au Cerne pour tuer des betes, ont foncé sur eux et l'attaque a été si vive, que les grands ossages ont perdu 22 de leurs chefs et les autres ont laissé 27 de leurs gens sur le champ de bataille, cette action a fait rentrer les grands ossages en eux mêmes, ils sont allés voir M de St Clin pour pleurer la mort de leurs Chefs, il leur a fait un petit present pour les consoler.

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Ces grands Ossages n'ont rien négligé pour engager les Jllinois a se joindre a Eux pour aller venger la mort de leurs gens, mais M. de st Clin pour arrêter les progrès de leurs instances, a représenté aux Jllinois que les Panis noirs et picqués et les Laytannes étoient alliés aux français tous comme eux, qu'ils ne pouvoient point désapprouver que des gens qu'on frappoit depuis longtems eussent cherché a se venger; et enfin il est parvenu a déterminer les Jllinois a ne point ecouter les grands ossages en leur représentant que s'ils vouloient aller en guerre, ils devoient

[*Translation*]

This tribe, touched by their situation, joined them, and they went together against the village of the Great Osage when a party of their people had gone to the Cerne to hunt. They rushed upon them and the attack was so sharp that the Great Osage lost twenty-two of their chiefs, and the others left twenty-seven of their people on the field of battle. This action has caused the Great Osage to come to their senses, and they have gone to see M. de St. Claire to bewail the death of their chiefs. He made them a little present to console them.

These Great Osage have neglected nothing in order to induce the Illinois to join them to go and avenge the death of their people. But M. de St. Claire to counteract the effect of their urgency has replied to the Illinois that the Black Pawnee and Picques and the Ietan were like themselves allied with the French and that they could in nowise disapprove that that people who had been attacked for so long should have tried to avenge themselves. Finally he succeeded in inducing the Illinois not to listen to the Great Osage, telling them that if they wanted to go to war

porter leurs pas chez les Chikachas, que le Sang de leurs peres et celuy des français couloit encore sur les terres de cette nation et que tout les invittoit avenger leur mort.

Les grands Ossages furent surpris de voir des Laytannes, ils les apprehendent beaucoup: et en effet cette nation dit qu'elle

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ne Sçait point ce que c'est que deréculer et quelle force toujours forte ou foible, Ces Laytannes sont armés de lance comme les Espagnols, ils sont tous a cheval caparaconnés, et les femmes vont en guerre avec eux.

Jay deja eû l'honneur de vous rendre compte, Monseigneur, par ma lettre du 15. 8bre 1750 qu'il avoit été tué un P8tet8atamis de la riviere St Joseph ce Sauvage etoit d'un party qui venoit des Jllinois, il fut tué par un Peoria en passant dans le village de cette nation, avec lequel il avoit eû querelle pour un Jeune homme qui etoit fils d'un Peoria et parant de celuy qui a fait le coup. la nation Peoria fut d'abord parler a M de St Clin pour tacher d'appaiser cette affaire, il ecrivit tout de suite au Commandant

[*Translation*]

they should turn their steps toward the Chickasaw, for the blood of their fathers and the blood of the French ran upon the lands of that tribe, and that everything urged that they should avenge their death.

The Great Osage were surprised to see the Ietan for they are much afraid of them. Indeed that tribe claims that it does not know what it is to retreat, whether its force be strong or weak. These Ietan are armed with the lance like the Spaniards. They all are mounted on saddled horses, and the women go to war with them.

I have already had the honor to tell you, Monseigneur, by my letter of October 15, 1750 that a Potawatomi of St. Joseph River had been killed. This Indian was of a party which was coming from the Illinois. While passing the Peoria village, he was killed by an Indian of that tribe with whom he had had a quarrel over a young man who was the son of a Peoria and a relative of the one who struck the blow. The Peoria tribe first had M. de St. Claire spoken to, to try to settle the affair. He



de St Joseph pour qu'il travaillat de son coté a faire un accomo-  
dement entre ces deux nations, en luy observant que le Poutet&a-

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tamis estoit un très mauvais sujet et que la chose estoit d'une  
trés grande conséquence pour la surété des voïageurs des Jllinois

Les Soins de ces deux Commandant n'ont pas eû un grand  
succés. le printems dernier un party de P8tet&atamis, Maskoutins,  
folles avoines et Saulteurs sont allés frapper sur les Peorias, ceux  
cy ont pris trois P8tet&atamis et un Mascoutin et bien loing de  
leur faire du mal ils les ont renvoié et leur ont dit—

Quoy vous voulez broüiller la terre pour un fou qui a été tué,  
quelle raison avez vous pour en venir a cette Extremité ? nous  
avons eû de nos gens qui ont été tués dans vos villages et qui y  
etoient mariés, nous n'avons jamais pris les armes pour nous  
venger, au reste si vous venez frapper sur nous, nous nous ven-  
gerons, la terre sera broüillé et les champs seront bouchés par  
vôtre propre faute.

[Translation]

wrote immediately to the commandant of St. Joseph, telling him  
to work on his side to accommodate matters between the two tribes,  
observing to him that the Potawatomi was a very bad fellow and  
that the matter was of great importance for the safety of the  
*voyageurs* of the Illinois.

The pains of these two commandants have not been very  
successful. Last spring a party of Potawatomi, Mascoutens,  
Menominee, and Chippewa went to attack the Peoria. The Peoria  
have taken three Potawatomi and one Mascouten and, far from  
doing them harm, have sent them back saying to them, "Why do  
you want to trouble the earth for a madman who has been killed?  
What reason can you have to come to such an extremity? We  
have had some of our people who have been killed in your villages  
and who were married there, but we have never taken up arms  
to avenge them. Moreover if you come to attack us we shall  
avenge ourselves and the land will be upset and the paths stopped  
up through your own fault."

M. de St Clin a encore écrit au Commandant de St Joseph et je ne doute pas que cette petite aventure ne contribuë beaucoup a rétablir la paix entre ces nations.

Il a été tué une femme Kaaux, la nation a courû apres ceux qui avoient fait ce coup, elle a joint un party de sept sauvages dont six ont été tués sur la place ils se sont dits Renards, Sakis et

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Sioux le fils de Pemissa chef des Renards a été du nombre des tués, cette nouvelle se raporte a ce que j'ay eû l'honneur de vous marquer par ma lettre du 16 de ce mois, il est très important d'arretér les suites de cette affaire, aussi y donneraje tous mes soins, et eciraje en conséquence a M Marin.

Un party de Cha8anons est allé au fort Pianguichias pour y faire coup, tandis qu'on portoit les secours necessaires a ce poste. dans le meme instant quarante Pianguichias s'y sont trouvés qui se sont mis aux trousseur des Cha8anons et ont dit qu'ils les pour-suivroient jusqu'a leur Village pour Sçavoir positivement d'ou ils

[Translation]

M. de St. Claire has also written the commandant of St. Joseph, and I don't doubt that this little adventure may contribute much to reëstablishing peace between these tribes.

A Cahokia squaw has been killed, and the tribe has gone in pursuit of those who did it. She was with a party of seven Indians, six of whom were killed on the spot. They are said to be Foxes, Sauk, and Sioux. The son of Pemoussa, chief of the Foxes, was among those killed. This news corresponds with what I had the honor to tell you the sixteenth of this month. It is very important to forestall the consequences of this affair, and I shall take all care to that end and shall write concerning it to M. Marin.

A party of Shawnee went to Vincennes to make an attack while the necessary succors were being brought to that post. At the same instant forty Piankashaw appeared who followed the Shawnee, telling them they would pursue them as far as their village and know positively whence they came. They think they are from

venoient: ils pensent qu'ils sont de Sonioto, où de la riviere a la Roche, s'ils sont de ce dernier village; les Pianguichias agiront par hazard. relativement a mes intentions

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M. de St Clin me marque qu'il met tout en usage pour concilier les cha8anons avec les Illinois et les nation d'ouabache, mais que des français qui sont partis de son poste fuyards, pour aller en chasse a la Belle riviere, ont bien derrangé ses mesures. qu'en effet des Cha8anons de Sonioto qui estoient descendûs pour chasser, ont eû un homme de tué, une femme prise avec deux Enfants par les Syatanons, pendt que les français estoient avec eux les Cha8anons ont arrêté les français et vouloient frapper sur eux disant que c'etoient les Illinois les enfants des français qui avoient fait le coup, heureusement ils ont changé de sentiment, ils ont envoyé deux de ces français, nommés la mirande et Ste Marie aux Jllinois pour sçavoir qui avoit fait le meurtre, Jls ont gardé

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avec eux la femme du dit La Mirande et les autres français M. de St Clin a été obligé pour tacher de rétirer ces français deren-

[Translation]

Sonnioto or from Great Miami River. If they are from the latter village the Piankashaw will accidentally act in accord with my intentions.

M. de St. Claire reports to me that he is doing everything possible to reconcile the Shawnee with the Illinois and the Wabash tribes but that the French who have fled away from this post to go and hunt on the Ohio River have disarranged all his plans. In effect the Shawnee of Sonnioto who had come down to hunt have had a man killed and a woman with two children captured by the Wea while the French were with them. The Shawnee stopped the French and wished to attack them saying that it was the Illinois who were the children of the French who had made the attack. Happily they changed their minds. They have sent two of these French named La Mirande and Ste. Marie to the Illinois to know who was guilty of the murder, keeping with them the wife of the said La Mirande and the other Frenchmen. To try to get back these French M. de St. Claire was obliged to

voyer les deux Envoyés avec un Calumet, deux carottes de tabac et une lettre par la quelle il marque aux Cha8anons que les Jllinois n'ont point bougé de dessus leur natte et quil n'a aucune connoissance de la nation qui a frapé, qu'il est dans l'intention de rendre les chemins libres, qu'ils peuvent descendre en toute sureté avec les français Et qu'il fera la paix avec les Jllinois.

Les Cha8anons ont reçu cette lettre a la Belle riviere, voicy la réponse qui a été faite a M de st Clin

Nous sommes icy tous Iroquois maitres de cette riviere les Iroquois de Montreal et du sault st Louis, nous regardons les Cha8anons comme nos Enfants, nous te prions detacher de ravoir les prisonniers, de les renvoyer chez Eux et nous serons contens. les Chefs Cha8anons sont partis pour aller faire voir ta lettre a leur village et de consulter pour aller te voir a la fin de l'hivert ou la printans, Il y a le nommé Joncaire (C'est un sauvage) qui Espere t'aller voir.

Les Cha8anons n'ont point été voir M de St Clin le printems dernier, il craint que les français qu'ils avoient en leur pouvoir

[*Translation*]

send back the two envoys with a peace pipe, two rolls of tobacco, and a letter by which he tells the Shawnee that the Illinois have not budged from their mats, that he has no knowledge as to what tribe had struck the blow, that he intends to leave the roads open in order that they might bring down the French in complete safety, and that he would make their peace with the Illinois.

The Shawnee received this letter at the Ohio River. This is the reply which has been made to M. de St. Claire: "Here we are all Iroquois, masters of this river, Iroquois of Montreal and of Sault St. Louis. We consider the Shawnee as our children. We beg you to try to obtain the prisoners and to send them back to their homes, and we shall be content. The Shawnee chiefs have left to go and show your letter in their village and to consult about going to see you at the end of the winter or in the spring. The person named Joncaire (he is an Indian) is here and hopes to go and see you."

The Shawnee did not go to see M. de St. Claire last spring, and he is afraid lest the French whom they have in their power

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n'aient été tués, par ce qu'il court depuis quelque tems un bruit qu'il y a Eu un homme et une femme français de tués et que les cha8anons ont mené aux Chikachas quatre femmes liées, cela luy a été raporté par un Jllinois qui le tenoit d'un Misamis

M. de Celoron m'avoit deja instruit de cette affaire et que les 8yatanons avoient renvoyé aux Cha8anons un des dits prisonniers.

Nous ne devons pas être fachés que les 8yatanons aient fait coup sur les Cha8anons et j'écris a M de St Clin qu'il n'y auroit pas eû grand mal de ne point étouffer la querelle que cette affaire auroit pu occasionner entre les Cha8anons et les Jllinois, par ce qu'il seroit de nôtre Interest de détruire ces Cha8anons en leur faisant faire la guerre par les nations

a l'egard des français qui ont resté au pouvoir des cha8anons, peut etre que l'arrivée du cha8anons que les 8yatanons ont renvoyé,

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leur aura procuré la liberté En tout cas ils ne seroient point

[Translation]

may have been killed, because for some time a rumor has been in circulation that a Frenchman and a French woman have been killed and that the Shawnee have carried to the Chickasaw four women in bonds. This was reported to him by an Illinois who had it of a Miami. M. de Céloron has already advised me of this affair and that the Wea had returned one of their prisoners to the Shawnee.

We should not be annoyed if the Wea have attacked the Shawnee, and I am writing to M. de St. Claire that it would not be a bad thing not to try to compose the quarrel that this affair may occasion between the Shawnee and the Illinois, because it would be to our interest to destroy these Shawnee by having the tribes make war upon them.

With respect to the French who remain in the power of the Shawnee, perhaps the arrival of the Shawnee whom the Wea have sent back may have procured them their liberty. In any case it is not necessary to mourn them since they are runaways who have

a pleindre, puis que ce sont des fûiards qui ont contrévenû aux ordonnances du Roy.

Nous devons si peu ménager les Cha8anons, qu'ils cherchent toujours a inquiéter les nations qui nous sont alliées. un Sauvage du poste des Pianguichias etant enhivernement fut attaqué par trois Cha8anons, il reçut un coup de fusil et un coup de cassetête, et malgré cela il se sauva.

Un autre sauvage de la même nation fut aussi attaqué par les cha8anons ala vuë du poste, il prit la fuitte et ne perdit que son fusil et sa couverte.

Les Anglais ne se donnent pas moins de soins pour séduire les nations du coté des Jllinois, que de partout ailleurs

Ils ont donné une parolle aux gens du village du Vermillon, leur Chef nommé Le Maring8in n'a pas voulu la recevoir, Jl a répondu a ses gens qu'il ne reconnoissoit point d'autre pere que

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les français, qu'il ne vouloit point en avoir d'autre, Jls luy ont jetté la parolle en luy disant

prens la et fais en ce que tu voudras.

[*Translation*]

violated the king's ordinances. We ought to pay so little attention to conciliating the Shawnee that they may always seek to annoy the tribes which are allied to us. An Indian of the post of the Piankashaw who was wintering was attacked by three Shawnee. He received a gunshot wound and a blow with a tomahawk and escaped in spite of it. Another Indian of the same tribe was also attacked by the Shawnee within sight of the post. He took to flight and only lost his gun and his blanket.

The English take no less pains to seduce the tribes on the side of the Illinois than they do in all other places. They have sent a speech to the people of the village on the Vermilion. Their chief named Le Maringouin did not wish to receive it. He answered these people that he acknowledged no other father than the French and that he wished to have no other. They threw the speech at him saying, "There, take it, and do what you like with it."

M. de st Clin a été informé en meme tems que la Mouchenoire Chef des Syatanons a dit a ses gens,

Tant je vais aux Anglais, J'en ameneray icy dans le village Et a mon rétors J'iray aux Illinois sçavoir leur derniers sentiments au sujet des français et des anglais, sçavoir lequel des deux ils veulent pour pere Et s'ils me parlent de l'anglais, l'affaire sera bientôt faite.

M de St Clin a sçu par voye indirecte que les anglais font toujours agir la Mouche noire et la Peaublanche pour corrompre ces nations sous pretexte de commerce de pelleteries, les Peorias luy ont raporté que la Peaublanche avoit ete l'hivert dernier chez eux pour les engager d'y aller, Jl a aussi de ses gens qui doivent aller trouver la Mouchenoire; ces ont les discours ordinaires qu'ils tiennent, lorsqu'ils réviennent le printems de leur hivernement.

Les Anglais continuënt leurs menées pour engager les nations a frapper sur les français par les trainer de la Mouchenoire et de la Demoiselle <sup>88</sup> Chef des Miamis rebeles. La Mouche

[Translation]

M. de St. Claire has been informed at the same time that La Mouche Noire, chief of the Wea, has said to his people, "When I go to the English I shall bring them to our village, and at my return I shall go to the Illinois to know their final opinion upon the subject of the French and the English and to know which of the two they wish for a father, and if they speak to me of the English, the matter will be quickly settled."

M. de St. Claire has learned by an indirect channel that the English are always acting through La Mouche Noire and La Peau Blanche to corrupt these tribes under the pretext of the fur trade. The Peoria have reported to him that La Peau Blanche had been last winter with them to induce them to go to the English. There are also some of these people who want to go in search of La Mouche Noire. This is what they ordinarily say when they return in the spring from their winter quarters.

The English continue their devices to engage the tribes to strike the French, leading them on through La Mouche Noire and La Demoiselle, chief of the rebel Miami. La Mouche Noire has



noire a deux de ses freres chefs des Kascakias domiciliés du fort Chartres J1 a débauché l'ainé qui est allé a la riviere a la Roche, mener trois Esclaves anglais. il compte mener des anglais a son retours dans le voisinage de M. de St Clin, mais on ne sçait point l'endroit.

Les Anglais ont gagné la confiance des nations d'ouabache

Enfin M de St Clin me marque qu'ils ne cherchent qu'a pénétrer sur les terres de son poste et il ajoute que cela pourroit arriver plutot qu'on ne pense, Je ne manqueray pas de luy reiterer les ordres que je luy ay deja donné de mettre tout en usage pour faire rétirer les anglais.

M de St Clin a fait l'automne dernier alliance avec les Panis-mahas nation fort puissante dans le Missouri dont les Chefs sont

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absolus, cette nation est gouvernée par trois freres, le plus puissant se nomme Stabaco, l'ainé des trois l'est alle voir, il l'a très bien reçu, J1 lá assuré qu'il iroit le voir cette année ou bien son frère, En partant J1 luy a dit,

[*Translation*]

two of his brothers who are chiefs of the domiciled Kaskaskia of Fort de Chartres. He has seduced the older who has gone to Great Miami River to take back three English prisoners. On his return he counts on bringing the English into the neighborhood of M. de St. Claire but to what place is not known.

The English have won the confidence of the Wabash tribes.

Finally M. de St. Claire informs me that they are attempting to penetrate in the territory of his post, and he adds that it may happen sooner than we think. I will not fail to repeat to him the orders which I have already given him to do everything possible to make the English withdraw.

M. de St. Claire last autumn made an alliance with the Skidi, a very powerful tribe on the Missouri the chiefs of which are absolute. This nation is governed by three brothers; the most powerful is named Stabaco and the senior of the three has gone to see M. de St. Claire, who received him very well; the chief assured him that he would go to see him this year or that in any case his brother would. On taking leave he said to him, "My

Mon pere si tu a des Enfants rebeles qui perdent l'Esprit, fais le moy sçavoir, tu peux compter sur moy et sur ma nation, Cette alliance est très avantageuse et en maintenant cette nation dans nos interests, nous serons maitres du devant et du derriere du Missouri.

Vous apprendrés, Monseigneur la mort de M de la Barre Commandant dans le Missouri qui a été tué par un Soldat de son poste. ce miserable fut dabord arrêté, M de St Clin lá fait passer au Conseil de guerre et la fait Expedier tout de suite, aiant été averty que les nations devoient venir demander sa grace. ce soldat etoit saoul Lorsqu'il fit ce mauvais coup et comme les nommés frigeon et la Combe voïageurs Canadiens en ont été la

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cause indirecte entraitant de l'eau de vie contre les defenses de M de St Clin, Jay fait emprisonner le premier et l'autre le sera des son arrivée.

Je suis avec un très profond respect Monseigneur

Vôtre très humble et très obeissant serviteur

LAIONQUIERRE

[Translation]

father, if you have rebel children who have lost their wits let me know it. You can count upon me and upon my tribe." This alliance is very advantageous; for, maintaining this tribe in our interests, we shall be masters on both sides of the Missouri.

You will have learned, Monseigneur, of the death of M. de la Barre, commandant of the Missouri who was killed by a soldier of his post. This wretch was immediately arrested and M. de St. Claire had him put before a council of war and disposed of immediately, being warned that the tribes were going to ask forgiveness for him. This soldier was drunk when he struck this ill blow, and as the Canadian *voyageurs* named Frigeon and La Combe were the indirect cause by selling brandy contrary to M. de St. Claire's prohibition, I have imprisoned the first of them and will imprison the other on his arrival.

I am with very profound respect, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

LA JONQUIÈRE

LA JONQUIÈRE TO ROUILLÉ, September 27, 1751

[A N Colonies C11A 97:90]

MONSEIGNEUR

Jay l'honneur de vous rendre compte des lettres que jay reçu de M. de Vaudreuil Gouverneur de la Louïsiannie en datte des 4 mars, 25. Jüillet 1750. et 28 mars de la presente année.

Jl n'avoit pû voir les Cha8anons qui ont joint leurs freres chez les Alibamons et par conséquent il n'a pû se faire instruire par eux mêmes des raisons qu'ils ont eu pour former ce nouvel établissement et des vuës qu'ils avoient en s'obstinant a rester dans cet endroit, il a sçu qu'ils s'y comportoient bien et que leur con-

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duitte se trouve conforme a ce que nous pouvons attendre d'Eux. Il luy est cependant revénû qu'ils commençoient a se dégouter de la proximité des alibamons, Talapouches, Abekacs Et Kaouïitas qui sont des nations nombreuses et qui aiment a dominer. Si cela est il proffitera de ces circonstances pour déterminer les Cha8anons a se rétirer en Canada ou a rester près de luy dans la partië la plus propre a s'assurer de leur fidelité, Il ne négliera

[Translation]

MONSEIGNEUR:

I have the honor to give you an account of the letters which I have received from M. de Vaudreuil, governor of Louisiana, dated March 4 and July 25, 1750 and March 28 of this year. He has not been able to see the Shawnee who have joined their brothers among the Alibamu, and consequently he has not been able to learn from them the reasons which they had for making this new settlement and the purposes they had in insisting on remaining in that place. He has learned that they behave themselves well and that their conduct conforms to what we can expect of them. However it came to him that they were beginning to be disgusted by the nearness of the Alibamu, Talapoosa, Abihka, and Kawita, which are large tribes and inclined to be domineering. If that is the case he will profit by these circumstances to induce the Shawnee to withdraw to Canada or to remain near him in the place most likely to assure their fidelity. He will spare

rien pour les éloigner du voisinage des anglais qui est toujours très dangereux, et pour cet effet il doit leur avoir fait dire de se rendre a la Mobille.

Dans le voiage qu'il fit l'année derniere a la Mobile, Jl n'y vit que le nommé Chartier l'un des chefs Cha8anons avec quelques considerés, En vain fit-il son possible pour les Engager a s'en retourner en Canada, ce Chef luy répondit que sa nation ne paroisoit pas de ce sentiment, quelle s'etoit etablie près des Abekacs Et

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que sa bande ne s'y plaisoit point, Sur quoy M de Vaudreüil aiant proposé a ce Chef de venir demeurer près du fort des alibamons, il l'assura qu'il se proposoit d'y aller avec son village Et qu'il fairoit son possible pour engager les deux autres villages a suivre son Exemple

M. de Vaudreüil devoit voir les Cha8anons en plus grand nombre a son premier voiage de la Mobile, leur parler et n'obmettre rien pour les faire retourner en Canada ou les faire établir sur quelque partië du fleuve du Missisipy, qui puisse mieux l'as-

[*Translation*]

nothing to keep them away from the neighborhood of the English which is very dangerous, and to that end he will have them told to come to Mobile.

In a trip which he made last year to Mobile he saw only Chartier, one of the Shawnee chiefs, with some of the chief men. In vain he did everything possible to induce them to return to Canada. This chief answered him that his tribe did not appear to be of that opinion; it was established close to the Abihka and his band did not like it. On this, M. de Vaudreuil having proposed to this chief to come and live close to the Alibamu fort, the chief assured him that he intended to go there with his village and that he would do his best to induce the other two villages to follow his example.

M. de Vaudreuil was to have seen the Shawnee in greater number on his first trip to Mobile, to speak to them and to omit nothing to make them return to Canada or to make them set up on some part of the Mississippi River, a situation which may better assure their fidelity than the nearness of the Talapoosa and

surer de leur fidélité que la proximité des Talapouches Et Abekacs

Il devoit aussi mettre tout en usage pour les déterminer a cesser leurs courses sur les Illinois.

Il n'est rien moins que la Jonction des Cha8anons avec les Chikachas n'y autres nations, ils paroissent même éloignés de toute liaison avec les Chikachas comme avec les Talapouches, abekacs,

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Et Caoüitas qui sont naturellement Jnquiets et turbulents.

Il n'a pas été question d'aucune Entreprise de la part des Cha8anons sur nous, n'y sur nos convoys. les deux sauvages qu'on avoit raporté a M le Marquis de la Galissoniere, avoir été détruits a cette occasion, étoient deux vagabonds, l'un Esclave Renard, et l'autre abenakis Renegat homme dangereux qui avoit suivy les Cha8anons; ces deux mauvais sujets étoient allés a la Louïsianne pour s'en rétourner dans les pays d'en haut, et aiant fait les insolents dans le convoy montant aux Illinois, ils furent arrêtés a la Pointe coupée et passés par les armes, crainte que sur la route, ils ne se joignissent a quelques partis Ennemys et qu'ils ne les eussent porté a faire coup sur le convoy.

[*Translation*]

Abihka.

He was also to do everything possible to induce them to stop their raids on the Illinois.

Nothing is less likely than the union of the Shawnee with the Chickasaw or other tribes. They appear even quite indisposed to any connection with the Chickasaw as with the Talapoosa, Abihka, and Kawita, who are naturally disorderly and turbulent.

There has been no question of any attack from the Shawnee on us or on our convoys. The two Indians mentioned to M. le Marquis de la Galissonière as having been cut off on this occasion were two vagabonds, one a Fox slave and the other an Abnaki renegade, a dangerous man who had followed the Shawnee. These two scoundrels had gone to Louisiana to return to the up-country, and, displaying their insolence in the convoy going up to the Illinois, they were arrested at Pointe Coupée and shot, lest on the route they might join some enemy parties and induce them to attack the convoy.

on a assuré M de Vaudreuil que les Cha8anons établis les années dernieres sur la Belle riviere s'etoient divisés en trois

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bandes dont la premiere etoit retournée a Sanderkée, la seconde s'etoit retirée aux Cherakis et la troisieme aux Alibamons.

Le 4 Juin dernier jay ecrit a M de Vaudreuil qu'il vaudroit beaucoup mieux que les Cha8anons qui sont a Sonioto et a la Belle riviere, se rétirassent chez les Alibamons, mais que le Grand chef de cette nation qui a resté a Sonioto, ne veut point absolument en sortir, qu'il a fait assurer M de Joncaire qu'il regarderoit les français comme ses bons amys Et qu'il les recevroit avec plaisir.

M de Vaudreuil devoit voir dans peu a la Mobille, la Grande nation Chactas qui desire ardemment de se reconçilier avec les francais.

Il n'y a eû d'irruption faite sur le bas du fleuve du Missisipy, qu'a la cote des allemands de la part des Chactas avec lesquels nous etions en guerre, ils furent si bien reçus par les Allemands joints a un détachement que M. de Vaudreuil y envoya ausitot

[*Translation*]

M. de Vaudreuil has been assured that the Shawnee established in recent years on the Ohio River were divided into three bands the first of which had gone back to Sandusky, the second had retired to the Cherokee, and the third to the Alibamu.

The fourth of June last I wrote to M. de Vaudreuil that it would be much better if the Shawnee who are at Sonnioto and at the Ohio River should withdraw to the Alibamu, but that the great chief of that tribe who remained at Sonnioto absolutely refused to leave and had M. de Joncaire assured that he regarded the French as his good friends and would receive them with pleasure. M. de Vaudreuil should shortly see at Mobile the great Choctaw tribe which ardently desires to be reconciled to the French.

No attack has been made on the lower part of the Mississippi River except in the direction of the Allemands on the part of the Choctaw with whom we were at war. The Allemands gave them such a warm reception with the help of a detachment which M.

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pour leur couper chemin, que pas un du party ne resta pour en porter la nouvelle; J1 a obligé depuis cette nation a luy faire Elle meme satisfaction de ses attentats sur les français.

Il ne restoit l'été 1750 que deux villages les plus considerables et les plus devoués aux Anglais faisant tête a toute la nation. M. de Vaudreuil est venu a bout de les subjuguier au moyen de nos alliés leurs compatriottes qui les ont tellement soumis, qu'ils ont été contraints d'abandonner l'Anglais et de demander grâce a M. de Vaudreuil, ensorte que cette nation est Entierement reunië depuis le mois de novembre dernier qu'il leur accorda la paix a des conditions qu'elle s'est Imposée elle même et qui nous assurent, plus que jamais, des veritables sentiments ou elle est aujourd'huy pour les français.

Un des principaux articles de cette paix et le plus décisif pour banir l'anglais de cette nation, est de continuër a faire La  
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guerre aux Chikachas, Jusqu'a leur entiere destruction, au

[*Translation*]

de Vaudreuil sent immediately to cut off their retreat that not one of the party remained to carry the news. He has obliged that tribe since to give him satisfaction for its attacks on the French.

In the summer of 1750 only two villages remained defiant in the whole tribe, and those the largest and the most devoted to the English. M. de Vaudreuil has succeeded in subjugating them by means of our allies their compatriots who have so subdued them that they have been compelled to abandon the English and to ask pardon of M. de Vaudreuil. Accordingly this tribe has been entirely reunited since the month of November last. He has accorded them peace on the conditions which they themselves imposed and which assure us more than ever that their real sentiments today are in favor of the French.

One of the principal articles of this peace and the most decisive for excluding the English from that tribe is that they continue to make war on the Chickasaw until they are entirely destroyed. By this means these enemies cannot long subsist. Further-



moyen de quoy ces Ennemis ne peuvent pas subsister longtems, on assure d'ailleurs qu'ils sont en si p  tit nombre, que pour peu que les gens du nord continu  nt avec nos alli  s leurs courses sur eux, en moins de deux ans, nous parviendront a les   teindre.

Apr  s la destruction des Chikachas JI n'y aura a craindre sur le fleuve du Missisipy, que les Cherakis et les Tetesplattes qui ne demandero  ient que de bien vivre avec les fran  ais, mais il n'est pas de n  tre interest de leur faire gr  ce, aiant l'anglais chez eux, et   tant les Plastrons des gens du nord qui demandent a   tre occup  s.

Voux verr  s, Monseigneur, par les conseils que jay t  n   avec les Nontagu  s des Cinq nations et Jroquois   tablis a La Pr  sentation que les Cinq nations doivent se l  guer pour aller venger sur les Cherakis la mort des Jroquois du Sault St Louis, Sur quoy

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Jay l'honneur de vous rendre des comptes particuliers. JI n'est pas douteux que les Cinq nations se joignant aux nations que M de Vaudre  il doit faire mourrir, nous ne parv  nions a l'entiere destruction des Cherakis et T  tesplattes.

[*Translation*]

more we are assured they are so few in number that if the people of the north continue their raids with our allies a little longer, in less than two years we shall succeed in exterminating them.

After the destruction of the Chickasaw there will be no more to fear on the Mississippi River except the Cherokee and the Flatheads who only ask to live on good terms with the French, but it is not to our interest to pardon them as there are English among them and as they serve as a target for the tribes of the north who insist on being kept busy.

You will see, Monseigneur, by the councils which I have held with the Onondaga of the Five Nations and the Iroquois established at La Presentation that the Five Nations are going to league together to go and avenge on the Cherokee the death of the Iroquois of Sault St. Louis. On this I have the honor to give you detailed accounts. It is not doubtful that with the Five Nations joined to the tribes which M. de Vaudreuil can put in motion, we should succeed in the entire destruction of the Cherokee and

Jl n'épargne rien pour faire harçeler les Chikachas a un point qu'ils ne cessent de luy démander la paix, mais le petit nombre qu'ils sont, Joint a la necessité Jndispensable d'occuper les Chactes qui profiteroient de l'occasion pour introduire les Anglais chez eux, qu'ils ont peine a les en chasser, est cause qu'a tous égards, Jl ne peut n'y ne doit ecouter leurs propositions. ce sont les Chikachas qui firent le coup sur les Arkansas dont Jeus lhonneur de vous rendre compte l'année derniere et contre lesquels M de Vaudreüil me prioit d'envoyer des partis de nos domiçiliés, mais étant en etat de les inquiéter, plus que jamais, au moyen des Chactas, Jl ne me demande plus le secours des nations de nos postes.

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M. de Vaudreüil met tout en usage pour Empecher les anglais de pénétrer plus avant sur nos terres, Jl a donné ordre au Commandant des Jllinois d'opposer la force a la force dans le cas qu'ils s'aviseroient de former quelque autre établissement sur Ouabache ou sur la Belle riviere, comme il n'est pas douteux que ce soit leur dessein, mais a tous égards il luy sera difficile de parer

## [Translation]

Flatheads. He spares nothing to have the Chickasaw harried to the point at which they do not cease to ask him for peace; but the small number of them left, as well as the indispensable necessity of occupying the Choctaw who otherwise would take occasion themselves to introduce the English, whom even now they have difficulty in driving away, is the reason that he cannot nor ought not to listen to their proposals. It was the Chickasaw who made the attack on the Arkansas of which I had the honor of giving you an account last year and against whom M. de Vaudreuil asked me to send parties of our domiciled Indians. But as he is in a position to alarm them more than ever by means of the Choctaw, he no longer asks me to help with the tribes of our posts.

M. de Vaudreuil does everything possible to prevent the English from penetrating farther on our lands. He has given orders to the commandant at the Illinois to oppose force to force in case they attempt to make another settlement on the Wabash or on the Ohio River, since it is not doubtful that that is their plan.

leurs coups, si je ne parviens a mettre des bornes a leur ambition, en les faisant déguerpir a quelque prix que ce soit de la riviere a la Roche et ne leur souffrant aucun établissement de ce coté là.

On luy marque qu'il y a un soulèvement general parmy toutes les nations des pays d'enhaut, surtout d'ouabache où les Anglais ont fait courrir des colliers tout l'hivert dernier, même jusqu'au Missouris et chez les ossages qui ont assuré ne point

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tremper dans ces cabales, particulièrement les Kikapoux et Mascoutins qui seuls n'ont point voulu recevoir les colliers des Anglais.

Le bruit qui s'estoit répendû que les anglais avoient fait courrir des colliers parmy toutes les nations d'ouabache et des Jllinois, ne s'est point confirmé, Et il y a apparence que la crainte qu'on a eû de ce coté là, ne les ait fait soupçonner un peu legèrement.

M de Vaudreüil m'a écrit que les Maskoutins sont dans le dessein de séloigner de la proximité des Syatanons qu'il seroit

[*Translation*]

But in all respects it will be very difficult for him to parry their blows if I do not succeed in putting bounds to their ambition by cutting them off whatever the cost on Great Miami River, and by allowing them no settlement on that side.

We are told that there is a general unrest among all the tribes of the upcountry especially on the Wabash, where the English have sent wampum belts about all last winter, even as far as the Missouri and among the Osage, who have given assurance that they will not mix in these plots ; only the Kickapoo and Mascoutens have been unwilling to receive the English belts. The report that was spread about that the English had sent belts among all the tribes of the Wabash and the Illinois is not confirmed, and there is some appearance that our fears for that side have made us too easily suspicious.

M. de Vaudreuil has written me that the Mascoutens intended to withdraw from the neighborhood of the Wea and that it would be very easy to establish that tribe near Vincennes where

bien aise que cette nation fut s'établir près du fort des Pianguichias où elle peut luy estre d'une grande utilité, et que comme ils ne sont point Eloignés d'y aller, JI me prie de les Engager a prende ce party, d'autant mieux qu'ils étoient déterminés a se rétirer chez les Renards leurs alliés, ou nous serions moins assurés de leur fidelité.

Jay répondû a M. de Vaudreuil que l'établissement en ques-  
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tion ne peut avoir lieu, qu'il est dune conséquence Infinië de laisser les Kikapous Et Maskoutins dans leur village auprès des Syatanons, moins par raport au préjudice que leur absence porteroit a la traitte de ce poste, qua'cause que ces deux nations, étant très étroitement attachées aux français, JI nous Jmporte de les conserver dans cet endroit, surtout dans les circonstances presentes.

M. de Vaudreuil répondant a une lettre que M le Marquis de la Galissoniere luy escrivit en 1749 me marque que les déffenses que la Cour fit de laisser monter des Negres aux Jllinois, furent occasionnées par les représentations reiterées de M de Bertet alors

[*Translation*]

it can be very useful, and as they are almost resolved to go there, he begs me to induce them to take that course, with all the more reason since they were on the point of withdrawing among the Foxes, their allies, where we would be less assured of their fidelity.

I have answered M. de Vaudreuil that the settlement in question cannot be allowed, since it is of infinite consequence to leave the Kickapoo and Mascoutens in their village near the Wea, less for the harm which their absence would do to the trade of that post than because those two nations being closely attached to the French, it behooves us to keep them in that place, especially under present circumstances.

M. de Vaudreuil, answering a letter the M. le Marquis de la Galissonière wrote him in 1749, informs me that the prohibition which the court put on taking negroes up to the Illinois was occasioned by the repeated representations by M. de Bertet, then

Commendant au fort Chartres, attendu qu'il n'y avoit que ce moyen pour engager les habitants de cette partië a la culture de leurs terres, au lieu qu'ils les abandonnoient entierement a la

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conduitte de leur Negres et restoient dans une Inaction dont rien autre chose ne pouvoit les tirer. le bas du Missisipy s'interessoit fortement a cette deffense, par la rareté des négres que cette sortie y occasionnoit Et que d'ailleurs il n'y en etoit pas venu depuis la rétrocession du pays au Roy. M de Vaudreuil a sçu depuis que cette deffense préjudiçoit au contraire fortemt aux biens des bons habitants des Jllinois qui ne pouvoient plus augmenter leurs cultures, ce qui l'auroit deja déterminé a vous demander la revocation de cette deffense, S'il fut venu des negres a la Louïsianne et il n'attend pour cela que l'exécution des projets que vous avez formé sur ce pays lá, ou vous devez envoyer des négres et des habitants.

Tout bien considéré, Monseigneur, Je crois (sous vôtre bon plaisir,) qu'il n'y auroit pas d'inconvenient de faire monter des

[*Translation*]

commandant at Fort de Chartres, that there was no other means to induce the inhabitants of that country to cultivate their lands. As it was, they left the land entirely to the labor of their negroes and remained in an indolence from which nothing else could draw them. The lower Mississippi was very much interested in that prohibition on account of the scarcity of negroes occasioned by sending them off to the Illinois, especially since none had been brought since the retrocession to the king. M. de Vaudreuil has since perceived that this prohibition was a great prejudice to the welfare of the good inhabitants of the Illinois who could no longer enlarge their farms. This had already determined him to ask of you the revocation of this prohibition in case more negroes were sent to Louisiana. He only waits for that to execute the plans that you have formed for that country to which you should send both negroes and inhabitants.

All being well considered, Monseigneur; I believe if it please you that there is no inconvenience in sending negroes up to the

Nègres aux Jllinois, Si ceux que vous avez projeté d'envoyer a  
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 M de Vaudreüil, exçedent le nombre nécessaire pour les  
 habitations du bas Missisipy, et pourvû que les habitants des  
 Jllinois tirent tous les avantages que ces negres doivent leur pro-  
 curer pour cultiver les terres.

Cette culture ne pourra qu'être très utile, tant pour le bas  
 du Missisipy, que pour fournir dans les suites les postes des  
 Syatanons et des Miamis, de même que le poste qu'il est très  
 essentiel d'Etablir au bas de la riviere a la Roche. Le transport  
 de ces vivres étant plus aisé et bien moins couteux en les tirant  
 des Jllinois, que de cette colonië.

M de Vaudreüil me marque que je puis de mon coté contri-  
 buër a augmenter le nombre des habitants des Jllinois, en donnant  
 gratis des permissions a ceux de cette colonië qui auront envie de  
 s'y aller Etablir. Je luy ay repondû que J'accorderois volontiers  
 ces permissions, mais que nous avons si peu demande, que lorsque  
 je suis obligé de faire quelque levée de miliçiens dans les côtes,

[*Translation*]

Illinois if those that you have planned to send to M. de Vaudreuil  
 exceed the number necessary for the settlements on the lower  
 Mississippi and if the inhabitants of the Illinois make use of all  
 the advantages that these negroes can give them in the cultivation  
 of their lands. This cultivation cannot but be very useful both  
 for the lower Mississippi, and for supplying in the future the  
 posts of the Ouiatanon and the Miamis, as well as the post which  
 it is very essential to establish on the lower part of Great Miami  
 River. The transportation of these provisions is easier and much  
 less costly if they are obtained from the Illinois rather than from  
 Louisiana.

M. de Vaudreuil indicates that I can on my side contribute  
 to increasing the numbers of the inhabitants of the Illinois by  
 giving free permission to those of this colony who may desire  
 to go there and settle. I answered him that I would willingly  
 allow these permissions if we did not have so few people that  
 when I am obliged to make a levy of militia in these regions I am

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Jay bien de la peine a les trouver, que d'ailleurs suivant vos ordres, Je doit faire passer des familles entieres, au Détroit pour le biens etabli, et que malgré les façilités, et les douceurs que le Roy leur accorde, ils ne s'empresment pas d'y aller.

Au surplus, Monseigneur, Je recommande a M de Vaudreuil de continuer a veiller a ce que les nations du Missisipy du Mis-soury, n'y aucunes autres ne fassent la guerre aux Espagnols, et que s'il peut découvrir qui sont les français qui ont induit ces nations a faire cette guerre, il les punisse suivant l'exigence du cas.

Je suis avec un très profond respect, Monseigneur  
Vôtre très humble et obeissant Serviteur

LAIONQUIERE

[*Translation*]

much troubled in finding them. Moreover by your orders I should send whole families to Detroit to help establish it, and despite the facilities and the favors which the king accords, people are not in a hurry to go there.

Furthermore, Monseigneur, I recommend to M. de Vaudreuil to continue to take care that the nations of the Mississippi, the Missouri, or any others do not make war on the Spaniards; if he can discover who the French are who have induced these tribes to make such wars, he is to punish them according to circumstances.

I am with very profound respect, Monseigneur,  
Your very humble and obedient servant,

LA JONQUIÈRE



LA JONQUIÈRE TO CÉLORON, October 1, 1751

[A N Colonies C11A 97:165]

Joint à la lettre du 29. 8bre 1751.

Copie de la Lettre de Monsieur le Marquis de Lajonquiere  
Ecrita a M. de Celoron le 1er 8bre 1751.

Je repons, Monsieur, aux Six lettres que vous m'aves fait l'honneur de m'ecrire les ler 28. Juillet 3. 7. 10. 14. et 22. aoust dernier par les quelles Je vois les mesures que vous aves dabord pris pour mettre mes ordres a Execution, les assurances que les Nations vous ont donné de se Joindre aux français pour aller Ensemble detruire les Misamis et autres rebelles

Je vois en meme tems que toutes les belles promesses des Nations, leur attachement pour les français, leur Indignation contre la demoiselle et leur courage pour attaquer son fort, se reduisent aujourd'hui a des craintes qui Semblent m'anoncer que les français et les Sauvages resteront dans l'inaction. votre derniere lettre ne me laisse aucun doute la dessus

[*Translation*]

Annexed to the letter of October 29, 1751

Copy of the letter of Monsieur le Marquis de la Jonquière  
written to M. de Céloron, October 1, 1751

I reply, Monsieur, to the six letters which you have done me the honor to write me on July 1 and 28 and August 3, 7, 10, 14, and 22 last by which I perceive the measures which you first took to carry out my orders, as well as the assurances the tribes gave you of joining the French to go together and destroy the Miami, and other rebels.

I see at the same time that all the fair promises of these tribes, their attachment to the French, their indignation at La Demoiselle, and their courage to attack his fort today reduce themselves to fears which seem to me to indicate that the French and the Indians will remain inactive. On this, your last letter leaves me no doubt.

Je ne Sçauroids, Monsieur, vous Exprimer combien un Changement si Subit me fait de peine, Je Souhaite que depuis ce tems la vous Soyés parvenu a ramener ces Nations dans leurs premieres

dispositions, et de <sup>165v</sup> faire retentir la colere des français. dans cette confiance Je vay vous renouveler ce que Jay eu lhonneur de vous marquer par mes Lettres des 5. 15. et 26. Juillet

Vous devez avoir pris de Justes mesures pour rassembler vos forces aux Misamis y Envoyer cent vint a cent trente soldats detaches du detroit et des autres postes, les 100. miliciens de M. de Longueuil, le plus de miliciens et d'habitans du Detroit que vous pourres, les 8ta8ois poute8atamis du Detroit y aiouter les Kiskapoux et mascoutins, les poute8atamis de la riviere St Joseph, et les 50. algonkins et Nepissingues

par ma derniere Lettre Je vous ay donné ordre de retenir les miliciens Canadiens de lannée derniere, ce qui auroit augmenté vos forces d'Environ 150. hommes, mais avant que vous ayes reçu ma lettre vous aves Suivant mes premiers ordres, renvoye ces Canadiens.

[*Translation*]

I cannot express to you, Monsieur, how much pain so sudden a change gives me. I hope that since that date you may have succeeded in bringing these tribes back to their former disposition and in keeping the wrath of the French alive. In this confidence I am going to repeat to you what I had the honor to tell you by my letters of July 5, 15, and 26.

You should have taken proper measures to assemble your forces at Miamis, sending there 120 to 130 soldiers detached from Detroit and other posts with 100 of M. de Longueuil's militiamen, as many of the militia and inhabitants of Detroit as you could muster, and the Ottawa and Potawatomi of Detroit, with the addition of the Kickapoo and Mascoutens, the Potawatomi of St. Joseph River, and the 50 Algonkin and Nipissing. By my last letter I ordered you to keep the Canadian militia of last year which would have increased your force by 150 men. But before you had received my letter you had in accord with my first orders sent these Canadians back. Nevertheless it is cer-

N'importe il est certain que vous avez été en Etat de faire prendre les armes a 400. hommes en ne laissant dans vos forts que le monde necessaire pour les garder; voicy Comment vous pouver faire ce nombre d'hommes, Sçavoir 130. soldats, 100. Canadiens, 100. miliciens du Detroit; au moins 30. miliciens qui ne Seront point revenus des Misamis et des Syatanons, et les 50. Algonkins et Nepissingues

Vous devez donner vos ordres aux Commandants de st  
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Joseph et des Syatanons pour qu'ils fassent passer aux Misamis le plus de Sauvages qu'ils pourront et leur Jndiquer positivement le Jour qu'il faudra qu'ils arrivent

Je vous ay prescrit de prendre le tems le plus Convenable pour faire partir Vos forces des Misamis pour aller attaquer le fort de la Demoiselle et vous en rendre maitre par la force des armes

Vous ne devez donc pas avoir de la peine a Entendre qu'il faut que vous Saisissies le moment que les nations de la Belle riviere Seront en chasse pour faire partir votre petite armée du fort des Misamis ce qui n'est faisible qu'aux premieres glaces

[Translation]

tain that you were in a position to have 400 men under arms, leaving in your forts only the men necessary to guard them. This is how you could make up that number of men: 130 soldiers, 100 Canadians, 100 Detroit militia, at least 30 militia who had not returned from Miamis and Ouitanon, and the 50 Algonkin and Nipissing.

You should give your orders to the commandants of St. Joseph and Ouitanon to dispatch to the Miamis as many Indians as they could and to designate to them definitely the day on which they must arrive.

I directed you to take the most favorable time to dispatch your forces from the Miamis to go and attack the fort of La Demoiselle and to make yourself master of it by force of arms. You should have had no difficulty in understanding the necessity of seizing the moment when the tribes of the Ohio River were on their hunts to dispatch your little army from the Miamis fort, which is not feasible until the first freeze.

Je vous ay marqué qu'il falloit absolument faire un coup d'Etat qui en imprimat pour toujours a toutes les nations Sauvages, et qui peut ôter aux Anglais l'Envie de ne plus reparoitre sur nos terres, que de quelque façon qu'il est fait il falloit qu'il fust fait coup a la belle Riviere et qu'il y eut du Sang Repandu

Si vous ne pouves vous charger de cette Expedition vous aves la liberté de remettre le Commendement de ce detachement a M. Desligneris en luy donnant une Jnstruction relative a mes ordres, et luy Enjoindre de tenir un Journal de tout ce qui Se  
166v  
passera pendant sa Campagne, lequel me Sera Envoyé pour que J'en rende Compte a la Cour

Enfin que parvenant a nous rendre maitres du fort de la Demoiselle vous en remettres le Commendement au Sr de Longueuil fils<sup>1</sup> avec 100. hommes de Garnison auquel vous donneres une Jnstruction sur tous les cas que vous pourres prévoir

[Translation]

I indicated to you that it was absolutely necessary to strike a blow which would forever impress all the Indian tribes and which might take away from the English the desire of reappearing in our lands. In whatever fashion, it was necessary to strike a blow on the Ohio River and to shed blood. If you cannot take charge of this expedition, you are at liberty to turn over the command of this detachment to M. de Ligneris, giving him instructions conformable to my orders and directing him to keep a journal of everything that may happen during his campaign which is to be sent to me in order that I may give an account of it to the court.

Finally, after having made ourselves masters of La Demoiselle's fort you will turn over the command of it to the Sieur de Longueuil, *fils*,<sup>1</sup> with one hundred men as a garrison to whom you will give an instruction covering all the contingencies that you may be able to foresee.

<sup>1</sup> Probably Charles-Jacques, third Baron de Longueuil. Baptized July 26, 1724; killed in 1755. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire*, 5:337, 339; *L'Archiviste* . . . de Québec pour 1932-1933, 326. In 1748 and again in 1751 he was

Suivant votre lettre du 10. aoust vous aures Reçu de nouvelles assurances de fidelité de la part de toutes les Nations du Detroit et leurs dispositions ne paroissent pas Changer, vous croyés que ces nations vous Seconderon pour arreter les Anglais, mais que pour fraper sur les Misamis sans que les français soient de la partie ils m'en fairont rien parcequ'ils sont trop voisins dans leur chasse pour le faire

Cependant Suivant votre Lettre du 14. du même mois des larrivée du S. de Belestre<sup>1</sup> vous aves fait assembler toutes les Nations du Detroit en presence des Algonkins et Nepissingues pour leur developper mes Sentiments, vous aves donné un Collier Rougy a chaque Nation, et leur aves chanté la guerre les 8ta8ois

[Translation]

In your letter of August 10 you say that you have received fresh assurances of fidelity from all the tribes of Detroit, and that their disposition does not appear to change. You believe that these tribes will second you in checking the English, but that as to attacking the Miami, unless the French take part, they will do nothing because they are too near neighbors to them in their hunts to do anything.

However, according to your letter of the fourteenth of the same month, on the arrival of the Sieur de Belestre<sup>1</sup> you assembled all the tribes of Detroit in the presence of the Algonkin and Nipissing to expound my sentiments to them. You gave a red belt to each tribe and sang the war song. The Ottawa and

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second in command at Detroit. A N Colonies C11A 98:343v; 116:149v, 157v-158. In 1752 he was at the post of the Wabash. *Ibid.*, 119:316. He was recommended for promotion to ensign *en pied* in 1754. *Ibid.*, 99:282v.

<sup>1</sup>Marie François Picoté, Sieur de Belestre, son of François-Marie Picoté de Belestre (1677-1729) who wrote French with an inimitable German phonetization. He was born in 1719. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire*, 6:353. He served in the Chickasaw campaign. In 1741 he was recommended for an ensign *en second*. A N Colonies C11A 75:239v. From May, 1747, he held the command of the post at St. Joseph. *Ibid.*, 116:160. He led a raid on La Demoiselle's village in 1751 [*post*, 417, 419, 444], and late that year, by then a lieutenant, was granted leave to go to France to be cured of a wound. A N Colonies C11A 97:198. He was in command at Detroit at the capitulation of Montreal. P R O CO 5, 219-222.

et poute8atamis ont d'abord accepté le Cassetete, et ont chanté la guerre, ils ont même remercié les Nepissingues et algonkins, et

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les ont priés par de branches de Porcelaine de leur donner le tems de rassembler leurs guerriers pour aller tous Ensemble avec les français détruire les Ennemis Communs. Toute la Nation huronne a aussi accepté ce Collier

Vous allez mettre tout en usage pour le depart des Nations du Detroit les 8ta8ois et poute8atamis se Joignent a vous pour lever les nations de la riviere st Joseph, les Mascoutins et Kiskapoux, annoncer a ces nations qu'ils ont accepté la hache et qu'ils doivent se Joindre aux français pour faire coup sur les Misamis de la Riviere a la Roche

Vous avez lieu de Croire que les parolles dont M. de Lignery est chargé de la part des Nations du Detroit pour celles des postes de la riviere st Joseph et des 8yatanons auront eu un bon effet

Enfin mes ordres Sont si positifs pour cette Expedition que quand tout devroit perir, vous mettres tout en oeuvre pour les faire Executer

[*Translation*]

Potawatomi first accepted the tomahawk and sang the war song. They thanked the Nipissing and Algonkin and asked them by strings of wampum to give them time to assemble their warriors that they might all go together with the French to destroy the common enemy. All the Huron tribe also accepted this belt. You say you are going to take all measures to secure the departure of the Detroit tribes. The Ottawa and Potawatomi unite with you to raise the tribes of St. Joseph River, the Mascoutens and the Kickapoo, and to announce to them that they have accepted the tomahawk and that the tribes in question must join the French to attack the Miami of Great Miami River. You have reason to believe that the speeches intrusted to M. de Ligneris on the part of the tribes of Detroit for those of the posts of St. Joseph River and of Ouiatanon will have had a good effect. Finally, you say, my orders for this expedition are so positive that even though all should perish, you will do everything to carry them out.

Tout alloit donc au mieux le 14. aoust tout Sembloit corespondre a nos desirs

Vous aves deu faire partir Jncessament le S. de Montigny<sup>1</sup> avec le plus de pirogues qu'il vous aura été possible pour transporter des farines au poste de M. de Villiers

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Je ne desaprouvay point formelement le transport des vivres que vous aves fait faire a Kikaïon, Je vous marquay Seulement qu'il Etoit a Craindre qu'ils ne fussent pillés par les Sauvages

Vous vous Etes si bien crû Certain de parvenir a faire Executer mes ordres que vous aves fait acheter 3000# de peaux de Chevreuil vous en aves meme fait la distribution a ceux qui doivent marcher

Du 14. au 22. aoust les choses ont bien changé de face

Les Nations du Detroit Jnstruites du peu de monde que mene M. de Longueuil commencent a se repentir d'avoir accepté la hache vous craignés qu'elles ne se determinent a ne pas marcher,

[Translation]

Everything went for the best. On the fourteenth of August all seemed to correspond to our wishes. You needed to send off immediately the Sieur de Montigny<sup>1</sup> with as many pirogues as possible to carry flour to the post of M. de Villiers. I will not formally disapprove your sending provisions as you have to Kekionga; I will merely remark to you that there was reason to fear that they might be plundered by the Indians. You thought yourself so certain of success in executing my orders that you purchased three thousand pounds of deerskin and had even distributed it to those who were to march.

Between the fourteenth and the twenty-second of August the appearance of things changed very much. You say the tribes of Detroit, informed of how few people came with M. de Longueuil, begin to repent of having accepted the tomahawk. You fear lest

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that this is the Sieur de Montigny who supplied dressed deerskins at the Miamis, April 3, 1751. A N Colonies C11A 119:306. See also, *post*, 491 n.



vous me marques meme que Mikinak<sup>1</sup> doit demander leur Exemption

Les Poute8atamis Se sont declares qu'ils alloient prendre la fuite du Coté de la Baye, vous avez fait revenir les chefs ; vous les voyes dans de grandes Incertitudes et comme de gens troubles

Mikinak et Kinousaki<sup>2</sup> paroissent toujours avoir de bons Sentimens, mais ils trouvent que le peu de français qui Composent le party Joint aux Sauvages n'est pas suffisant pour faire tete aux

Ennemis, ils aprehendent <sup>168</sup> les Suittes d'une Entreprise qui ne pouvant avoir de Succés occasionneroit une guerre que mettroit toute cette partie de terre en feu

Cependant lidée de ces deux chefs etant que les Nations de la Riviere st Joseph, les Maskoutins et les Kiskapoux, ne prendront point party pour nous, il y auroit lieu d'Esperer que les Nations du Detroit reprendront leur premier courage, si M. de Ligneris parvient a faire marcher les nations de St Joseph et des 8yas comme il ya lieu de le Croire

[*Translation*]

they decide not to march. You even indicate that Mékinac<sup>1</sup> was to ask that they be excused. The Potawatomi declared that they were going to flee in the direction of Green Bay. You made the chiefs return. You see them in a great uncertainty and as troubled men. Mékinac and Kinousaki<sup>2</sup> appeared always to be of good sentiments, but they find that the few French, who make up the party along with the Indians, are insufficient to make head against the enemy. They fear the result of an enterprise which, sure not to succeed, would occasion a war which would set all that part of the land in a flame. However the idea of these two chiefs being that the tribes of St. Joseph River, the Mascoutens and the Kickapoo, would not take our side, there was reason to hope the tribes of Detroit would recover their first courage if M. de Ligneris, as there was reason to believe, succeeded in inducing the tribes of St. Joseph and Ojibwanon to march.

<sup>1</sup> Mékinac, an Ottawa chief. He was of doubtful fidelity to the French in 1747.

<sup>2</sup> Kinousaki, an Ottawa chief generally friendly to the French.

si vous aves determiné toutes les nations a se Joindre aux français, lorsque vous recevres ma lettre, Vous n'hesiterés point a Executer mes ordres et si vous profités du tems que les nations de la Belle riviere seront en classe, Je ne doute pas que votre detachement ne S'Empare du fort de la Demoiselle

Mais si mon projet avoit transpire Jusqu'a ces Nations, qu'elles eussent rassemblé leurs forces pour vous recevoir ce que vous fussiés Jnformé qu'elles font un corps de pres de 2000. hommes Jndependament des nations qui ne Se sont point declarées Ennemies des français, que les Anglais les eussent mises en Etat de Soutenir une vifve attaque en les pourvoyant d'armes et de munitions de guerre vous renoncerez a la partie, et en ce cas vous

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me faires <sup>168v</sup> part du projet que vous pourres former pour fraper a coup Sur Ces nations par la Connoissance que vous aves des lieux

Je ne dois pas vous laisser ignorer que J'ay avis par M. de Joncaire qu'il doit se tenir l'année prochaine une assemblée chez la Demoiselle Entre les Jlinois, ouyas, Peanguichias, Misamis,

[Translation]

If you have induced all the tribes to join the French, you will not hesitate when you receive my letter to execute my orders, and if you profit by the time when the tribes of the Ohio River are on their hunt, I do not doubt that your detachment will get possession of La Demoiselle's fort. But if my plan had become known to these nations, if they had assembled their forces to receive you, and if you were informed that they made up a body of almost two thousand men independent of the tribes who have not declared themselves enemies of the French, and that the English had put them in a condition to sustain a hot attack by providing them with arms and munitions of war, you will give over the plan, and in that case you will communicate to me the project that you may form to strike a blow on these tribes, employing the knowledge that you possess of these regions.

I should not leave you ignorant of the fact that I have information by M. de Joncaire that next year an assembly is to be held at La Demoiselle's of the Illinois, Wea, Piankashaw, Miami,

Loups Cha8anons et les cinq nations Jroquoises, il pense que le tout tend a une revolte generale

Le Refus des Nations du Detroit de Se Joindre aux français n'est pas dites vous, ce qu'il y a de plus facheux. vous Estimes que notre foiblesse leur fera voir que nous ne Sommes pas en etat de tirer vengeance de leurs Jnsultes

Vous ajoutés qu'on pretend meme que la Conspiration de quatre ans n'est pas tout de fait Eteinte et que toutes les nations n'attendent que le moment favorable pour la faire Eclater qu'on assure qu'il y a tout a craindre de leur part

Je ne puis me dispenser de vous dire que Je ne sçaurois croire cette Conspiration. ceux qui vous l'ont annoncée sont vraisemblablement des poltrons qu'un Rien Epouvante

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Vous avez bien fait de ne pas Consentir que les habitans se Soient retirés dans le fort. ils doivent Cultiver leurs terres et rester sur leurs habitations a moins d'un danger Evidant

A L'Egard des obstacles que vous avez trouvé a l'Execution de mes ordres

[Translation]

Delaware, Shawnee, and the Iroquois Five Nations. M. de Joncaire thinks that everything points to a general revolt. The refusal of the tribes of Detroit to join the French is not, you say, what is most annoying. You consider that our weakness will make them see that we are not in a position to take vengeance for their insults. You add that it is even claimed that the conspiracy of four years ago is not altogether extinguished and that all the tribes are only waiting a favorable moment to cause it to burst forth. You say we are assured that there is everything to fear from them.

I cannot avoid telling you that I am unable to believe in this conspiracy. Those who have told you of it are probably cowards who are afraid of their shadows. You have done well not to consent to the inhabitants' withdrawing into the fort. They should cultivate their land and remain in their houses at least until there is evident danger.

Regarding the obstacles which you have found to the

1 depuis le tems que vous m'aves annoncé que vous fisies transporter des vivres aux Misamis vous devez y en avoir fait passer considerablement

2 l'année derniere lorsque Je Conferay avec vous sur l'Expedition dont Je vous avois chargé vous ne me dites pas qu'il y eut un trajet de Cinquante lieües par terre des Misamis au fort de la Demoiselle. Cette distance ne laisse pas que de faire une grande difficulté, mais J'ay lieu de croire qu'elle n'est point Insurmontable puisque vous aves deja fait transporter les vivres aux Misamis. D'ailleurs il est fort aisé de faire passer ces vivres a la riviere a la Roche par des traines sur les glaces

Je vous ay deja marqué qu'il n'avoit pas Eté possible d'executer le plan que vous avies fait parceque nous n'avions point de Canots, ce qui a même été Cause que J'ay été long tems sans pouvoir prendre un Party

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Si vous faites l'Expedition projetée vous ne manqueres pas de Cassetete, vous pourres en prendre ches les negotians du

[*Translation*]

execution of my orders:

First, since the time you announced to me that you were having provisions transported to the Miamis, you must have had a considerable amount sent there.

Second, last year when I conferred with you on the expedition which I had intrusted to you, you did not tell me that there was a journey of fifty leagues by land from the Miamis to the fort of La Demoiselle. This distance cannot but make great difficulty, but I have reason to believe it is not insurmountable since you have already had provisions carried to the Miamis. Moreover it is very easy to send these provisions to Great Miami River by sleds on the ice.

I have already indicated to you that it had proved impossible to execute the plan that you had made because we had no canoes. That has indeed been the cause why I have been so long unable to take action.

If you make the expedition as planned you will not want for tomahawks. You can get them from the traders of Detroit as

Detroit, de même que du fer pour faire les lances des Sauvages

Trente Barils de poudre doivent suffire pour la mousquetterie, et si vous Jugiés qu'il feut Jndispensable d'en avoir une plus grande quantité vous pourres en prendre ches les Negotians du Detroit

Je Souhaite que le Signe puisse parvenir a rapeller la bande du pied froid qui S'est retirée a la riviere blanche, il importe de ne rien Negliger pour cela

Il est facheux que vous n'ayes pas peu decouvrir de quelle nation etoient les Sauvages qui attaquerent l'jnterprete a ostandosket

Il Est Certain que le Sejour du Sieur de Couagne a Choueguen, nous Sera tot ou tard nuisible, J'ay fait dire a Son pere de le faire revenir, mais Je vous prie de ne pas manquer de le faire arreter si vous en aves occasion

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Vous aves cy Joint les Lettres D'Enseigne que J'ay procuré avec plaisir a M. le Chevalier de Celoron. Je vous en fais mon compliment

[*Translation*]

well as iron to make lances for the Indians. Thirty barrels of powder ought to be enough for the muskets, and if it is indispensable to have a larger quantity, you can get that from the traders of Detroit.

I hope that Le Cigne may be able to recall the band of Le Pied Froid which has gone off to White River. It is important to neglect nothing to that end. It is annoying that you were not able to discover of what tribe the Indians were who attacked the interpreter at Sandusky.

It is certain that the stay of the Sieur de Couagne at Oswego will sooner or later be harmful to us. I have had his father told to make him return, but I beg you not to fail to have him arrested if you have occasion to do so.

You have annexed the commission as ensign that I have procured with pleasure for M. le Chevalier de Céloron. I make you my compliments on it.

J'ay l'honneur d'être avec beaucoup de Consideration,  
Monsieur, & ca  
pour copie LAJONQUIERE

RAYMOND TO ROUILLÉ, October 1, 1751

[A N Colonies C11A 97:389]

MONSEIGNEUR

de Raymond Capitaine d'une Compagnie du Detachement de la Marine En Canada á L'honneur de vous Représenter très Respectueusement qu'en 1722. jl y a 29. ans passé le Conseil de Marine l'auroit pourvû d'une Enseigne En Second pour les troupes de Cette Colonie; depuis ce tems Son zele et Son application au Service Luy auroit merité d'Estre venu Capitaine, En 1738. Mr Le General Beauharnois L'auroit Envoyé pourvû de sés ordres Second Commandant au fort frontenac ou jl auroit Servi trois ans En cette qualite; En 1743, Le même General l'auroit pourvû de sés ordres Et L'auroit Envoyé Commander jusqu'en 1746. au fort de Niagara qui Est une des Clés des plus jimportantes de ce pay's, La meme année 1746. Monsieur de

[*Translation*]

I have the honor to be with much consideration, Monsieur, etc.—

A true copy LA JONQUIÈRE

MONSEIGNEUR:

De Raymond, captain of a company of the detachment of the marine in Canada, has the honor to represent to you very respectfully that in 1722, twenty-nine years ago, the council of marine gave him a commission as ensign *en second* in the troops of this colony. Since that time his zeal and his application in the service have merited his promotion to captain. In 1738 M. le Général Beauharnois sent him with orders as second in command to Fort Frontenac, where he served three years in that capacity. In 1743 the same general gave him orders to command at Fort Niagara, which is one of the most important keys of this country, where he remained until 1746. In that same year, 1746, M. de Beauhar-

Beauharnois L'auroit pourvû de sés ordres pour Commander Et Conduire Le Convois des Canots du Roy et negociants qui auroient porté Les Secours du poste du Detroit, Miamis Et Syatanons, En 1747. Mr de Beaucourt Gouverneur de montréal l'auroit pourvû de sés ordres pour servir premier Capitaine du party de Guerre Commandé par Mr de Rigaud de Vaudreüil Major pour lors des trois Rivieres pour aller sur lés Côtes de la Nouvelle angleterre au fort de sarasteaux ou jl y auroit Eû plus de 100. hommes de tués et plus de 60. prisonniers de faits; En

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1748. jl auroit Este Envoyé Commandér au fort de Niagara pourvû des ordres de Mr Le General La Galissonniere, En 1749. Ce General L'auroit Detaché du Commandement de Cette Garnison Et Luy auroit Envoyé sés ordres pour allér Commandér au poste des Miamis ou jl auroit arresté le pied froid Grand Chéf de la Nation des Miamis et Toute sa Bande qui abandonoit ce poste pour se Rendre chès L anglois par sa Continuelle application et surveillance et Le soin qu' jl auroit Eu d'Entretenir des Espions chès Les Miamis Revoltés et Leurs alliés, jl auroit

[Translation]

nois gave him orders to command and lead the convoy of canoes of the king and of private merchants who were to carry help to the posts of Detroit, Miamis, and Ouiatanon. In 1747 M. de Beaucourt, governor of Montreal, gave him orders to serve as first captain of the war party commanded by M. de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, then major of Three Rivers, which went into the regions of New England to Fort Saratoga, where more than one hundred men were killed and more than sixty prisoners taken. In 1748 he was sent to command Fort Niagara under the orders of M. le Général de la Galissonniere.

In 1749 that general detached him from the command of that garrison and sent him orders to go and command at the post of Miamis. Here he stopped Le Pied Froid, grand chief of the Miami tribe, and all his band, who were abandoning that post to go among the English; this he did through his continual application and vigilance and the care which he took to keep spies among the revolted Miami and their allies. He discovered the



Decouvert Les jntrigues d'une Conspiration et En auroit Rompu le progét et fait Manquer L'Execution qui auroit Esté trainmée par les pianguichias, Les Syatanons de la Bande du Comte, Lés Miamis Revoltés les Cha8anons et d'une quantité d yrocois Renegats qui Se Seroient Retirés dans la Belle Riviere et qui auroient fait Entrér dans Leurs Dessins les nations du Costé des ylinois, qui auroient agi dans le tems qui Leurs Etoit Marqué, La Lettre que Luy auroit Ecrit a ce Sujét Mr Benoist Commandant des ylinois qu jl auroit Envoyé a Mr de la jonquiere qui Dirroit L'avoir Envoyée á votre Grandeur, et dont Cy joint En seroit une Copie jl auroit Gagné par ces negociations Les familles du pian et du Sac a petun; qui Seroient les principales des Miamis Revoltés, Leurs Retour dans ce poste y auroit attiré Le reste de Cette nation et auroit mis le Calme partout jl auroit Conduit Les Choses dans Cette Sçituation et jl auroit Eu Lieu d'En Esperér un heureux Succés, Lors que son rapel jmprevû et Sy hors de saison; a la surprise de Cette Nation lès auroit fait Changér de face tout d'un Coup et Les affaires

[*Translation*]

intrigues for a conspiracy, broke up the plan, and caused it to fail of execution; it would if successful have drawn in the Piankashaw, the Wea of the band of Le Comte, the revolted Miami, the Shawnee, and a number of Iroquois renegades who had gone off to the Ohio River and had caused to enter into their plans the tribes of the region of Illinois, who would have acted at the time indicated to them. A letter written him on that subject by M. Benoist, commandant of the Illinois, which he sent to M. de la Jonquière, who said he had sent it to Your Greatness, is annexed in the form of a copy. By these negotiations he would have gained the families of Le Pian and Le Sac à Pétun, who were the chiefs of the revolted Miami. Their return to the post would have drawn the rest of the tribe and would have caused calm to prevail everywhere.

He had conducted things to this situation and had reason to hope for a happy success when his recall, unforeseen, unseasonable, and a surprise to that tribe, made them about face immediately. Matters were so bad from that time on that they

Seroient Devenuës Sy mauvaises depuis ce tems qu'elles seroient Desesperées et Sans Espoir de Raccommodement; ce qui Devroit faire voir aujourd'huy a Mr de la jonquiere, S'il vouloit ouvrir Les yeux Combien Mrs de Celoron Et Varin<sup>1</sup> l'auroient  
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trompé En Le Sollicitant de le Relevér pour Mettre le Sr de villiers a sa place qui devoit suivant Le projet qui vous auroit Esté Envoyé, Monseigneur, faire Revenir Sur le Champ les Miamis Revoltés Et mettre partout La tranquillité par la grande Experiance Et Le Grand Credit qu'on Luy supposoit qui n'a Cependant servi ny En d'autres progrès que de voir La Bande du pied froid abandonner le poste des Miamis et se Retirér du Costé des anglois sans avoir pû l'arrestér, et jl ne seroit Resté auprès du Sr de villiers dans ce poste que Le pied froid et sa famille qui Composeroient 3. ou 4. Cabanes, Les familles du pean et du Sac a petun qui venoient se rendre auprès de luy aux Miamis, nauroient plus voulu Entendre parler dy Revenir Sytost

[*Translation*]

became desperate and past hope of adjustment. This ought to be evident today to M. de la Jonquière if he wished to open his eyes, as well as how MM. de Céloron and Varin<sup>1</sup> deceived him in soliciting him to relieve M. de Raymond in order to put the Sieur de Villiers in his place. This last, according to the project which was sent to you, Monseigneur, should have made the revolted Miami return and caused everywhere tranquillity to prevail through the great experience and the great influence that he was supposed to have. These however served to no other progress than to have the band of Le Pied Froid abandon the post of the Miami and go off in the direction of the English without the Sieur de Villiers' being able to stop them. There remained with him at that post only Le Pied Froid and his family, which made up three or four cabins. The families of Le Pian and of Le Sac à Pétun, who were going to come to him at the Miamis, after they had heard of De Raymond's recall no longer wished to hear mention of returning.

<sup>1</sup>Jean Victor Varin, commissary and controller-general of marine at Montreal.

qu' Elles auroient appris son rapel; Si on l'ut Continué dans ce Poste Elles y Seroient venuës et il se Seroit Servi de leur Credit sur le reste des Miamis Revoltés pour les y faire Revenir; La Bande du pied froid qu' jl auroit a son arrivée Rafermi dans La fidelité N'auroit point abandonné ce poste; voila Ce que son Rapel auroit Causé, et Lorsque Le Sr de villiers auroit parû a la Riviere a la Roche bien Loin d'avoir Eu Le Credit de faire Revenir Les Miamis Revoltés Sans vouloir L'Ecoutér, jls L'auroient fait Repartir avec on si grand Mepris qu'jl sen seroit Revenu dans Son poste sans Replique et plus viste qu'jl n'en seroit party; de quoy Seroit Devenu son Credit Et son Experiance; jl nauroit donc Servi qua Rendre Le mal sans Remede jl y En auroit Cependant, Mr de Celoron et Luy auroient jls Les yeux assès fermés ou a ce peu de Connoissance pour ne le pas appercevoir Et pour ne pas voir Ce qu'jl y auroit a faire; jl ne Diroit pas pour faire Revenir les Miamis Revoltés ce qui pourroit pourtant<sup>390v</sup> arriver, mais jl Diroit pour Couvrir la Riviere de Sabache En

[Translation]

If he had continued in that post they would have come there, and he would have made use of their influence over the rest of the revolted Miami to make the latter return. The band of Le Pied Froid that he had on his arrival confirmed in their fidelity would not have abandoned the post. This is what his recall caused, and when the Sieur de Villiers appeared at Great Miami River, far from having influence to make the revolted Miami return, they made him depart with great contempt and without listening to him so that he returned to his post without replying to them and more quickly than he came. What had become of his influence and his experience? They only served to make the evil past remedy.

However M. de Céloron and he had their eyes so far closed or had so little knowledge as not to perceive it and not to see what had to be done. M. de Raymond's advice would not have been to make the revolted Miami return, although that would probably have happened—but he would have advised covering the Wabash River to secure its navigation and the trade of the *voyageurs* and

assuré La Navigation Et Le Commerce aux Voyageurs et par la Mettre Les postes des Miamis et Syatanons et Ceux qui Seroient plus haut, Ensuite qui toucheroient a leur perte prochaine et fermer la Communication a la plus grande partie des Nations quy Causeroient tous les troubles: qui vont Chercher Leurs Secours chès Anglois; tous ces moyens Luy seroient Sy Cónus que malgré Ljnjustice qu'on luy auroit Rendue de le Relevér des Miamis, jl En auroit Donné Les Lumieres, mais qui n'auroient point Esté Recuës et qui auroient Estée detruite par personne qui auroient plus de talant pour leurs y intérêt qu jls N'auroient de Connoissance pour le Bien du service des paÿs d'Enhaut? Le Desinteressement qu jl auroit Eu Et prouvé dans Lé Service L'application qu'il y auroit Donnée et Les Grosses Epargnes qu'il auroit faites au Roy dans les Differends Commandements qui Luy auroient Esté Confiés dont En Seroit Cy joint Lés ordres, Luy feroit Espérer de votre justice, monseigneur La Commission de Major Commandant du poste de michilimaquinac; et pour Epargner les fonds du Roy, Les Congés des Canots qui monte

[*Translation*]

thus to put the posts of Miamis and Ouiatanon and those which are higher up in safety, as they then were very near being lost. Thus he would cut off the communication to the greatest part of the tribes who have caused all the trouble and who go to get help from the English. All these means were so well known to the Sieur de Raymond that in spite of the injustice done him in relieving him at the Miamis, he would have given his successor the benefit of his understanding. But his advice was not followed, and was disregarded by persons who had more talent to serve their private ends than knowledge of what imported the good of the service in the upcountry.

The disinterestedness which he had and had proved in service, the application which he had given, and the great economies which he had made for the king in the different commands which had been confided to him, the orders of which are annexed, make him expect from your justice, Monseigneur, the commission of major commandant at the post of Mackinac. To save the king's funds he will take the licenses for the canoes which go up to that post

dans ce poste pour apointment, Sy vôtre Grandeur ne pouvoit luy accorder Cette Grace, jl Là Suppliroit très heumblement de luy accorder pour six ans le Commandement du poste de la Baye avec sés Dependances et Limites et tel qu jl Seroit accordé au Sr Marin qui le l'occuperoit aujour, d'huy, Sans que Le Roy Soit tenu de luy payer aucune Gratification que de luy Laissér La liberté de le faire Exploitér Comme jl Le jugeroit le plus Convenable par personne qu'jl Connoitroit avoir Le plus de probité pour porter aux Sauvages de ce poste Leurs Besoins, Sans qu'ils soient tenus

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de payer ny ferme n'y Congés; et au Moyen de quoy jl ne luy Seroit payé aucune Gratification La Seule Disposition du poste qu'jl Demanderoit Luy En serviroit; jl Espereroit de vôtre Grandeur Cette Grace En Consideration de 29. ans de service et des Debtes qu'jl auroit Esté obligé de faire pour soutenir Le Service du Roy avec Dignité dans les postes ou jl auroit Commandé et qui seroient des postes dune Grande Depence par raport aux passants et aux officiérs de la Garnison, jl ne luy auroit

[*Translation*]

for his salary.

If Your Greatness cannot accord him this favor, he would very humbly beg to be allowed for six years to command the post of Green Bay with its dependencies and boundaries as it was allowed and is occupied today by the Sieur Marin, without the king's being bound to pay him any gratification except giving him the liberty of exploiting it as he judges most suitable by the person whom he thinks will act most uprightly in carrying to the Indians of that post the supplies they need, without his or his partner's being bound to pay either farm or license. In lieu of these, no gratification is to be paid him; the complete disposal of the post which he asks would serve him instead.

He hopes from Your Greatness this favor in consideration of twenty-nine years of service and the debts which he has been obliged to incur to maintain the service of the king in dignity in the posts where he commanded and which were very expensive posts on account of transients and of the officers of the garrison. Up to now he has never been allowed any of the advantageous

jamais Esté accordé jusqua present aucuns des postes avantageux Et qui Seroient toujours accordés aux mêmes personnes, Ce qui Luy feroit avoir Recours a vôtre Justice Monseigneur pour obtenir d'Elle Le Commandemt de La Baye, Sy Elle ne luy fait pas la Grace de luy accorder la Commission de Major Commandant de missilimaquinac ; de luy accorder le Commandemt d'un de ces deux Postes ; Ce Seroit Le mettre a Portée Sy Sa Majesté vouloit faire Les frais du voyage d'allér En personne faire Connoistre une Riche et abondante Mine de Cuivre qui Luy Seroit Connue par les memoires qu jl En auroit tiré de deux voyageurs qui Seroient a sa Devotion qui le l auroient Decouverte et hyverné au piéd, Elle seroit dans le voisinage du fleuve du Mississipi Les plus grandes Voitures de ce pais la pourroient Chargér au piéd de la Mine, pour la Decouverte de laquelle on auroit fait Beaucoup de Depence Sous la Conduite de Mr de Gruis jl y auroit quelques années, jl Connoistroit deux Chemins qui y Conduiroient, Le plus Court Seroit par Le poste de La Baye ; Sy votre Grandeur, vouloit bien Luy En accorder Le Commandement pour six ans

[*Translation*]

posts which have always been granted to the same people. This makes him have recourse to your justice, Monseigneur, to obtain of you the command of Green Bay if the favor is not done him of allowing him the commission of major commandant at Mackinac.

By giving him the command of one of these two posts it would enable him, if His Majesty wished to defray the expense of the voyage, to go in person to find a rich and abundant copper mine which is known to him by memoirs which he has secured from two *voyageurs* who were devoted to him, and who discovered it and wintered at the foot of it. It is in the neighborhood of the Mississippi River, and the largest wagons of the country could load at the foot of the mine. For its discovery, much expense was incurred under the direction of M. de Gruis some years ago. The Sieur de Raymond knows two ways which lead there. The shortest would be by Green Bay. If Your Greatness was willing to allow him the command for six years and to honor him with

et L'honorér de sés ordres jl yroit En personne mener Celle qu'jl  
vous plairroit Nommér pour En prendre Connoissance

VAUDREUIL TO ROUILLÉ, October 10, 1751

[A N Colonies C13A 35:167]

MONSEIGNEUR

Dans Le compte que m'a rendu Le Sieur Benoist du païs des  
Jllinois il me marque précisément qu'il est Sur ce point dessuyér  
une revolution de la part des nations Sauvages qui Se sont Liguées  
entre'elles pour fraper sur les differens postes de ce continent,  
et qu'il travailloit a se mettre acouvert de luer desséin

Je ne crois cependant pas une Jntelligence assez Marquée  
167v  
entr'elles pour avoir a craindre de Leur part une entreprise  
d'une certaine espèce quoiqu'elles ayent l'esprit Bien gâtes depuis  
L'establissement des Anglois et de nos refugiés sur la Rivière  
a la Roche Je n'ignore pas Même que ces anglois n'épargnent rien  
et font tous leurs efforts pour nous les aliéner et les porter a  
rompre tout a fait avec nous

[*Translation*]

such orders, he would go in person and take the person whom you  
would be pleased to name to find out about the mine.

MONSEIGNEUR:

In the account sent me by the Sieur Benoist from the Illinois,  
he specifically states that he faces a revolution on the part of the  
Indian tribes who are leagued among themselves to strike the  
various posts of the region; he was working to guard against  
their design.

However I do not believe there is so close an understanding  
between the tribes that we have to fear from them an enterprise  
of the sort, although their minds have been much corrupted since  
the settlement of the English and of our refugees on Great Miami  
River. I am not unaware that these English will spare nothing  
and will put forth all their efforts to alienate them from us  
and to induce them to break with us altogether.



Ce commandant m'ajoute qu'ils ont fait courrir des coliers tout L'hyver dernier accompagnes de presents. chez toutes les nations D'ouabache et du haut du Mississipy chez Les ozages et les Missouriis, les Arkansas n'en ont pas Même été exempts par L'entremise des Jllinois dont l'embassade n'a pas eû tout Le Succes qu'ils en attendoient parles soins que Le Sieur Dulino<sup>1</sup> S'est donné pour decouvrir Le veritable sujet de la demarche de ces Députés qui ayant vû leurs projéts decouvérts Se sont retirés avec les presens et les colliers des Anglois.

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Comme cette nation n'a point encore vû les traiteurs embiteux Je recommande fort a Ce commandant d'apporter Son attention auqu'elle n'aye aucune relation avec eux n'y avec les Jllinois qui en avoient déjà gagnés une partie qui devoit aller sur

[Translation]

This commandant adds that all last winter the English had belts sent about together with presents among all the tribes of the Wabash and the upper Mississippi, among the Osage and the Missouri. Even the Quapaw through the mediation of the Illinois, were not neglected; the Illinois embassy to them did not have the expected success thanks to the pains which the Sieur De Lino<sup>1</sup> has taken to discover the real mission of these deputies; seeing their schemes discovered, they went off with the belts and presents of the English.

As this tribe has not yet encountered the ambitious English traders, I recommend it strongly to their commandant to see that they have no relations with them or with the Illinois; these last had already won over a part of the Quapaw to go to Great Miami River and confer with the English. The emissaries would have

<sup>1</sup> Louis-Xavier Martin de Lino de Chalmette. Baptized May 13, 1720. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire*, 5:538. He probably served as cadet with the Chickasaw expedition of 1739. *L'Archiviste* . . . de Québec pour 1922-1923, 182. Ensign *en second*, October 1, 1741 in Benoist's company. Ensign *en pied*, December 1, 1747; lieutenant, February 1, 1754. H M LO 259, 299; A N Colonies D2C4. He signed August 22, 1746 as De Lino Dechalmets, officer of infantry in Louisiana going from Ouïatanon to Detroit with letters for Beauharnois. A N Colonies C11A 117:368. This probably identifies him with the person listed by Tanguay. He commanded at the Arkansas, 1749-1751. H M LO 200; *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, 7:76. He is marked "dead" in the list of officers, presumably therefore dying by 1759.

la rivière a la Roche pour l'aboucher avec Les Anglois dont les Emissaires auroient Merités d'être arrestés et conduits aux fers icy, comme il arrivera S'ils s'avisent d'avantage a faire deparéilles démarcher qui troubleroient Infailliblement La tranquillité de cette nation qui Jusqu'apresent n'a donnees aux françois aucun Sujet de Mécontentement.

Le Sieur De Villiers commandant aux Miamis me marque précisément que les refugiés de la Rivière a la roche ont rejéttes Mr Le Marquis de la Jonquière pour leur pere et qu'ils ont adoptes tout a fait L'anglois; cet officier m'ajoute qu'étant alles les sommer de se retirer chacun dans Leur nation ils Luy avoient

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repondû qu'ils ne reconnoissoient point d'autre pere que L'anglois et qu'ils ne vouloient avoir de commerce directement ny Jndirectement avec le françois duquel ils n'avoient rien a craindre n'y a esperer ayant. dans Leur Jnterêts toutes les nations du pays d'enhaut voir Même les Jrroquois

Mr de Celoron en a Donné advis Ce printemps a Mr Le marquis de la Jonquière qui doit a ce que L'on pretend envoyer

[*Translation*]

deserved to be arrested and brought here in irons, which will happen to them if they take it into their heads to make any more such moves, which infallibly would disturb the tranquillity of that tribe which up to now has given the French no cause for discontent.

The Sieur de Villiers, commandant at the Miamis post, informs me specifically that the refugees of Great Miami River have rejected M. le Marquis de la Jonquière as their father and have altogether taken up with the English. This officer adds that, having gone to summon them to go back to their tribes, they had answered him that they recognized no father but the English, and that they wished to have nothing to do with the French directly or indirectly; from them they had nothing to fear or to hope, so long as they had on their side all the tribes of the upcountry, as well as the Iroquois.

M. de Céloron in the spring informed M. le Marquis de la Jonquière of this rebuff; it is asserted that he is to send against

cette année sur eux une armée capable den reprimer L'audace et d'en chasser L'Anglois ce qui est Bien a desirer, y ayant tout a craindre qu'en les laissant subsister plus longtemps en cet endroit il ne soit Bien difficile par la suite de les en faire déguérpir et de pouvoir ensuite contenir les nations du païs d'enhaut qui ne sont déjà que trop Jntrétables depuis que les anglois ont trouvez Le

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Moïen de former cette republique sur La Rivierre a la Roche

Jl m'est aussy revenu que ces traiteurs formoient un etablisement sur la Riviérre Blanche que ne doit point cependant tirer a consequence pour le present, ne devant être qu'un entrepôt pour la facilité des nations suivant Le compte que Jauray L honneur de vous en rendre par une autre Lettre, mais qui pourroit le devenir Jnfailliblement a L'advenir si L'on peut S'en rapporter a la façon dont les anglois ont manoeuvrés jusqu'a present pourquoy J'ay réitéré dans les Jnstructions de Mr de Macarty Major commandant aux Jlinois de se faire Jnformer de ce pretendu Entrepôt et d'empêcher qu'il n'ait Lieu plus longtemps

[*Translation*]

them this year an army capable of curbing their audacity and driving out the English. This is much to be desired. It is to be feared that if they are allowed to remain longer in that place, it will in the end be more difficult to make them decamp, and afterwards to hold the tribes of the upcountry who are already but too intractable since the English have found means to form this republic on Great Miami River.

It has also come to me that these traders are forming an establishment on White River; for the time being it should not be of importance since according to the account that I shall have the honor to give you by another letter, it is only an entrepôt for the convenience of the tribes. But it will infallibly be so in the future if one can judge from the way the English have maneuvered up to now. Accordingly I have put it in the instructions of M. de Macarty, major commandant at the Illinois, to inform himself concerning this alleged entrepôt and to prevent its continuing longer.

J'ay déjà eû L'honneur de vous représenter Monseigneur, combien il étoit de nos Jnterêts a ne point Souffrir cette republique S'affermir Sur cette Rivière dans Le cas ou Mr Le Marquis

de la Jonquièrre n'ait pas pris cette année <sup>169v</sup> Les mesures capables de L'eteindre Je crois devoir encore vous observer qu'il n'y a point de tems a perdre a en Juger par toutes les revolutions parceque plus nous temporiterons plus Le mal empirera et plus il Sera difficile d'y apporter Le remede: Le tems que l'on a déjà passé a faire de vaines tentatives pour ramener a la raison ces refugiés n'a sérvy qu'a les rasséurer dans leur desséin et à les rendre plus Jnsolens puisque depuis ils ont rejettes les françois pour adopter tout a fait L'anglois.

Dans La confiance ou Je Suis que Ce general aura pris a Leur Egard un party décisif: J'ay donne ordre au sieur de Macarty que est enroute pour Se rendre a Son commandement de Seconder en tout Ses pouvoir cette entreprise et de S'opposer a de sa côté aux établissemens que les anglois pourroient former Sur la Belle Rivière

[*Translation*]

I have already had the honor to represent to you, Monseigneur, how much it was to our interest not to suffer the republic to be established on this river. In case M. le Marquis de la Jonquièrre has not this year taken measures capable of destroying it, I believe I should also observe to you that there is no time to lose, judging by all the disorders. The longer we delay the more the evil will grow, and the more difficult it will be to apply a remedy. The time already spent in making vain attempts to bring these refugees to reason has served only to reassure them in their design and to render them more insolent because they have since rejected the French to adopt the English altogether.

In the confidence in which I am that the general will have taken a decisive course in the affair, I have given orders to the Sieur de Macarty, now en route to take charge of his command, to second this enterprise with all his power and on his side to oppose the settlements the English may make on the Ohio River.

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Ce sont toutes les raisons qui m'ont déterminés a faire partir cet officier dans une Saison aussy tardive pour de nlls troupes que ne L'aissent pas cependant que de Bien marcher Sui- vant les nouvelles que J'en ay reçu de puis peu Je ne doute pas même que Leur arrivée ne puisse calmer Les Jnquiétudes des habitans et ne discipe tout L'orage que Sembloit Les Menacer

Je me sçais Même Bon grez par toutes ces revolutions d'avoir destiné Six compagnies pour Le service de Ce païs La, J'avois Bien compris qu'une garnison de cette espèce pourroit en Jmprimer aux nations de Ce continent sans y comprendre Les avantages que les habitans Seront aportée d'en retirer par La facilité qu'ils auront d'augmenter considerablement Leur culture qui produiront dans peu au Bas de la colonie une plus grande quantite de farins

Voila, Monseigneur, qu'elles ont été Mes vûës de rendre cette  
170v  
garnison aussy considerable, il Seroit a desirer qu'au detroit il y en eut une Semblable, ces deux postes Bien Établis Seroient capables d'en Jmprimer aux nations de ces continens, et C'est Le

[*Translation*]

All these reasons have decided me to have this officer set off at a season so late for new troops. However they cannot but make good progress judging from the news which I received a little while back. I do not doubt also but that their arrival will calm the alarm of the inhabitants, and dissipate the whole storm which seems to menace them.

I am very glad in view of all these disorders that I assigned six companies for the service of that country. I well knew that such a garrison would make an impression on the tribes of the region, not counting the advantages which the inhabitants will have gained from the opportunity of considerably increasing their sowings, which will soon provide for the lower part of the colony a greater quantity of flour.

These, Monseigneur, were my views in making that garrison so considerable. It would be desirable that at Detroit there should be a similar one. These two posts, if well established, would be sufficient to impress the tribes of these regions, and it is our sole

Seul moïen que nous ayons pour les ramener entierement dans nos Interêts et Empêcher que les anglois N'enticipent d'avantage sur nos terres

J'ay aussy eû Monseigneur, L'honneur de vous rendre compte des arrangemens que Je devois prendre pour Le logement de cette garnison aux Jlinois et des raisons que Je crojois avoir de faire aux Kaskakias Le principal poste, en Laissant cependant Subsister Le fort de chartres pour la Seureté de cet endroit et pour la residence d'une partie de cette garnison qui y logera et chez les habitans en attendant la construction du fort projeté.

Pour cet effet J'ay fait partir avec Le sieur de Macarty Le

sieur saucier sous Jngenieurs pour faire le Devis dun fort capable decontenir ces Six compagnies en cas de Besoin dont il doit nous rendre compte par La premiere occasion ou Jespere, Monseigneur, recevoir les ordres qu'il vous plaira nous donner a Ce sujet

J'ay d'ailleurs fort recommandé a Ce commandant de S'en-

[Translation]

means of bringing them back completely into our interests and preventing the English from future encroachments on our lands.

I have also had, Monseigneur, the honor of giving you an account of the arrangements I have to make for the lodging of this garrison at the Illinois, as well as of the reasons which I thought I had for making Kaskaskia the principal post, letting, however, Fort de Chartres remain for the safety of that place, and for the residence of a part of the garrison which will lodge there and among the inhabitants while awaiting the construction of the proposed fort.

To this end I have sent off with the Sieur de Macarty, the Sieur Saucier, under-engineer, to make the plans of a fort capable of containing these six companies in case of need, of which he is to give us an account by the first occasion, when, I hope, Monseigneur, to receive the orders you may be pleased to give on this subject.

I have further strongly recommended it to this commandant to keep up an understanding with the one at Detroit, and those

tendre avec celui du Détroit et ceux des autres postes de la dépendance du Canada pour concourir ensemble et mutuellement au Bien du service a fin de pouvoir par La S'opposer avec plus de Succes aux Entreprises que les Anglois et les Sauvages pourroient faire de Ce côté La Je luy ay au surplus enjoint de rendre compte a Mr. Le marquis de la Jonquièrre de ce qui Se passera parmy Les nations de son continent pour mettre a portée le general de luy

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donner Ses ordres et de pouvoir de son côté contribuer au Bien de la chose

J'apprend tout recemment que des chasseurs au nombre de Six etant aux Echors a Prudhomme<sup>1</sup> Sur le fleuve été defaits en partie et les autres prisonniers dont un S'est Sauvé qui en a apporté La nouvelle Sans avoir pu me rendre compte de quelles nations sont ces ennemis, J'augure cependant que se peuvent être des Chikachas ou des Cherakis quoiqu'il en soit nous ne tarderons pas a L'apprendre dans Le voyage que Je vais faire a la Mobile au reste Je ne negligera rien pour engager toujours les Chactas

[*Translation*]

of the other posts dependent on Canada, that they may mutually agree together for the good of the service, with a view to opposing with greater success the attempts the English and the Indians may make on that side. I have moreover instructed him to report to M. le Marquis de la Jonquièrre whatever may occur among the tribes of his neighborhood to put the general in a position to give him his orders, as well as to enable him on his side to contribute to the success of the undertaking.

I have quite recently learned that hunters to the number of six being at the Ecores à Prudhomme<sup>1</sup> on the river have been part killed and the rest captured; one of them made his escape and brought the news without however being able to tell me which tribes were the aggressors. I imagine however that they may have been Chickasaw or Cherokee. However it may be, we shall not be long in learning on the journey that I am going to make to Mobile. For the rest I shall neglect nothing to induce all the

<sup>1</sup> Ecores à Prudhomme was on the east bank of the Mississippi at the modern Island No. 33 near Fulton, Tennessee.



a faire Sur les Chikachas des y frequentes Jncurtions qu'a la fin nous puissions parvenir a les Eteindre.

Jen'ay pu me rendre plutôt en Ce poste parle deffaut d'armes

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dans les magazins du Roy pour les presens Des Sauvages heureusement qu'il S'en est trouvés chez les marchands que J'ay Engagé Mr. Michel dachepter qui Supplairont en partie aux fusils de traite qui ont été obmis en france dans L'approvisionnement de cette année

Jay L'honneur d'être avec un tres profond respect Monseigneur

Votre tres humble et tres obéissant serviteur

VAUDREUIL

A LA NOUVELLE ORLEANS 10. 8bre 1751

[*Translation*]

Choctaw to make frequent raids on the Chickasaw, that we may finally succeed in exterminating them.

I have not been able to go to this post sooner because of the want of arms in the king's magazines to serve as presents for the Indians. Fortunately the merchants have some which I have induced M. Michel to buy. These will partly make up for the trade muskets which were omitted in France from the supplies for this year.

I have the honor to be with a very profound respect, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL

NEW ORLEANS, October 10, 1751

VAUDREUIL TO ROUILLÉ, October 10, 1751

[A N Colonies C13A 35:173]

MONSEIGNEUR

Par Le convoy des Jllinois Le sieur Benoist Commandant par Interim en ce païs la m'a fait part de la mort du sieur dela Barre Lieutenant dans ces troupes commandant au poste du Missouri arrivée Le 24 fer de la presente année par un assassin commis en Sa personne le dit Jour de la part d'un soldat de sa garnison

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dont le proces á été fait aux Jllinois suivant les piésses Cy Jointes que J'ay L'honneur de vous adresser Monseigneur, par les qu'elles vous pourrez voir que Le Meurtrier a passé par les armes Le 18 Mars dernier faute d'exécuteur pour la punition dûe a son crime Selon les rigueurs de L'ordonnance

J'ay L'honneur d'être avec un tres et profond respect Monseigneur

Vôtre tres humble et tres obéissant serviteur.

VAUDREUIL

A LANOUELLE ORLEANS Ce 10. .8bre 1751

[*Translation*]

MONSEIGNEUR:

By the convoy from the Illinois the Sieur Benoist, commandant in the interim in that country, informs me of the death of the Sieur de la Barre, lieutenant in the troops, commandant at the post of the Missouri, which happened February 24 of the present year by a murder committed on him the said day by a soldier of his garrison whose trial was held at the Illinois in accord with the annexed documents which I have the honor to address you, Monseigneur. By them you will see that the murderer was shot March 18 last for want of an executioner to inflict the punishment due his crime according to the strict terms of the ordinance.

I have the honor to be with a very profound respect, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL

NEW ORLEANS, October 10, 1751

VAUDREUIL TO ROUILLÉ, October 10, 1751

[A N Colonies C13A 35:187]

MONSEIGNEUR

J'ay Laissé ordre a mr De membrede major de La nouvelle orléans de faire Embarquer Sur Le navire Le marquis de Comflans capitaine Paradis un anglois détenu dans nos prisons pour être remis a mr Magnimara commandant au port de Rochefort qui Le tiendra, Monseigneur, a vôtre disposition

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Cet anglois m'a été Envoyés des Illinois par Le convoy Ce sont des chasseurs qui Sont rencontrés L hyver dernier a 15 a 20 Liéües du poste des Péanguichias. Je l'ay fait interoger a Son arrivée, et a déposé être party de la Rivière a la Roche quelques mois auparavant pour aller à la chasse du Boeuf ou il S'étoit perdu peu de Jours après Son départ. La declaration de cet Anglois paroît la dessus assé positive puis qu'il à été trouvé Sans ressources n'ayant n'y Munitions, n'y vêtement et ayant les pieds geles.

Je n'ay rien negligé pour apprendre de luy les desséins des Anglois Sur cette Rivière, mais comme il n'étoit qu'un valét de

[Translation]

MONSEIGNEUR:

I have left orders with M. de Membrede, major of New Orleans, to have embarked on Captain Paradis' ship *Le Marquis de Conflans*, an Englishman detained in our prisons who is to be dispatched to M. Macnamara, commandant at the port of Rochefort, who will hold him, Monseigneur, at your disposal.

This Englishman was sent me from the Illinois by the convoy. Hunters found him last winter fifteen or twenty leagues from Vincennes. I had him questioned on his arrival, and he stated that he left Great Miami River some months before to hunt the buffalo and got lost a few days after his departure. This Englishman's declaration on this point appears quite likely since he was found without resources, with neither munitions nor clothing, and with his feet frozen. I have neglected nothing to learn of him the designs of the English on that river, but as he was only a servant of the traders established in that place, I have been

traiteurs qui Sont etablis en cet endroit Je n'ay rien pû tirer de luy d'interessant Sinon que les refugies de la Rivière a la

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Roche n'étoient point encore fortifiés mais qui pourroient Bien L'être depuis S'il étoit vrais qu'ils eussent eû a craindre quelque entreprise de la part des françois Sur eux

Je me suis aussy informé quel étoit L'établissement que les anglois avoient formes Sur la Rivière Blanche a 40 Liéües du poste des Peanguichias il paroistroit Si L'on S'en rapporte a Ce prisonnier que ce n'est autre chose qu'un Entrepôt de traiteurs pour favoriser les nations du Bas du Ouabaches et celles des Illinois.

Par Differentes questions que Je luy ay faites il Sembleroit aussy que pour peu que ces Anglois fussent inquiétés de la part des françois dans leur commerce avec ces refugies ils prendroient le party de Se retirer pour quoy il est Bien a desirer que si Mr Le

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marquis de la Jonquièrre s'est déterminé a faire sur eux quelques Entreprises, il ait Envoyes des forces capables de re-

[*Translation*]

able to get nothing of interest from him except that the refugees at Great Miami River were not yet fortified but that they might well have fortified since, if it were true that they had to fear some enterprise on the part of the French against them.

I am also informed as to what the settlement was which the English had formed on White River forty leagues from Vincennes. It appears if one puts faith in this prisoner that it was nothing but a traders' entrepôt for the convenience of the tribes of the lower Wabash and those of the Illinois.

By various questions which I put to him it would seem also that it would take only a little effort on the part of the French to disturb these English in their trade with the refugees and to make them decide to withdraw. Accordingly it is much to be desired that if M. le Marquis de la Jonquièrre has decided to make some attacks against them, he has sent forces sufficient to

primer ces audacieux et se mettre dans le cas de n'avoir pas le dessous avec eux. autrement ils n'en deviendroient que plus Insolens sans compter Le tord que pareille demarche acheveroit de nous faire dans L'esprit de toutes Les nations et des Anglois Même qui ne manqueroient d'en profiter pour Si affirmer de façon a N'avoir plus d'esperance de pouvoir Les en chasser Comme il est arrivé a L'egard de leur Etablissement a Chouaguin

Voila Monseigneur tout ce que J'ay pû tirer de cet Anglois qui ne me paroît pas Bien Coupable n'y ayant point d'apparence

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qu'il Soit venu Sur nos terres en qualites de decouvreur ny d'espion

Jay L'honneur d'être avec un tres profond respect Monseigneur

Vôtre tres heumble et tres obéissant serviteur

VAUDREÜIL

A LA NOUVELLE ORLEANS Ce 10. 8bre 1751

[*Translation*]

repress these bold men, taking care not to be worsted by them. Otherwise they will only become more insolent without counting the harm which such a step would do us in the minds of all the tribes and even of the English, who would not fail to profit by it to establish themselves in such a fashion that there would be no more hope of driving them away as happened with regard to their establishment at Oswego.

This, Monseigneur, is all that I have been able to get out of this Englishman, who does not appear to me to be very blameworthy as there is no appearance that he came on our lands as a scout or spy.

I have the honor to be with very profound respect, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL

NEW ORLEANS, October 10, 1751

DE LIGNERIS TO VAUDREUIL, October 25, 1751

[H M LO 318]

Repdu du 28. avril 1752

MONSIEUR

Vous avez Sçu Sans doute, par M. le commandt des Illinois à qui j'ai eû L'honneur d'écrire de ce poste dès le commencement de 7bre dernier, le projet qu'avoit fait M. Le Marquis de lajonquiere, pour la destruction de La Demoiselle, et des autres Miamis rebelles, qui Se Sont retirés à la rivière aux roches. J'étois à peine arrivé au fort des Miamis où commande M. de Villiers, et où étoit le rendez-vous general de toutes les forces qui devoient être Employées à L'Execution de ce projet, que je reçûs une lettre de M. de Celoron, qui m'apprit que la mauvaise disposition des nations du Detroit, qui ne vouloient plus marcher a cause du petit nombre de françois qui etoient arrivés de Montreal pour cette Expedition, l'arrêtoit pour le présent, et lui faisoit remettre La partie à L'année prochaine, Si m. le General jugeoit à propos d'Envoyer des forces assez considerables, pour que nous fussions

[*Translation*]

Answered April 28, 1752

MONSIEUR:

You have doubtless learned from M. the commandant of the Illinois, to whom I had the honor of writing from this post about the beginning of September last, the plan that M. le Marquis de la Jonquière had made for the destruction of La Demoiselle and the other rebel Miami who have withdrawn to Great Miami River. I had scarcely arrived at the Miamis fort where M. de Villiers is in command, and where was appointed the general rendezvous of all the forces to be employed in the execution of this plan, when I received a letter from M. de Céloron which informed me that the ill disposition of the tribes of Detroit, who were unwilling to march because of the small number of French arrived from Montreal for the expedition, had halted it for the present, and had made him postpone the affair to next year, in case M. the general then thought fit to send sufficient forces to

En Etat de nous passer du Secours des Nations de tous ces quartiers-ci. J'eû ordre en même temps de m'en revenir à mon poste où je prévois que les affaires iront fort mal, Si nous restons encore un peu de temps dans l'inaction. Les Wiätanons Et Pianguichias, qui font absolumt une même nation avec les Miamis parroissent fort mal intentionnés pour la plus part, et je ne doute point qu'ils ne Serangent bientôt du côté des Anglois, Si nous differons de nous Emparer des postes qu'ils occupent dans la belle riviere. Mais pour cela il faut de la depense et ne rien Epargner.

Les Pianguichias qui sont à la riviere au vermillon parroissent tout a fait dans les interrêts des Anglois. Lors que J'y passai au mois de 7bre Et pendant que j'étois avec les chefs En conseil, tous les jeunes gens de village allerent à ma pirogue où j'avois laissé quatre ou cinq soldats qui ne se defiöient de rien, non plus que moi, et ils enleverent ce qui étoit dedans. J'en fis des reproches aux chefs, et leur dis dis que je voulois qu'ils me rendissent absolumt ce qu'on m'avoit pris. Jls me repondirent qu'ils n'avoient point depart a cette action, et que les jeunes gens l'avoient fait à leur

[*Translation*]

enable us to dispense with the help of the tribes of all these regions. At the same time I received orders to return to my post, where I foresee that matters will go very ill if we remain much longer in inaction. The Wea and Piankashaw, who are effectually of the same tribe with the Miami, appear for the most part very ill-intentioned, and I doubt not that they will soon take the side of the English, in case we defer seizing the posts these last occupy on the Ohio River. But for that it is necessary to incur expenses and to spare nothing.

The Piankashaw who are at the Vermilion River appear entirely in the English interest. When I passed there in September and while I was in council with the chiefs, all the young men of the village went to my pirogue, where I had left four or five soldiers, who like myself suspected nothing, and carried away what there was to take. I reproached the chiefs with this, and told them that I wished them to return everything that had been taken from me. They answered that they had no share in this act and that the young men had done it without their knowledge and at



insçu et à l'instigation des Wiätanons, qui vouloient m'Empêcher d'aller à la terre haute chercher les Kikapoux. Ils me donnerent quelques branches de porcelaine, pour me prier d'oublier ce qu'on avoit fait à mes gens, et me r'apporterent ce qu'ils avoient pris, à la reserve de quelques bagatelles qu'ils ne pûrent retrouver. Si j'avois eû Seulement vingt hōmes, ils n'auroient jamais osé faire cette action; et même je crois qu'ils ne l'auroient pas entrepris si j'avois eté à ma pirogue, parceque je restai longtemps au bord de l'Eau, pour prendre ce qui m'étoit nécessaire pour leur parler, et qu'ils ne firent ce coup, que lorsque je fus entré dans une maison françoise, Et que j'y eût assemblé tous les chefs. Vous voyez, Monsieur, qu'avec de pareilles nations nous devons être toujours Sur nos gardes; aussi n'y manquerai-je point jusqu'à ce que la tranquillité Soit un peu retablie dans ce pays-ci.

J'ai appris depuis mon depart des Miamis, qu'un petit parti de Nepissingues, que M. de Celoron n'avoit pû arrêter au Detroit avoit levé deux chevelures auprès du village de La Demoiselle. Il y avoit dans ce parti un Poute8atami et un 8ta8as, et M. de

[*Translation*]

the instigation of the Wea who wished to prevent me from going to Terre Haute to seek the Kickapoo. They gave me some strings of wampum to beg me to forget what had been done to my people, and brought back to me what had been taken, except for some trifles which they could not recover. If I had had but twenty men they would never have dared to do this; and I even believe they would not have attempted it if I had been at my pirogue, because I remained a long time at the shore, taking out what I needed in order to speak to them; and they acted only after I had gone into a Frenchman's house and had assembled all the chiefs there. You see, Monsieur, that with such tribes we should be always on our guard; accordingly I will not be wanting in it, until quiet is a little restored in this country.

I have learned since my departure from the Miamis post that a small party of Nipissing, which M. de Céloron could not stop at Detroit, had taken two scalps near the village of La Demoiselle. In that party were a Potawatomi and an Ottawa; and M. de

Belêtre qui avoit amenné les Nepissingues de Montreal, estoit à leur tête. Je crois qu'il eût été mieux de ne rien Entreprendre du tout que de faire Si peu, et plus avantageux pour nous d'attendre que nous fussions En Etat de faire une action decisive.

Je ne manquerai pas, Monsieur, de vous informer de tout ce qui viendra a ma connoissance, pendant le temps que je Serai dans ce poste-ci, et je Serai charmé de trouver souvent les occasions de vous donner des marques du profond respect avec le quel je suis Monsieur

Votre très humble Et très obéisst Serviteur

DESLIGNERIS.

AUX WIÄTANONS le 25e 8bre 1751.

LA JONQUIÈRE TO ROUILLÉ, October 29, 1751

[A N Colonies C11A 97:162]

MONSEIGNEUR

Par ma lettre du 13. du mois dernier, Jay eû l'honneur de vous rendre compte que les ordres que j'avois donné a M de Celoron par mon instruction secrette n'avoient point été executés

[*Translation*]

Belestre, who had brought the Nipissing from Montreal, was at their head. I believe it would have been better to attempt nothing at all than to do so little, and more advantageous for us to wait until we were in a position to make a decisive stroke.

I will not fail, Monsieur, to inform you of everything that comes to my knowledge while I am at this post, and I shall be charmed to find frequent occasions to give you marks of the profound respect with which I am, Monsieur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

DE LIGNERIS

OUIATANON, October 25, 1751

MONSEIGNEUR:

By my letter of the thirteenth of last month I had the honor of telling you that the orders that I had given M. de Céloron by my secret instruction had been by no means executed and that

et que je luy En avois donné des nouveaux dont la précision devoit m'assurer que rien ne seroit capable de l'Empecher d'aller faire coup sur les Miamis et autres rebeles et se rendre maitre par la force des armes du fort de la Demoiselle.

La contradiction que jay trouvé dans les comptes que M de Celoron m'a rendu me prouve sensiblement que je ne dois pas compter sur l'Expedition projetée

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En effet tous les mouvements qu'il s'est donné, toutes les précautions et les mesures quil a pris pour remplir mes vuides se reduisent a ne rien faire.

Dans quelque Embaras que doive etre M de Celoron, surtout n'ayant aucune Excuse légitime, Je puis dire avec verité que sa peine négalera Jamais la mienne. Jl est impossible d'Exprimer combien cette affaire me chagrine, Je n'en dors pas et J'en suis meme malade.

Il est facheux que je sois dans la necessité de me plaindre. Si M de Celoron Commendoit au Détroit par mon ordre, Je n'aurois pas hesité a le réléver du moment qu'il eut negligé d'Exe-

[*Translation*]

I had given him new orders the exactness of which assured me that nothing could hinder him from going to attack the Miami and other rebels and from getting possession of the fort of La Demoiselle by force of arms.

The contradiction which I have found in the accounts which M. de Céloron has sent me proves to me clearly that I may not count upon the expedition as it was planned. In effect, all the movements which he has made and all the precautions and the measures which he has taken to carry out my views reduce themselves to doing nothing. In whatever embarrassment M. de Céloron may be especially since he has no legitimate excuse, I can say with truth that his distress will never equal mine. It is impossible to express how chagrined I am at this affair. I do not sleep, and I am even sick over it.

It is annoying that I am under the necessity of complaining of it. If M. de Céloron commanded at Detroit by my order I would not have hesitated to relieve him the moment he neglected

cuter a la lettre mes premiers ordres, ce qui m'engage, Monseigneur, d'avoir lhonneur de vous représenter qu'il seroit du bien du service de ne plus etablir de Commandant par commission du Roy dans les postes.

Il seroit trop long de vous faire un détail suivy des mesures  
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que M de Celoron a d'abord pris et du changement subit de toutes les belles apparences qu'il me donnoit, vous en serés parfaitement instruit par la lettre que je luy ay escrit le premier de ce mois dont cy Joint coppie, par laquelle vous verrés que Je n'ay pû Evitter de controller toutes ses démarches et de combattre toutes ses difficultés.

Cette lettre ne tardera pas a luy parvenir, peutetre qu'elle luy fera toute l'impression quelle doit et qu'il se determinera a la fin a suivre ce que je luy ay precedemment ordonné.

Le S. de Belestre que j'avois detaché avec 50 Alkonkins et Nepissingues a surmonté tous les obstacles qu'on luy faisoit naitre a chaque instant, Jl est party du Détroit avec 17 hommes, le

[Translation]

to execute my first orders to the letter. That induces me, Monseigneur, to have the honor of representing to you that it would be for the good of the service not to establish any more commandants in the posts by the king's commission.

It would take too long to make you a detailed narration of the measures that M. de Céloron first took and of the sudden change of all the fair appearances which he gave me. You will be perfectly informed of that by the letter which I wrote him the first of this month a copy of which I annex. By it you will see that I could not help checking over his movements and deprecating all his difficulties. This letter will reach him without delay. Perhaps it will make the impression upon him that it should, and he will decide at the end to follow out what I had previously directed him.

The Sieur de Belestre, whom I detached with fifty Algonkin and Nipissing, has surmounted all the obstacles which arose before him at each instant. He left Detroit with seventeen men, the re-

surplus de ses Sauvages aiant relaché Cy joint coppië de son Journal.

Il resulte de ce Journal quelques faits bien interessants.

1 Un 8ta8ois informa les Chefs Nepissingues et Alkonkins que le  
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Jour de l'arrivée du S. de Belestre au Détroit, il en estoit party une femme pour aller avertir la Demoiselle de ce qui se passoit, que les Domiçiliés du Détroit ne faisoient de belles promesses a M de Celoron, que pour l'amuser et que s'il alloit chez la Demoiselle, Jl ne trouveront que le fort.

2 des guerriers qui revenoient de chez les Tetes plattes raportoient qu'ils avoient passé chez la Demoiselle, qu'il n'y avoit que des femmes dans le fort, que ce fort n'etoit qu'a demy fait, que tous les guerriers estoient a la chasse et qu'ils mourroient de faim.

3 Le S. de Belestre dit a M de Celoron que cent cinquante hommes suffisoient veu le peu de forces des Miamis et le mauvais état de leur fort, pour les faire déguerpir ou les raméner au poste de M de Villiers

[*Translation*]

mainder of the Indians having failed him. Annexed is a copy of his journal.

Several interesting facts result from his journal. First, an Ottawa informed the Nipissing and Algonkin chiefs that the day of the arrival of the Sieur de Belestre at Detroit a squaw left to go and warn La Demoiselle of what had happened. They were further told that the domiciled Indians of Detroit made fair promises to M. de Céloron only to amuse him and that if he went against La Demoiselle, he would only find his fort.

Second, some warriors who were returning from the country of the Flatheads reported that they had passed by La Demoiselle's village, that there were only squaws in the fort, that the fort was only half built, that all the warriors were away hunting, and that they were dying of hunger.

Third, the Sieur de Belestre told M. de Céloron that 150 men, in view of the small numbers of the Miami and the bad condition of their fort, were enough to make them give up or to take them back to the post of M. de Villiers.

4 Enfin le S. de Belestre n'a trouvé personne dans les cabanes  
des Miamis Ils avoient deniché dès la veille, Il ne put <sup>164</sup> faire  
l'attaque du fort a cause du peu de monde qu'il avoit avec luy,  
mais il detacha quatre hommes pour faire quelques prisonniers,  
a quoy n'ayant pu reussir, ils tuerent un homme et une femme  
dont il m'a remis les chevelures

Je ne puis, Monseigneur, vous faire ces observations sans une  
vive douleur n'y en rien conclure de bon pour M de Celoron,  
quelque bien faisant que je sois, Je dois convenir quelles le mettent  
dans son tort, car il a a se reprocher non seulement de n'avoir point  
suivy mes ordres, mais encore de s'etre refusé aux avis qu'il avoit  
et qui l'assuroient de la conquette du fort de la Demoiselle.

Voila trois tentatives consecutives qui portent a faux, qu'en  
penseront les sauvages qui actuellement sont peut etre instruits de  
mes desseins ?, les anglais n'en prendront ils pas avantage pour  
corrompre de plus en plus ces nations ? ces reflexions m'accablent  
et me font une peine incomprehensible.

[Translation]

Fourth, the Sieur de Belestre finally found no one in the  
Miami cabins. They had gone off the night before. He could not  
attack the fort on account of the small number of men he had with  
him, but he detached four men to make prisoners who, failing in  
this, killed a man and a squaw whose scalps he has sent to me.

I cannot, Monseigneur, make you these observations without  
keen distress since I can deduce from them nothing of good to M.  
de Céloron however favorable I am. I must admit that they put  
him in the wrong for he has not only to reproach himself with not  
having followed my orders but also with having rejected the in-  
formation which he had which would have assured him of the cap-  
ture of La Demoiselle's fort.

This makes three successive attempts which have gone wrong.  
What will the Indians think when perhaps they are actually aware  
of my plans? Will not the English take advantage of it to cor-  
rupt these tribes more and more? These reflections overwhelm  
me and cause me unspeakable pain.

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Il ne mest pas possible, Monseigneur de rien déterminer quant a present pour le printems prochain, Les choses peuvent changer, peutetre que le coup qui vient d'être fait troublera nos rebeles? peut etre nen seront ils que plus mutins, Je regleray mes démarches suivant les circonstances ou Je me trouveray et la situation de cette colonië pour les Vivres. Je vous Suplie, d'Etre bien persuadé qu'il y aura pas de ma faute si par malheur, elles sont encore sans succès.

Je suis avec un très proffond respect Monseigneur  
Vôtre très humble et tres obeissant Serviteur

LAJONQUIERE

[*Translation*]

It is not possible for me, Monseigneur, to decide anything at present for next spring. Things may change. Perhaps the blow that has just been struck will trouble our rebels. Perhaps it will only make them more mutinous than ever. I will regulate my actions according to the circumstances in which I find myself and the situation the colony is in for provisions. I beg you to be assured that it will not be my fault if by misfortune my actions are still fruitless.

I am with very profound respect, Monseigneur,  
Your very humble and very obedient servant,

LA JONQUIÈRE



## CHAPTER V

### MACARTY'S COMMAND OF THE ILLINOIS, JANUARY-FEBRUARY, 1752

MACARTY AND BUCHET TO VAUDREUIL, January 15, 1752

[H M LO 327]

DES JLLINOIS Le 15e Janvier 1752

Duplicata

MESSIEURS

En Consequence des Ordres que nous Avons Reçu pour La Construction dun fort aux Caskakias, Nous avons fait assembler Mrs. Les Officiers Le R. P. de Guyene Et Les princypeaux habitans, Et Avons Visité plusieurs fois Les terrins des Environs de Ce poste Et Navons trouvé Aporté de Ce lieux Et du bord de Leau qun terrain a sept arpend au dessou dud Lieu Ou feu Mr Labissonniere Lavoit deja destiné Et dou Lon pourra par La suite donner des Alignemants Et former Une Ville En regle Ou pourra Le rapprocher de quelque arpend En Coupant Une petite Ravinne jettant ses Eaux a droit Et a Gouche du fort. Mr. sausier Na pas

[*Translation*]

THE ILLINOIS, January 15, 1752

Duplicate

MESSIEURS :

In consequence of the orders we have received for building a fort at Kaskaskia, we have assembled Messieurs the officers, Reverend Father de Guyenne, and the chief inhabitants and have visited several times the sites around that post. And we have found in that neighborhood and on the border of the water only one site, which is seven arpents below the place in question, and where the late M. la Buissonnière had already planned to build the fort, and at which it would be possible in future to plot out lines and to form a city by plan. It would be possible to come some arpents closer to the town by cutting a little ravine and passing its waters to right and left of the fort. M. Saucier has not

Eu Le temps de fair Lestimations Et Le devise ainsi que vous Le demandé, Mais il Est de toutte Impossibilité de fair des Cazernes En a penty apuyé sur Le mur des Rempars, Ce qui seroit tres mal sain par lhumidité de la terre qui feroit des Cachods plutot que des Chambres Et Causeroit Beaucoup de Maladie Vous Observerez Messieurs par Le recesemant que vous trouverez Cy jouint Le peut dhabitant quil ya a fournir Un tiers des Matereaux dont vous nous Enjoigneés dans Vostre Letre de Les Contraindres; Jls sonts a peines En Etat de suffir Aux travaux de Leurs semences. dans Leurs situations tout Ce quon pourroit Exiger deux Cest Le Remumants des terres Et quelque Charois dans Linterval de Leurs semences Ce qui Nest pas dun petit objet a remplir Les Rempars Et La places Et Les fosses pour Les fondements,

Et Comme jl Est de toutes necessité de batir Jncessamant des Cazernes Et Magasins Et autres Baptimants Nous avons fait fair Une adjudication de deux Cent quatre vingt toises de pierres Et seize cents quard de Chaux En attendent Vos ordres precises sur Le divide qui sera fait par Mr sausier Nepouvant L'Envoyer

[*Translation*]

had time to prepare estimates and specifications as you asked, but it is absolutely impossible to build barracks against the wall of the ramparts, since they would be quite unsanitary due to the humidity of the ground, which would make them dungeons rather than barracks, and would cause much sickness. You will observe, Messieurs, by the census which you will find inclosed how few inhabitants there are to be made to furnish a third of the materials as you direct us to do in your letter. They are hardly sufficient for the work on their crops. In their situation all that can be required of them is the removal of the earth and some wagoning in the intervals of their farming; this is but little toward filling the ramparts and digging the ditches for the foundations.

As it is absolutely necessary to build the barracks and magazines and other buildings immediately, we have made an award of 280 toises of stone, and 1,600 quarters of lime, while awaiting your exact orders on the estimate which will be made by

par Cette Ocasion Led. sr sosier Nayent pas Eu Le temps de Le faire

On a proposé Aux habitans Lors de Ladjudications destre payé En Marchandises du Magasins Jls on dits quils ne demandoient pas Mieux dy trouver Leurs besoins Mais quil ne pouvoient pas Les Accepter En payant dans Leurs marchés Ne pouvant Les prevoir, La plus part demanderoient des negres En payement Ce paye Jcy Manquant de forces pour Les travaux des terres.

Vous observeré Messieurs que Les Magasins dicy Nont Jamais Eté bien Muny de Marchandises puisque Lon a Eté obligé den acheter a des prix Excessifs, Comme Aujouduy Nous Ne savons points si nous avons Guerre Ou pays avec Les Nations, depuis Le Coup quils Viennent de faire, jl seroit A propos pour fair agir Nos Aliés que nous Ussions Des Marchandises plus que Moins pour Nous servir du besouin Et qui Ne seroit points honnerousent au Roy. Vous En trouveré Cy Joint Le memoire,

jl seroit Aussi apropos Messieurs denvoyer des Maistres

[*Translation*]

M. Saucier, and which we cannot send by this occasion as the said Sieur Saucier has not had time to make it.

We have proposed to the inhabitants to take their pay on their bids in goods from the warehouse. They have replied that they would ask no better than to supply their needs thus, but that they could not accept them in payment of their contracts as they could not foresee their wants. Most of them would ask for negroes in payment as this country lacks labor for work in the fields.

You will observe, Messieurs, that the warehouses here have never been well supplied with goods, and that it has therefore been necessary to buy them at excessive prices. Since at present after the raid they have just made, we do not know whether we are at peace or war with the tribes, it would be desirable, in order to induce our allies to act that we should have more rather than less merchandise to use at need; this would not be expensive to the king. You will find the memoir regarding this inclosed.

It would also be well, Messieurs, to send master masons and

Maçon Et des soldats Ouvriers Nen trouvant icy dans La troupe Et dans Les habitans que six tant bons que Mouvais Et nous navons icy de bon Charpentier que Le seul Nantais soldats Malade Et yvrogne.

Nous avons Logé Les soldats dans des maisons Bourgoises dont Lhabitant payera Le Loyer Esperent quils seron Logée Lannée suivante, jl Convien Même que Cela soit plutost que plus tard pour La dissipline de La troupe, Nous Esperons que Vous Nous donnerez des Ordres Et des Ouvriers Ce printent pour pouvoir Les Loger dans Le Cour de Lannée Lhabitant Etant deja Beaucoup foullé par Leglise quils Ont Entrepreie Et qui nest pas Encore Couverte

Les Eaux qui avoient Commancé a monter nous fesoient Esperer de pouvoir Envoyer Les Bateaux Chargé de farine, Le froy survenue Nous a determiné a vous Envoyer Lad. Voyture pour vous donner des Nlles de ce poste

Comme La pelteries a augmanté jcy il seroit plus apropos denvoyer de Latoille propre a fair des Sacs Jl Encouteroit Beaucoup Moins du Roy Jouint a ce que Lon pouroit Renvoyer Les

[*Translation*]

soldiers who are workmen, as there are but six good or bad among the troops and inhabitants; and the only good carpenter we have is the soldier Nantais, who is sick and a drunkard.

We have lodged the soldiers in the houses of the townspeople, who are paying for the lodging, and hoping that the soldiers will be otherwise lodged next year. For the discipline of the troops it is desirable that it be sooner rather than later. We hope you will give us orders and workmen this spring so that the soldiers can be lodged in the course of the year; for the inhabitants are already much overburdened by the church which they have undertaken and which is not yet roofed.

The waters, which had begun to rise, made us hope we could send the boats loaded with flour. The arrival of the cold has decided us to send you this conveyance to give you the news of this post. As peltry has gone up in price here, it would be better to send linen fit to make bags. It would cost the king much less, and besides the bags could be sent back in bales and used a second

sacs En ballots qui serviroient deux fois Et La peaux de Chevreuil Resteroit au comerce Et Encaure Nentrouve ton pas, Les Voyageurs de Canadas LenLevent toute,

Comme Le Roy se propose d'envoyer des habitants Dans Ce paye ou il Est tres aisé de Les biens Etablir dans Cette Riviere Et sur Le fleuve En vilage de Vingt a trante feu Et plus sil Etoit necessaire, Les terres ne manquent point Nous avons Eté Cest Jours yci En faire La visite; Le tout Est de Leurs donner En arivant Leurs Besoins Et ustanciles a pouvoir travailler qui ne seroit pour Le Roy quune Avance Et fortifiroit Ce paye qui En peu de tems seroit La nourice de La Colonnie

Jl seroit de toute Necessité Messieurs que vous donniez Vos ordres pour que tous Les Vilages Baty Et abatir fussent Alignes par soixente pied quaré affin quon put Claire Lendroit Comme on a fait au detroit Et ailleurs En canadas pour se mettre a l'abrie de Lincursion des sauvages.

Ne voulant Rien prendre sur nous pour Ce qui Est Etablie qui Est tres Jrregulier faisant dans Cette Endroy des Canpagnes A labourer

[*Translation*]

time. Deerskins would remain in trade; in any event, none are available as the *voyageurs* of Canada carry them all away.

Since the king proposes to send inhabitants into this country, it will be very easy to settle them along this river and on its tributary in villages of twenty to thirty hearths, or more where necessary. Lands are not lacking; we have lately gone to inspect them. All depends on giving the inhabitants on their arrival what they need, and tools with which they can work. This would be only an advance on the king's part and would develop the country which would soon be the nurse of the colony.

It would be absolutely necessary, Messieurs, that you should give your orders that all the villages built and to be built should be aligned in sixty foot squares, so that the places may be walled as is done at Detroit and elsewhere in Canada as a protection against Indian raids. We wish to take no responsibility for what has already been established, which is very irregular, with a view to making fields to be worked in the neighborhood.

Comme Jl Encoute Considerablement pour La Nouriture des sauvages jl seroit apropos de fair Une Retraite pour Eux Ou Lon pourroit Leurs fournir des Vivres du Magasins, Jls Encouteroit Beaucoup Moins au Roy. Et L Epargne que Lon feroit dans Un an Deffereroit Le baptimant, jl seroit plus apropos de donner des Gages honeste a Lintrepette que de Leurs donner Vingt sols par jour C'est surquoy ils se sauve; Comme Aussy jl seroit necessaire davoir Un Armurier agage fixe Ce qui Exide souvants de huit a neuf Cents Livres a peine Contente ton Les sauvages Au Lieus quetent agage jl travailleroit journellement pour tout Ce qui regarde Les armes du Roy,

Le paye Est En Etat de Nourir Au moins Autent de troupes quil y en a

Jl seroit aussi Necessaire denvoyer des fusils de troupes pour Remplacer Ceux Qui se cassent

Jl Est deue aux deux Compes Ensiennes La petite Monture de L'anné passé Et Les quatres Copies arrivees se trouvent sans souliers Jls en demandent journellemant, Nous vous prions de Leurs Envoyer Ce qui Leurs Est due Et quil En puissent trouver

[*Translation*]

As feeding the Indians costs considerably, it would be well to prepare a refuge for them where they could be furnished with provisions from the warehouses. They would thus cost the king much less. What would be saved in a year would pay for the building. It would be better to give the interpreter a decent salary than to give him twenty sous a day which is what he gets. It would also be necessary to have a gunsmith at a fixed salary. He often exacts up to eight hundred or nine hundred livres, and the Indians of the neighborhood can scarcely be satisfied. On wages he would work every day at all that concerned the king's arms.

The country can feed at least as many more troops as there are here.

It would also be necessary to send army muskets to replace the broken ones.

The two old companies here had their minor equipment due them last year; and the four companies that have come have no shoes and call for them daily. We beg you to send them what is

au Magasin Netant pas En situation de pouvoir donner quinze Livres pour Une paire de soulier Comme On Les Vand icy.

Nous avons fait assembler Les habitants Les quelles Nous Nous Avons Exorté Malgré Les travaux du fort A continuer Et Ogmanter Leurs semences tout En Bled fromand quen Mahie, Leurs faisant Esperer Un Renfort de nouveaux habitans Affin destre En etat de pouvoir Nourir Une plus Grande quantité de Cochons, dont ils sonts sur de trouver Le debouché que nous fixons a dix sols quoique Le Canada En offre quinze jcy Et L'avoit fait Ogmanter Ce qui Nous A obligé de fair deffence deffence den sortir Et que Ceux qui En Ouroient Eussent a Le remettre A ce prix au Magasin quil y seroit fixe autant que Le Roy En auroit Besoin quon ne Le diminueroit point de Mesme quil ne devoient pas L'augmanter Le Roy faisan Leurs Biens jls ne devoient pas travailler Au detruy man du Roy Jl seroit Apropos Messieurs Malgré tous Les soins que puisse Avoir Un commandant En Route davoir Loëuïl Aux voitures que Chaque Capitaine Ou Officier Commandant Les Bateaux se chargasse En parti-

[*Translation*]

due them and that they may get it at the warehouse as they are not able to pay fifteen livres for a pair of shoes, which is what they sell for here.

We have had the habitants assembled and have exhorted them, despite the work to be done on the fort, to continue and to increase their plantings in wheat and corn; we have held out the hope of additional habitants, so that they may be in a position to feed a larger number of pigs for which they will be sure to find a ready sale. We have fixed the price at ten sous although Canada offers fifteen here and even more; this has obliged us to forbid carrying pork away and to require those who have it to bring it to the warehouse at that fixed price as the king needed it; we would not lower the price, and they should not raise it; for the king being engaged for their welfare they should not work to the king's detriment.

It would be advisable, Messieurs, in spite of all the care a convoy commandant may take to watch the boats, that each captain or officer commanding boats should charge himself in particular



culier des Effets Et Ustanciles dont Chaque Bateaux seroient Chargé Chacun par la y auroit Loeüil sen rendent Responsable.

Un des Bateux Nommé Le st. Louis sest Empallé sur Un arbre Lequel sest Remply d'Eau ; Ce nest pas sans peine Malgré La Rigueur de la saison si on a put retirer, Les Effets du Roy dont jl Etoit Chargé, Nayent pas pu Le Relever, Nous avons Eté obligé de Renvoyer Un Charpantier avec Un detachement qui La Retiré avec Les effets qui Restoient dedan, Et Etent sur Le point dariver il fut prie par Les Glaces A Une Lieux E demy du bas de La riviere Ou Nous Le croyons hor de danger.

Jl Est de toute Necessité Messieurs quil soit fait des Bati-mans Dans Le fort projette pour y Construire des Greniers propres a y Loger quatre Cent milliers de farine pour Resuer, Mesme des Blutots de soy Apartenant au Roy, ou Les habitans Blutiroient Leurs farines On seroit par ce moyen sur De Leurs qualité.

Les Moulins Ne pouvant fournir quune très petite quantité de farine, On ne pourra Gure que fournir Les postes dicy a la

[Translation]

with the goods and tools loaded on his boat. Each officer, being himself responsible, would then have an eye to things.

One of the boats, the *St. Louis*, was snagged on a tree and filled with water. It was not without difficulty in spite of the cold of the season that the king's goods with which she was loaded were got out of her. As we could not raise her, we were obliged to send back a carpenter with a detachment who brought her off with the goods that had remained there. She had almost reached here when she was frozen in the ice a league and a half down the river, where we believe her out of danger.

It is absolutely necessary, Messieurs, that buildings be constructed in the proposed fort as granaries adequate to house four hundred thousand of flour to dry ; they should be supplied with bolting cloths of silk belonging to the king where the inhabitants might bolt their flour. This way one could be sure of the quality.

The mills being able to furnish but a very small quantity of flour, we can scarcely do more than supply the posts between

Nlle. Orleans Les Moulins qui sonts a Cheveaux Alent Cessé  
pour se mettre Au Labour.

Un Moulin A Eaux sur La riviere seroit dun grand Bien  
Mais Aucun particulier dicy nest En Etat de Le faire Le Roy  
En pourroit fair Construire Un dont il tireroit Comme En Canada  
Un Coutum Et dont on seroit sur de La bonté de La farine ayent  
son Mouvement Reglé Et yroit En tous temps

Jl Est Necessaire Messaire Messieurs que vous donnié Vos  
Ordres pour Le Retablissement des Batimens du fort de Chartre  
qui sont En tres Mauvais Etat jl y a actuellemant deux Comps  
de Garnison

Nous sommes avec Respect Messieurs

Vostres humbles Et tres obeissants serviteurs

MACARTY

BUCHET

[*Translation*]

here and New Orleans. The horse mills have stopped because  
the horses have been put to work elsewhere. A water-mill on the  
river would be of great utility, but no private person here is in  
a position to build one. The king might build one from which as  
in Canada he might get toll; we would be sure of the excellence of  
its flour, its management could be controlled, and it would run  
continually.

It is necessary, Messieurs, that you give your orders for  
reëstablishing the buildings of Fort de Chartres, which are in very  
bad condition. Actually there are two companies there in  
garrison.

We are with respect, Messieurs,

Your humble and very obedient servants,

MACARTY

BUCHET

MACARTY TO VAUDREUIL, January 20, 1752

[H M LO 328]

AU KASKASIAS Ce 20 janvier : 1752 :

Repondu du 20. Avril. 1752.

MONSIEUR

Depuis Le 27 9 Bre que jay Eu L'honneur de vous Ecrire jé Eu assez Beau temps ; Et Bon Vent, ayant trouvé Le ouâbache un peût haut, quy ma facilité de me Rendre aux jslls á la Course<sup>1</sup> Le premier 9bre ou jay trouvé monsieur Villiers Et Linctot<sup>2</sup> quy Retournoits aux arkanças ; Ce dernier ajant Parté à Se Rendre jcy trente sept jours. Ne voulans pas Le Retarder davantage ; jecrivits un mot á Mr du Linot pour Le prier sil avoit occasion de vous fair sçavoir ou j'étois ; Esperant de Le fair moy même jncessamment ; depuis Ce jour jusque au Sept que jé me suis Rendûé au Bas de Cette Rivierre ; jay Eû tous Les jours quelques Batteaux de choir Leau Etant Extremement Basse, jé Eté obligé

[*Translation*]

KASKASKIA, January 20, 1752

Answered April 20, 1752

MONSIEUR :

Since November 27 when I had the honor to write to you we have had fairly good weather and a favorable wind. Our finding the Wabash a little high made it easy to reach Isle à la Course<sup>1</sup> November [December] 1, where I found Monsieur Villiers and Linctot,<sup>2</sup> who was returning to the Arkansas; the latter had left to come here thirty-seven days before. Not wishing to delay him, I wrote a few words to M. de Lino to ask him to let you know where I was if he had the opportunity, hoping soon to do it myself. From this day to the seventh, when I reached the mouth of the Kaskaskia, I had some boats fail every day. As the water was extremely low I was obliged to unload all the

<sup>1</sup> Isle à la Course was on the Mississippi slightly above the mouth of the Ohio in the vicinity of the present Goose Island Township in Alexander County, Illinois.

<sup>2</sup> It is impossible to identify this Linctot with any of the numerous persons of that name.

de decharger tous Les Effets au Bas de la Rivierre; j Etant Rendû j'appris par une Lettre de Mr Benoits Le 8.; que Le Sept un Soldat avoit assassiné un de Cés Camarades; un Moment apres, Le matin ont avoit trouvé Ce Soldat quy En portoit La nouvelle Le quelle avoit Eu La Chevelure Levée á La prairié du Rocher; une autre Lettre mappris qu'un party de peanguichias de trente trois hommes, Et gens du Vermillon, Et autres du ouâbâche quy Etoints à Rousler Les Etablissements Sous Lombre d'aller En guerre aux Chikachas; Monsieur Benoits Leurs ayant fait donner des Munitions de guerre Et une lettre pour moy devant venir me voir; mais pendans quils Etoints jcy Comme amis dautres partis Courent En differents Etablissements;

Le 7au Soir deux Sauvages voulurent arrester deux jeunes gens L'un armé dun fusil, Lautre, d'un Sabre, Celuy quy avoit Le fusil Ratta, un jeune homme de 12 ans quy avoit son fusil chargé á gros plomd, Ce sentant presse Ce tourna, Et Luy donna Le Coup dans Le visage; Le Sauvage tomba, Et Lenfant courû au fort de Chartre avertir de Ce quil venoit de faire; ont fût sur

[*Translation*]

cargo at the mouth of that river. Having arrived here, on the eighth I learned by a letter of M. Benoist that on the seventh a soldier had murdered one of his comrades. A moment after, that morning, they found the soldier who brought the news at Prairie du Rocher, scalped. Another letter informed me that a party of thirty-three Piankashaw and Vermilion Indians, with others from the Wabash, had come to skulk about the settlements under pretense of going against the Chickasaw. Monsieur Benoist had had munitions of war supplied them, and gave them a letter to me before they came to see me. But while they were here under pretense of friendship, other parties were raiding the various settlements.

The evening of the seventh two Indians tried to stop two young men, armed one with a gun, and the other with a saber. The one with the gun, Ratta, a boy of twelve who had his gun loaded with heavy shot, seeing himself hard pressed, turned, and shot his pursuer in the face. The Indian fell, and the child ran to Fort de Chartres to give warning of what he had just

Le Lieu avec L'interprete quy Reconnué Le Sauvage morts pour Estre du party du chef Le Loup, peanguichias, quy avoit Couché Chez Luy Le jour precedent trouva une pierre a Egnifer qu'il avoit vollé chez Luy Les Balles quy Etoints faite depuis quelque jours, sortié du magazin, Un Capot vollé à un garson de l'anglois, La veille Et plusieurs autres petites choses; sur Le Champ plusieurs personnes monterent á cheval Et Venants jcy avec Mr Marin<sup>1</sup> Recontrerent á la prairié du Rocher augustin Langlois<sup>2</sup> quy avoit Receüé un Coup de feu dans Les Riens Etant á cheval, Le Soldat quy portoit La lettre de Mr Villiers á Mr. Benoits, á Eu La Chevelure Levée á L entré du Bois du Rocher; Ces Cavalliŕs Courrurent vitte avertir jcy; En Entrant donnerrent L'alarme á Ces Sauvages quy Etoints dans differentes Maisons Et quy Scavoints, dequoj il Etoit question; puisse qu'on pretend qu'ils, devoints donner Ensemble quelques jours plus tard, Courrurent prendre Leurs armes Et de campoits L'ors qu'on avertis

[*Translation*]

done. The spot was visited by the interpreter who recognized the dead Indian as being of the party of Le Loup, a Piankashaw chief, who had slept at his house the night before. He found a flint and steel which the Indian had stolen from his house. His bullets which had been made some days since came from the magazine; he had a capot which had been stolen from a boy of Langlois's the evening before, and various other trifles.

Immediately several persons took horse and coming here with M. Marin,<sup>1</sup> met at Prairie du Rocher Augustin Langlois,<sup>2</sup> who had received a gunshot in his middle being on horseback. The soldier who brought the letter of M. Villiers to M. Benoist, had had his scalp taken at the entrance of the wood of Du Rocher. These horsemen rode hard to give warning here. Entering, they gave the alarm to these Indians who were in various houses, and who knew what was up, inasmuch as it is claimed that they were to attack in concert some days later. They ran to their arms and decamped. When M. Benoist was informed, he beat

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, xlvii, n.

<sup>2</sup> There are indications of the activity of Langlois as a well-to-do citizen of the Illinois, beginning in 1740.

Mr Benoits, ont fit Battre La general ont Leurs donna La poursuite; deux de mes Voitures furent a terre á temps on En tua Cinq et quatre furent faits prisonniers; dont Le Loup Chef des peanguichias Est du Nombre, Un autre de son Village Et deux jllinois domicillié; Voyant que Les Ennemis avoints parú dans plusieurs Endroits ont ne pût sur Le champs á Cause de la nuit Les pour suivres plus Loing; Le neuf jay Commandé un detachment de Cent hommes tant milice que troupe pour Leurs donner La Chasse, Comptant avoir des Blessée La Milice demanda Mr Villiers; Et Luy ordonné d'aller jusque á 20 Lieux visiterre Les Environs Et donner Sur Ceux quils Rencontreroints; apres son depart j'appris quils avoints tûé deux Esclaves, Chasseurs un negre á Mr Buchet Et un sauvage á Mr Barré;

Le 11 Xbre Le Detachement Revins najant trouvé que des pistes des fuyards; Et 7 jllinois quy ayant apris Le Coup quy Cetoit fait jcy Ramennois trois françois selon Leurs dire Crainte qu'ils ne Leurs fût fait de mal; Ces jllinois ne voulurent pas Me

[*Translation*]

the general alarm and started a pursuit. Two of my transports had reached the shore at the time. Five Indians were killed and four made prisoners, including Le Loup, chief of the Piankashaw, another Indian from his village, and two domiciled Illinois. In view of the fact that the enemy had appeared in various places, and because of the approach of night, they could not pursue them further.

On the ninth I ordered a detachment of a hundred men, both regulars and militia, to give chase, counting on capturing those of the Indians who were wounded. The militia asked for M. Villiers; and I ordered him to go a distance of twenty leagues in searching the neighborhood, and attacking those they met. After his departure I learned that the Indians had killed two slaves who were hunting, one a negro of M. Buchet's and the other an Indian belonging to M. Barré.

December 11 the detachment returned having found only the tracks of the fugitives, and seven Illinois, who, having learned of the attack that had been made here, brought in three French, as they said, lest they should be harmed. These Illinois would

Rien avoüer En publique; Le Soir un me fit dire par Mr de monservauts quil voudroit me parler jé Le fit venir mais se trouvant sy jvre je Le Renvoyé Le 12 jenvoyé mr monservaux pour Linteroger En particulier chez L'interprette Et Le prié decrire Ce quil diroit; Chareragoüe jllinois des Kaskakias dit que deux deputté de La demoiselle sonts venuë a leurs hivernement dans la prairie de L'orme; onts presenté deux couvertes; Lune noir; Et L autre rouge; Bizarré; avec un collier de 2 pieds de Lon; Cela signifié Le Sang que nous voulons Reprendre; La parole du grand Chef anglois quy sappreste á fraper sur Les françois avec dix Nations C'est alliez; Et vous jllinois; Commencez á Luy aller chercher de Cette viande, Et sj vous nen apportez pas on Commencera par vous autres; Nous sommes mille hommes avec un grand chef quy Nepargne personne; que tardez: vous: afraper; depuis onze ans; que Cette affaire Est Sur Le tapis: Et plusieurs autres fanfaronnade Les jllinois Repondirent quil ne pouvoints

[*Translation*]

admit nothing to me in public. In the evening one sent me word by M. de Montchervaux that he wished to speak with me. I had him brought, but finding him very drunk, I sent him back again. The twelfth I sent M. Montchervaux to question him narrowly at the interpreter's, and asked him to write down what the Indian said.

Chareragoüe, an Illinois of the Kaskaskia, said that two deputies of La Demoiselle had come to their winter camp at Prairie de l'Orme, and presented two blankets, one black and the other red and variegated, with a wampum belt two feet long.

"This signifies the blood we wish to shed. These are the words of the great chief of the English who is preparing to attack the French with ten tribes, his allies. And you Illinois, do you begin to go in search of that meat; and if you do not bring it, we will begin on you. We are a thousand men with a great chief who spares no one. Why do you put off striking? For eleven years this affair has been on the carpet," together with various other boastings.



Recevoir Cette parolle nayant point de chef; pour mieux, Les deputtez; La donnerent aux jeunes gens; quy L apportrent á thomas Et á papechingouja<sup>1</sup> disans quilz vouloints sçavoir Leurs dispositions; pour on Contre afin de leurs jndiquer un Lieu dassemblée, pour fair un fort, que Les nations avoints déjà frapé Les françois dans Le ouabâche, jls nommerent pour alliez des anglois; quy sonts assemblée, Les vermillons; Les mis amis, Les gens du ouâbache; Les Cheraquis; tête platte; alibamous; Natchéez Nombres de Coureurs de Villages de toutes sortes de Nations quy Seroints toujours En marche pour fraper sur Les françois Et quille ne feroints non plus de grace aux jllinois; sils nestoits pas de leurs party;

jl assura que Le Loup avoit parû avec son party aux hivernemens des jllinois; denommée Le patissier;<sup>2</sup> La Loupe; patriche; Et La tête de Citroüille; Le 12 deux de Ces jllinois

[*Translation*]

The Illinois replied that they could not accept this message as they had no chief. The deputies gave it to the young men, who carried it to Thomas and Papechingouya,<sup>1</sup> saying that they wished to know what their disposition was, and to see them in order to indicate a place of assembly at which to build a fort. They added that the tribes had already attacked the French on the Wabash. As allies of the English gathered there, they named the Vermilion Indians, the Miami, the Wabash tribes, the Cherokee, Flathead, the Alibamu, the Natchez, as well as numbers of refugees from the villages of all manner of tribes who were continually on the warpath against the French and who would give no quarter to the Illinois if they did not join.

This Indian gave assurance that Le Loup had appeared with his party at the Illinois winter camps; he named Patissier,<sup>2</sup> Le Loup, Patriche, and La Tête de Citroüille.

<sup>1</sup> Macarty mentions him at least seven times and never spells the name twice the same way.

<sup>2</sup> One of Patissier's sons was taken prisoner in the affair of December 7-8, 1751.

se tuerre se disputant; Le même jour, jenvoyé danis Et deux autres metifes Ces Camarades: chercher papechigouya Et thomas Chef des Kaskakias avec un pavillon Et un papier; Leurs disant qu'ils pouvoints venir sans Crainte parce qu'on m'avoit dit quils se deffroits de Moy.

Jé fits venir Le même jour Le Loup; peangüichias; Linterogé sur Les nations quy frapoints sur nous, jl se deffendy Longtems; jl me dit que Cetoit Les mis; Les ouyatanons, Les chavanons; Vermillon; Les cherakis; Le village du Corbeau; La Bande des hurons; quy sonts á santosqué; Jé Luy fit Beaucoup de Reproche sur son jnfidelité. Les françois Le cherissent Comme leur frere; apres nous avoir donné des marques de son attachement jé n'oublois pas Ce quil avoit fait Et que jen Etois d'autant plus surpris de trouver Le Loup dans Les fers; jé Le Confondois; par toutes Les marques que jé Luy donnois. jl se couche; Et me dit Ce n'est pas toy mon pere quy me tué Ce sonts mes jeunes gens;

[*Translation*]

On the twelfth two of these Illinois killed each other in a quarrel. The same day I sent Danis and two other half-breeds, his comrades, with a flag and a paper in search of Papechingouya and Thomas, chief of the Kaskaskia, telling them that I had heard that they were afraid of me, but that they could come without fear.

The same day I had brought in Le Loup, the Piankashaw. I questioned him as to the tribes who had attacked us. He defended himself a long time. He told me it was the Miami, Wea, Shawnee, Vermilion, and Cherokee with the village of Le Corbeau, and the band of Hurons at Sandusky. I much reproached him for his faithlessness; the French had cherished him as their brother. After his giving us proofs of his devotion, I did not forget what he had done, and was the more surprised to find him, Le Loup, in chains. I confounded him by all the evidence I gave him. He lay down and said to me, "It is not you, my father, who slays me; it is my young men."

jé fûts visiter Les Logemens des troupes Et Les Environs du Lieû pour Connoistre ou Lon pouroit placer Le fort projecté ; avec Mr Sauscier jngenieur ; Et plusieurs officiers ; Mais Le Lieu Ést sj mal arrangé dans son Etablissement quil n'est presque pas possible de tirer des alignemens sans prendre des terrains, des uns Et des autres ; Ce quy pourtant Ést tres necessaires Cy Son veûts faire un Etablissement ; Considerable soit pour La deffence ; Et La Beaute, Et Regularite du Lieux je vous En Ecrivay En son temps ;

Le soir Mr La Varenne<sup>1</sup> arrivá malade ayant Crevé son Batteau ; Le Cinq du mois vis á vis La Rivierre á la pomme<sup>2</sup> & Rapportant avec Les voitures que javois Lessé une partie des Effets du Roy ;

Le Lendemain jenvoyé ; un officier des charpentiers ; deux voitures ; Et 26 hommes quy Le tirroient de Lendroit ou jl Etoit Et Le Ramenner jusque á Une Lieu de la Rivierre ou Les glaces

[*Translation*]

I went with M. Saucier, the engineer, and several officers to inspect the lodgings of the troops and the environs of the place to learn where the proposed fort could be built. But the town is so ill-laid out that it is scarcely possible to plat it without taking land from some one or other ; that however is quite necessary if it is desired to make any considerable settlement here, either with respect to defense or the beauty and regularity of the place. I will write you on this in due time.

That evening M. la Varennes<sup>1</sup> arrived sick, having snagged his bateau on the fifth of the month at Apple River,<sup>2</sup> and bringing part of the king's property on the transports I had left behind. Next day I sent an officer with carpenters, two transports, and twenty-six men who got the bateau from the place where it was, and brought it within a league of the Kaskaskia

<sup>1</sup> Desfosses des Varennes appears in the officers' list as having served several years in the Gendarmerie and in the '45. He was captain in Louisiana, October 1, 1750. He died January 13, 1757. A N Colonies D2C4.

<sup>2</sup> The present Apple Creek, Missouri, almost directly opposite the Big Muddy.

Larester; ont. La Bien á marré Et mis á terre Les Effets du Roy; quy Rester consernant En quelque fer Et plomd; Et fait Repasser jcy Le détachement, En attendans que Le fleuve se degelle; quelq'un j veille En attendans Le Le degelle;

Le 14 Xbre jé fût avec Mr Buchet, Mr Benoits, Mr sauscier, Et Le Reverend pere degüenne; Et plusieurs, habitans; visiter Le fort de chartre Et Ces Environs; jé trouvé En j allans, de Belles prairiés jncultes jl n y á qu'a j metre La Charüé; Nous passames á la prairié du Rocher; quy fait un Beau Et Bon Endroit; nous fusmes nous promener Le Long du fleuve ou lon devoit Bastir Anciennement un fort sa situation sauray Bien plus, avantageuse quaux Kaskakias Sy les habitans j Etoints plus nombreux; ayant un fleuve ou Lon peût aller chercher du secours En tous temps Et une plaine quy N'est Commandé d aucuns Cotté du fleuve; Et pouvoir Etablir Les deux côttee au Lieu que jcy. Les voitures de vingt pouces n y pouvoints á peine passer quand nous sommes arrivée dailleurs vous avez Lautre Cotté du fleuve

[*Translation*]

River where the ice stopped it. They have moored it securely, landed the remainder of the king's goods, some iron and lead, and brought the detachment back here until the Mississippi breaks up. The property is being watched while awaiting the thaw.

December 14 I went with M. Buchet, M. Benoist, M. Saucier, and the Reverend Father de Guyenne and several inhabitants to inspect Fort de Chartres and its environs. On the way thither, I found fine prairies untilled; you have only to put the plow in them. We passed Prairie du Rocher, which is a beautiful and good location. We walked along the Mississippi where a fort was formerly designed to be built. That site would be much more advantageous than Kaskaskia if the inhabitants were more numerous, as it has the Mississippi by which you could always go in search of help, and a plain which is on no side commanded from that river. You could also settle on the two banks, whereas boats drawing twenty inches could hardly pass up the Kaskaskia when we arrived. Moreover you could settle on the other side

à pouvoir Etablir ; jé ne veûts pas dire qu'un fort jcy ne soit neces-  
saire parce qu'en montant cette petite Rivierre jcy vous trouverez  
des prairies sans fin ou lon pût Etablir des Villages Entiers ; jé  
trouvê aux fers un nommé panakaokia que feretty sergent men-  
voyoit pour avoir fourny des voitures aux peanguichias pour de-  
cendre ycy ; jl me dit quil Etoit vray que Le Loup Luy avoit  
demandé pour aller En guerre aux Chikachas Venger La mort  
des françois Et jllinois quil n y avoit presque plus de nations  
pour Eux dit jl ; toutes les Nations Etant pour L anglois ; pour  
moy Repondy pana jé Crains trop Leurs jn Colte Et Leurs mau-  
vaises ne de cinne ; on massura de son attachement, jé Le Renvoyé  
avec un petit present ;

Le Lendemain jé visité Les Batiments du fort dont Les Com-  
bles sont Bons ; jl onts Bon Besoing d'Estre Relevée par un mur  
ou un Resolaire quy servy toujours à Recommencer Et jé ne voit  
pas que Le Roy puisse se dispenser de Maintenir Ce fort quy  
peût Loger Comme jl est deux Compagnié Et une troisieme En

[*Translation*]

of the Mississippi. I don't want to say that a fort is unneces-  
sary here at Kaskaskia, because ascending the little river here,  
you find prairies without end where whole villages could be  
established.

I found in irons an Indian called Pana, a Cahokia whom  
Sergeant Feret sent me because he had furnished boats to the  
Piankashaw to come down here. This Indian told me it was true  
that Le Loup had asked boats of him to go on the warpath against  
the Chickasaw to revenge the deaths of the French and Illinois ;  
Le Loup said that there were scarcely any tribes for the French,  
all the tribes being for the English. "For my part," answered  
Pana, "I fear too much their insults and their ill designs." I was  
assured of his fidelity, and I sent him back with a small present.

Next day I visited the buildings of the fort. Their frames  
are good. They need to be reinforced by a wall or a loft [?],  
which would always be a place to start work anew. I do not see  
how the king can dispense with maintaining this fort which as it  
is can lodge two companies, and a third if the necessary buildings

j faisants Les Batiments Neçessaires, Lentourage du fort peût Ce faire sans quil En Coutte Rien au Roy ; Les habitans Et voyageurs fournisse tous Les ans Une Certaine quantité de pieux á pouvoir tous Les ans Relever une Courtinne ; Le Roy n'auroit que Les Batiments dont un Est tres En danger de tomber ;

Le 15 Xbre Le nommé Bois Ber voyageur venants de La Rivierre des moins Massura quy Etant Le 18 9bre, dernier ; Rencontra huit puans quy luy dirent que Le party de La demoiselle devoit venir fraper sur Les françois des jllinois ; Composée de mis á mis ; ouyatanons, gens du Vermillon, á la fin de La ditte Lune ; Le dit Boisber chargéa Le nommé Le duc d'avertir, Le Nommé gayaché partisan des puans quy luy dit que Sy j'avois Besoin de son Seçours ; jé Luy anvoye un pavillon qu'il sçauray bientôt a mon Seçours, qu'il Etoit sous Celuy de Mr Marin Commandant dans La Baye ; jl m'apris quarivant aux Kaos Le 12 au soir ne sachant pas Ce quil Cetoit passée ycy il Renvoyá un Esclave a sa Voiture. quy Rencontra deux Ennemis quy firrent

[Translation]

were constructed. The enceinte of the fort can be built without its costing the king anything. Every year the inhabitants and *voyageurs* furnish a certain quantity of pickets, enough to replace one curtain each year. The king would only have the buildings to provide for, one of which threatens to fall down.

December 15, the *voyageur* named Boisber, coming from the Des Moines River, told me that there on November 18 he met eight Winnebago who told him the party of La Demoiselle was to come and attack the French at the Illinois at the end of that moon, that party being made up of Miami, Wea, and men of the Vermilion tribes. The said Boisber told the man named Leduc to warn the Indian known as Gayaché, the partisan of the Winnebago, who said that if I had need of his help, I should send him a flag, and he would quickly come to my aid, he being under M. Marin, commandant at Green Bay. Boisber told me that returning to Cahokia the evening of the twelfth, not knowing what had happened here, he sent a slave back to his boat, who met two hostiles who fired on him. The slave ran to the fort, and it could

feu sur Luy ; Le dit Esclave Courû au fort, Et on ne pû sçavoir  
Ce que Cetoit ; En M'en Revenans jcy deux negres du sieur Bien  
venûé nous avertirent avoir vû deux sauvages sur Les Rochers,  
Effectivement nous trouvâmes du Cotté du Chemin dans Le Bois  
du Rocher un Casse tête nouvellement fait Et Rougy ;

Le 16 xbre jay Receûe une Lettre du sieur Larche datté  
du 10 decembre du grand manitou allans aux Kans ; obligé par  
maladié de Rester dans La Rivierre a la mine<sup>1</sup> Rencontra un vil-  
lages d'ozages quy alloits hiverner de lautre Cotté du grand mani-  
tou ; jl y fût avec Eux, jl j trouva un party de leurs gens quy  
avoints fait Coup sur Les ajovois avois prit Beaucoup deffets Et  
desclave, Un homme de Leurs party Etant Resté derrier pour  
faire traverser des cheveux á une Rivierre, fût Rencontré par  
des misouris quy Le tuerrent, Les petits ozages vouloints venger  
ce Coup ; jl se servit de vôtre nom pour Les arrester ; Les françois  
quy Etoints avec Les missouris voyant Le danger Envoyerent un  
homme de cette nation avec des presens pleurer Le mort Les

[*Translation*]

not be known who they were. Returning here two negroes be-  
longing to Sieur Bienvenue warned us they had seen two Indians  
on the rocks. Actually we found on the side of the trail in the  
wood Du Rocher a tomahawk newly made and reddened.

December 16 I received a letter from the Sieur Larche dated  
December 10 at the Grand Manitou on his way to the Kansa.  
Obliged by sickness to remain in river à la Mine,<sup>1</sup> he encountered  
a village of Osage who were going to winter on the other side of  
Grand Manitou. He was among them and found that a party of  
their warriors had made a great attack on the Iowa and had taken  
much property and many slaves. A man of their party having  
stayed behind to get the horses across a river, was found by the  
Missouri, who killed him. The Little Osage wished to revenge  
this deed. Larche made use of your name to deter them. The  
French who were with the Missouri seeing the danger sent a man  
of that tribe with presents to bewail the dead man. The Osage

<sup>1</sup> River à la Mine joins the Missouri in Cooper County, Missouri.



ozages Les accepterrent Et Remirrent la partie au printemps, devant descendre Et me demander avis sur Ce quils aurons a faire ;

jé Ecrit Le 16 a tous Ces messieurs les Commandants des postes Et á Mr de La jonquerre pour Les jnformer de tout ce quy Ce passe jcy : Engager nos allies a fraper au petit printemps, sur Les peanguichias Et gens de la demoiselle jay Envoyé un Esprets á Mr de saint ange pour sçavoir sa situation Et Lavertir de Ce quy Ce passe jcy, jay Receu une Lettre de luy du 5. xbre quj marque que Les Rebelles de La Rivierre a La Roche onts Commencé a se venger du Coup que Mr Belaitre a fait sur Eux, jls onts tué deux Soldats de la garnison de Mr Villiers aupres de son poste, allant chercher des cheveaux, Les sauvages prirent La cloche que Les Cheveaux avoints au Col L attacherrent aupres deux faisant sonner La cloche Caché dans Les fredoches Les soldats voyants Les Cheveaux furent á Eux sans aucune precaution Et se trouverrent Enveloppé ;

jaj Crains Beaucoup pour Les voyageurs du ouâbache jespere

[Translation]

accepted them and postponed the matter until spring, planning to come down and ask my advice as to what they had better do.

I wrote the sixteenth to all Messieurs the commandants of the posts and to M. de la Jonquière to tell them all that had occurred here, and to engage our allies to strike early in the spring against the Piankashaw and La Demoiselle's people. I sent an express to M. de St. Ange to learn of his situation and warn him of what had happened here. I received a letter from him of December 5 which said that the rebels of Great Miami River have begun to revenge themselves for the attack M. Belestre made on them. They have killed two soldiers of the garrison of M. Villiers near his post while looking for horses. The Indians took the bell that the horses had on their necks, attached it to themselves, and rang it while hidden in the [?] . The soldiers perceiving the horses went in their direction without taking any precautions and were surrounded. I fear for the *voyageurs* on the Wabash and hope the messengers I have sent

que Les Couriers que jé Luy ait Envojà saurons Bientôt de Retour jcy ;

Le 20 xbre danis Et Ces deux Camarades arriverrent douyé Les avoits Envojà Et me Rapporterront quils y avoits trouvé thomas ; Le premier Luy Luy donna deux hommes pour aller á Roinsa ou Etoints papechingouja ils lamenois disposé á me venir parler, mais que Estant arrivé chez thomas jls sortirent Ensemble La nuit ; Et Le Lendemain changeâ De sentiment Me faisant dire quil viendrait vers La fin de la Lune apres avoir assemblée Ces Considerées, femmes, Et Enfans, quj Luy y avoit Longtems que lon avoit averty Mr Benoits de Ce quj Est arrivée ;

Le 21 xbre Nous visitasmes La Situation du Lieu avec une parties des officiers de troupe Et milice, Et arrestas me que Le fort sâroit ou Lon Lavoit projeté En ciennement Ces adire Environs six arpents audessus de Ce lieu ;

Le 26... dudit jé fits prendre Les armes a la milice pour Recevoir Les officiers á quy vous avez Envojà des Commis-

[*Translation*]

them will return here soon.

December 20 Danis and his two comrades arrived from the place I had sent them, and reported that they had found Thomas who gave them two men to go to Rouensa's where Papechingouya was. They brought him apparently disposed to come and see me ; but reaching Thomas' village, the two Indians went out together at night, and next day Papechingouya had changed his mind, sending me word that he would come to see me toward the end of the moon after assembling his chief men, women, and children ; that it was long since, that M. Benoist had been warned of what had happened.

December 21 we visited the site here with a party of army and militia officers, and decided that the fort should be located where formerly proposed, that is to say about six arpents above this place.

The twenty-sixth of the month I had the militia under arms to receive the officers to whom you sent commissions addressed to

sions adressé á Mr De Berthet, Et ordonné En même temps Le Resencement de tous Les Endroits que vous trouverez Cy joint ;

J ay vû une fort jolly geunesse La plus grande partié ajants des cheveaux pour Leurs harnois ; Et moulins ; jé Leurs proposay De faire Une Compagnié de 20. a 25. dragons quy seroints tres utile dans Ce pais, pour Envoyer d'un Endroit á un autre En Escortes pour des decouvertes ou donner apres quelques petits parties quy dans un Besoing prendroints En Croupe un fantasin, quy doubleroit la troupe La Seule difficulté Est Larnâchement du cheval pistolets Et Corabinne ; sy Le Roy veûts prendre Ce pais a Cœur Ces une chose tres Essentielle, allants par tout á cheval sur tout dans un temps de Guerre ;

Le 26 Dudit Le même jour jé vis Les chefs des Kaokias Et mekchis quy maportirrent une Lettre de Mr mercier, jls moffroints Leurs services Et me dire quil venoits Ecouter ma parole quil avoints Eté Surpris du Coup quy avoit Eté fait jcy ; quil avoints Eté toujours attachée aux françois que Cetoit Leurs sang, quil Leurs avoints donné des femmes ; voyant que

[*Translation*]

M. de Bertet and at the same time ordered the census taken in all the settlements: you will find it annexed.

I saw some fine young men most of them owning horses for their wagons and mills. I proposed to them to form a company of twenty to twenty-five dragoons who would be very useful in this country to send from place to place, as escorts, for scouting, and to pursue small parties. At need they could take a foot soldier on the crupper which would double their number. The sole difficulty is the horse furniture, pistols and carbines. If the king wished to take to heart the situation of this country, it is very essential, especially in time of war, to be able to go mounted to any place.

The twenty-sixth of the same month, that same day, I saw the chiefs of the Cahokia and Michigamea, who brought me a letter from M. Mercier. They offered me their services and said they came to hear my words. They were, they said, surprised at the blow which had been struck ; they had always been attached to the French, who were their own blood, to whom they had given

jé ne pouvois Rassembler Les Chefs qu'au printemps; j ay Leurs marqué Le plaisir que j'avois de Les Connoître attachée aux françois; que j'en attendois deux des marques, qu'ils connoissoits nos Ennemis Et Ce quj C'etoit passé jcy; jé Leurs metois Le casse tête á La main qu'ils se Repossassent En attendans sur Leurs nattes jusque au printemps, que jé voulois tous Les voirs Et Rassembler tous Les chefs pour Connoître deux Leurs sentiments Et mes Ennemis jé savois qu'ils j avoit des fols; j'en Connoissois qu'el qu'uns qu'il falloir punir; Comme Recompenser Ceux quj nous Estoints, attaché; tous Me Repondirent que Cetoit Bon; jé Les Renvoyé avec un petit present;

La Lettre de Mr mercier dit que Le Kaokia que j'avois sorty des fers au fort De chartre; me fits dire jl y á quelque jours de me mefier des Kas: quils sonts opposé á nous Exepté Le Nommé thomas Et Sa Bande que pepanchigouniá; Mantaponiá Et apekonáninsa; Les trois plus forts Et Considerable des Sept quj avoints Eté chez La demoiselle Le printemps dernier; avoit apellé de nuit avant Lhivernement dans La prairié á L heurt, Les Chefs

[*Translation*]

wives. As I saw I could not assemble the chiefs until spring I indicated my pleasure at learning that they were attached to the French, and that I expected proofs of their attachment; they knew our enemies and what had happened here; I put the tomahawk in their hand, but they were to remain quiet on their mats until spring; I wished to see all of them and assemble all the chiefs to learn their sentiments and who were my enemies. I knew, I said, that there were madmen among them; I knew some of them who must be punished, as well as how to recompense those attached to us. They all replied that it was good. I sent them back with a small present.

M. Mercier's letter said that the Cahokia whom I had released from his irons at Fort de Chartres sent word to me some days before to distrust the Kaskaskia, who were, save for Thomas and his band, hostile to us. Papechingouya, Mantaponia and Apekonaninsa, the three most powerful and important of the seven who had been with La Demoiselle last spring, had summoned, the night before they went to winter camps at Prairie á

Et Considerée des Kaokias ; ou Le dit pana Etoits avoits fait tout Leurs possible pour Les detacher du françois, Et Leurs persuader d'aller Écouter L'anglois quy desireroit uniquement Les voirs ; quau Reste jls navoients Rien á Craindre du françois aux quilz toutes Les nations Etoints opposeé Et sur Le point de se declarer hautement qu'eux même Les Kas avoits deja mis de Leur Cotté Les grands ôzages des deux Villages ; Les Misouris ; Kanzez ;

jl me marque que Le même sauvage En Retournants aux Kaokias par dessus Les Côttes ; á Vû a deux Lieux du village St philippe sur un arbre dont Lecorse Etoit ôté ; neuf ; sauvages menants un françois vivant ; avec La marque des mis á mis ;

Ce ne peut Estre que alexandre Chastellin soldat quy avoit tué Le 7 xbre son Camarade ;

Le 31 xbre thomas Et papanchigoujà vinrent á ma parolle avec 19 jllinois Et quelque Kaokias, me Rapportèrent La parolle quy Leurs avoit Eté donnée ou Envoyé par Les anglois á Leurs, hivernement ; Consistant En une Couverte Brune Barré de Sept

[*Translation*]

l'heurt, the chiefs and chief men of the Cahokia, Pana among them. The three had done all possible to detach the Cahokia from the French and to persuade them to go and to hear the English who desired only to see them ; they had nothing to fear from the French to whom all the tribes were hostile, and against whom all the tribes were on the point of taking sides openly ; they, the Kaskaskia, had already won over the Great Osage of two villages, the Missouri, and the Kansa.

M. Mercier informs me that the same Indian returning to Cahokia along the heights saw at two leagues from the village of St. Philippe on a barked tree the marks for nine Indians carrying off a Frenchman alive, with the sign of the Miami. This can be no other than Alexandre Chastellin, the soldier who killed his comrade December 7.

December 31 Thomas and Papechingouya came to hear my words with nineteen Illinois and some Cahokia. They reported to me the message given or sent to them by the English at their winter camp. It was a brown blanket, striped with seven red

Rubrans Rouges La jettèrent á mon fût disants quils avoints  
 Eté Le printemps dernier aux anglois parce qu'on luy avoit dit  
 quil Luy avoit de la marchandises á Bon Compte; quil avoits;  
 Remis Le Collier Et marchandises avant son hivernement á Mr  
 Benoits quil niroits plus Et ne pansoit plus á Eux quil avoit Le  
 Cœur françois que Cetoit son sang; thomas dit pour arrangüé  
 quil navoit jamais trempée dans Les Complot quon avoit fait En  
 faveur des anglois; que luy, Et sa Bande avoits toujours Eü  
 Le cœur françois; La mauvaises parolle quon vous; raportoit  
 navoit fait que passer chez Luy, nous avons de notre viande En  
 prison qui souffre;

ayant fait de la neige Et Verglas jé ne pû Leurs parler que  
 Le 5. janvier; vous mavez apporté La mauvaise parolle de la de-  
 moiselle Ces jours derniers; quy Este quy La porte; C'est patis-  
 sier; Cest voit quojtigana; chenguikatata; Beaupere Et Beaufrere  
 des deux prisonniers. Ces Eux quy onts jnstruit du coup quy  
 C'est fait jé Connois Ces mauvais hommes; donc on na déjà tué

[*Translation*]

ribbons which they threw down at my feet. They said they had  
 been last spring to the English because it was said that goods  
 were cheap there. They had given the belt and the goods to M.  
 Benoist before they went to their winter camps; they would not  
 go to the English again and thought no more of them; they had  
 French hearts and the French were their own blood.

Thomas said in his speech that he had never dabbled in the  
 conspiracies concocted in favor of the English. He and his band  
 had always had French hearts. "The evil message that was re-  
 ported to you, merely passed by our village; we have our own  
 flesh in prison and suffering."

As there was snow and frost I could not speak to them  
 until January 5: "You have reported to me the evil message of  
 La Demoiselle a few days ago. Who was it brought it? It was  
 Patisier; it was Voitquoitigana, and Chenguikatata, father-in-  
 law and brother-in-law of the two prisoners. It was they who  
 were informed of the blow that was struck. I know these wicked  
 men. A Frenchman has already been killed, I don't know why;

un françois jé ne sçait pas pourquoy ; ont Luy pardonne ; tu me demande La grace de deux jllinois Les Regarde tu tel ; pour moj jé ne Les Regarde pas Comme telles se sont des traitres Et de Mauvais Sujets que jé vous donnerez Comme de la viande á mes chiens ; j aj suis Beaucoup surpris que Vous ayez pris la mauvaise parolle que vous mavez porté falloit jl Entendre de Sy mauvaises hommes Et Leurs parolles, jaj Sçait tous vos môeurs ; jé appris d'un françois á quy Le frere du Loup La Rapporté que Le Loup avoit dessein de trahir Mr Benoits ;

Quand Les arkanças sonts venüé jcy Leteé dernier vous vouliez Les Rendre fols par Les Colliers Et marchandises angloise que vous Leurs montrié ; vous Leurs demandiez des cheveux pour Les Conduire á mon Ennemy ; vous jnvitiez mes Enfants, á Vous seconder ; quatres jllinois onts Eté chez Les mêmes arkanças. Les jnvitter á aller voir L'anglois ; Vôte pere quj Est la Bas se Rit de toutes vos meneés ; á donné ordre aux arkanças de mennert aux forts de telles porteurs de parolles ; jl se defende

[*Translation*]

the murderer has been forgiven. You ask my mercy for the two Illinois. Do you regard them as such? For my part I have regarded them only as traitors and scoundrels whom I will give you as I give meat to my dogs. I am much surprised that you have accepted the evil messages you brought me. Was it necessary to know of such evil men and of their messages? I know your ways. I have learned from a Frenchman to whom the brother of Le Loup reported it that Le Loup intended to betray M. Benoist.

"When the Quapaw came here last summer you wanted to drive them mad with the English belts and goods that you showed them. You asked them for horses to carry them to my enemy. You invited my children to assist you. Four Illinois were among those same Quapaw to invite them to go and see the English. Your father at New Orleans laughs at all your devices. He has told the Quapaw to carry to the forts all such bearers of messages."



Beaucoup d j avoir Eté pour de telles parolles; jé Continüé; jl á apris avec surprise que des jllinois L année dernierre avoits tué des negres appartenants aux françois; Ce nest pas ainsj qu'on se traite quand ont Est frere; jay apris de plusieurs que Les voulans arrester jls setoints mis En deffence, Mr Benoits á pardonné En Vòtre Consideration aux mis á mis quj á Vollé Les vasses Sacré; jamais ont na donné parmy nous Lavié à un tel homme quj á fait Un pareille Crime; il nestoit pas Le Seul Coupable puis que Le vol avoit Eté distribué dans plusieurs Cabannes jllinoise;

Les françois se plaignent qu'on Leurs tue de temps En temps des Bettes a Cornes; des Cochons; jespere que Les chefs parleront avec plus de force dorreenavant Et jé Les soutiendray; Les françois ne vous font aucuns tort jé ne veux pas que Lillinois Luy En fasse; Sj Lon se plain du françois; Les Chefs françois Rendront justice; de même jllinois devez Rendre justice; jé ne gesne Le coeur de personne; jé veux Connoistre seulement Ceux quj nous sonts attachéé pour Les traiter En frere; de même En

[*Translation*]

He much defended himself against ever having been there with such messages. I continued, "Your father has learned with surprise that last year the Illinois had killed negroes belonging to the French. It is not so that you treat one who is your brother. I have heard it of several that when it was desired to arrest them they stood on their defense. Out of consideration for you, M. Benoist forgave the Miami who stole the sacred vessels. Never among us has his life been accorded to a man who had committed such a crime. Nor was he the sole culprit since the booty had been distributed among several cabins of Illinois. The French complain that from time to time their horned cattle and pigs are killed. I hope that henceforth the chiefs will speak more forcefully, and I will sustain them. The French do you no wrong, and I do not wish the Illinois to do such to them. If the French are complained of, the French chiefs will do justice. Similarly the Illinois should do justice. I do not vex the heart of anyone. I wish only to know those who are attached to us to

Ennemis; Ceux quy jront chez mon Ennemy; jay Sçait que parmy Vous autres illinois jl y á des Bons, quy n'onts jamais fait du tort aux françois quy ontst toujours Ecoutté mes predescesseurs; jé Les Connois déjà, mais jé Les connoitrez mieux par La suite, aujourdhuy jé Leurs dit de ne pas Craindre Les fôls: jé Les soutiendray; jé Leurs fit present de la poudre, Balles pour finir Leurs chasse Les Remetant au mois de mars a Leurs postes voulants assembler tout Les Chefs; Le 111 duds Le Nommé patissier vient mattaché En noir moffrir un Esclave pany noir; jé Le Rebutté Luy disant que jé navois pas Besoin de telles Esclave; jé Luy Reproche tout Ce que jé Savoie Contre Contre Luy Et Luy dit que Cetoit de mes Ennemis quil faloit me mener a la manierre dont jls agiroits dicy au printemps que j'eûts assembleé tous Les Chefs, me donneroits Lieu de Revenir sur son Compte de tout se qu'on mavoit dit de mauvais de luy á lors jl me dit quil avoit Renvoyé deux Nattes jl y avoit Cinq jours de peanguichias quy vouloint venir fraper jcy; Leurs disants de Lesser Leurs

[*Translation*]

treat them like brothers; and likewise for enemies those who will go to my enemy's house. I know that among you other Illinois are good men who have never wronged a Frenchman, who have always listened to my predecessors. I already know them, but I will know them better in the sequel. Today I tell them not to be afraid of the madmen; I will sustain them."

I made them a present of powder and ball to finish their hunt, sending them back to their posts until the month of March, wishing them to assemble all their chiefs.

The eleventh of the month in question, the chief called Patissier came painted in black to offer me an Indian slave. I rebuffed him telling him I had no need of such slaves. I reproached him with all that I knew against him and told him it was my enemies who needed to wheedle me in the way in which they acted here. In the spring I would assemble all the chiefs and they would give me the occasion to go over on his account all the evil that had been told me about him.

Then he told me that five days ago he had sent back two mats of the Piankashaw who wished to attack here, telling them

terres tranquilles, qu'ils La Broüillasse chez Eux, sils vouloits qu'ils Etoints assez La victime de Leurs trahison puisse qu'il luy En Coutoit un fils et un Beau fils; Le 12 janvier 21. peorias tous Chefs ou Enfans de Chefs Selon des Curis, quy Les accompagnoit de Leurs villages vinrent Me donner des Marques de Leurs attachement pour Notre Nation En apparence tres sinçerre; ils monts presenté deux Calumets Et huit branches de porcellainne; Ce sonts offerts á marcher partout ou jé Les Commanderois me protestant, qu'ils n'avoits jamais Ecoutté Et jamais; Nécouterrois L'anglois ny Ces alliez, Et qu'ils moureroits plutót avec Le françois Et moy: ils mon Rapellé Leurs ancienne alliance avec Les françois Leurs attachement pour Eux; Monts fait observer qu'ils nestoint tous vestu que de marchandises, françoise; Ce n'est pas de la Bouche dit jl mon pere que jé parle C'est Mon Coœur que jé te decouvre; nous sommes Comme des orphelins, parmy Les jllinois, tous Les autres Voyont Les Chefs françois; Les Entende; nous seuls ne sommes point jnstruits Et nentendons point ta parolle: Nous te prions mon pere den Envoyer un En notre

[*Translation*]

to leave these lands quiet and embroil their own if they wished; that his people were sufficiently victims of their treason as it had cost him a son and a son-in-law.

January 12, twenty-one Peoria, all chiefs or children of chiefs according to Descaris, who accompanied them from their villages, came to give me marks of their attachment to our nation, apparently very sincere. They gave me two calumets and eight strings of wampum. They offered to march wherever I should bid them, protesting that they had never listened, and never would, to the English or their allies and that they would sooner die with the French and with me. They recalled to me their ancient alliance with the French, and their attachment to them. They made me notice that they were clothed in French merchandise only. "It is not by my mouth," said the spokesman, "my father, that I speak. It is my heart which I disclose to you. We are as orphans among the Illinois; all the others behold the French chiefs and hear them. We alone are untaught and hear not your word. We beg you, my father, to send a French chief

Village; ils monts demandé Mr. Villiers quy ne se soucie pas dy aller; jls monts Beaucoup pressé à Leurs En Envoyer un; jls monts demandé á parler au Loup; prisonnér du 8. xbre Le Loup fût menée; apres Les premierres Civilites faite de sa part aux peorias; Cette homme Raconta fort au Long tout Ce quil a fait depuis plusieurs années En faveur des françois, malgré Les jnstances Et Reproches de la demoiselle quy depuis quil á Bruslée Et pillée Le fort des mis amis; Et les Retirrè avec sa Bande a la Rivierre a La Roche, Na cessée denvoyer des parolles au Vermillon, pour debaucher Ce village; L'attâcher á ces jnterets Et á fraper sur Les françois; jl a declaré que L enfant avoit depuis Long temps Accepté La parolle Et pris Les jnterets de la demoiselle quil parloit Continuellement pour Ce Chef,

Cest Lenfant quy au printemps dernier fit piller La voiture de Mr de Ligner Envoyé par Mr de la jonquerre pour parler aux Kicapoux, que Luy Et Le maringouin Et Le gros Bled<sup>1</sup> avoits

[*Translation*]

to our village."

They asked of me M. Villiers, who does not care to go there. They much pressed me to send them someone. They asked to speak with Le Loup, the prisoner of December 8. Le Loup was brought. After the first civilities to the Peoria on his part, that man related at great length what he had done on behalf of the French for several years, despite the entreaties and reproaches of La Demoiselle, who since he burned and pillaged the Miamis post and retired with his band to Great Miami River, has not ceased to send messages to the Vermilion to seduce that village, attach it to his interests, and make it attack the French. Le Loup declared that L'Enfant had long since accepted the words and taken up the interests of La Demoiselle, and that he continually spoke in his behalf. (It was L'Enfant who last spring had pillaged the boat of M. de Ligneris, sent by M. de la Jonquière to speak to the Kickapoo.) Le Loup declared that he and Le Maringouin and Le Gros Bled<sup>1</sup> had always held to the French and opposed on

<sup>1</sup>Two chiefs of this name are mentioned. One, a Peoria, was well disposed to the French. *Post*, 762. The other, a Piankashaw, was

toujours tenué pour Les françois Et Cetoints opposée En toutes  
 Les occasions aux Entreprises de Nos Ennemis, quils avoits faits  
 Rendre á Mr de Lignere tous C'est Effets; tout Cela Est vray  
 jusque aujourdhuy de la connoissance de tous Les françois, ont  
 Regardoit Le Loup Un amy;

interrogé Le Loup Sur Ce quy Cetoit passé Le 7. au 8. xbre  
 á dit quil ne Connoissoit point Ceux quy nous avoits frapé Et  
 quils netoint point de son party;

Manque til de fols dans toutes Les nations; jé ne sçait quy  
 ils sont il Est vray quil j avoit dans mon party une Natte mal  
 jntentionné, jé Lé Reconnüé á quelques dis Cours, Mais jé tou-  
 jours Esperez quils ne Reussiroits point dans leurs projets  
 Et sur Ce que jé Luy dit quil navoit pas dessein daller  
 aux Chikachas; jl Repondit que son unique En passant  
 aux hivernements des jllinois; Etoit de trouver des pirogues  
 aux Kaskasias pour descendre Le fleuve; Nous Nous

[*Translation*]

all occasions the attempts of our enemies, and had had all M. de  
 Ligneris' property returned to him. All this is true up to the  
 present by the testimony of all the French who have regarded  
 Le Loup as a friend.

Le Lóup was questioned as to what happened December 7 or  
 8. He said he did not know who had attacked us and that they  
 were not of his party. "Are madmen lacking in any of the  
 tribes? I do not know who these were. It is true I had in my  
 party an ill-intentioned mat as I recognized from some discourse,  
 but I always hoped that they would not succeed in these  
 projects." As to what I told him as to his having no intention of  
 going against the Chickasaw, he answered that his sole purpose  
 in going by the Illinois' winter camps was to obtain some pirogues  
 at Kaskaskia to go down the river. "We went thither and took

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regarded as the chief opponent of the French in his tribe, despite the fact  
 that Le Loup tried to vouch for him. He was said to have entrapped Le  
 Loup into the appearance of having attacked the French. Later he was  
 said to be seeking pardon of the French, partly through his nephew Le  
 Chat Blanc, a Sauk chief. *Post*, 521, 674, 761, 847.

Rendismes; Nous. En prisme trois Et une quatrieme quoy nous fût disputtez par une Esclave d'un françois, jé voulu La Luy faire Rendre; L'opposition que jay trouvé dans plusieurs Et Le meûtre quils firent d'un petit Cochon; Commencerrent á me Les Rendre suspect; arrivée au fort De chartre au nombre de 36 hommes, En Laissants six aux voitures nous fusmes voir Mr Benois, quoy nous donná de La poudre Et des Basles; Comme nous avions plusieurs malades, nous ne nous pressions pas de deçendre Le missisipy; nous alasme á La salinne<sup>1</sup> voir Les françois; jl eût une natte quoy Restá derrier jen fût jnquiet jé Les Envojá prier de venir ont me Rapporta quils settoints mattacheé jallay á Eux Et fits mes Efforts pour me Les adonner, Et dans La Crainte de quelque mauvais Coup de Leurs part Jé Les jnvitté á traverser Le fleuve jls mecouterrent nous allasmes Coucher de L autre Cotté, Une pirogüe françoise quoy montoit Le fleuve j arriva peút apres; Comme ont parloit toujours mal dans cette Bande; jé dits aux françois de traversee sur La salinne Ce quils firents; Le Lendemain matin; jé Representay á mes jeunes

[*Translation*]

three; a fourth which was disputed us by the slave of a Frenchman I wished given back to him. The opposition I encountered in several of my warriors, and their killing a little pig began to make me suspect them. Arriving at Fort de Chartres, thirty-six men in number, we left six with the boats and went to see M. Benoist, who gave us powder and ball. As we had several sick, we were in no hurry to descend the Mississippi. We went to the Saline<sup>1</sup> to see the French. One mat remained behind. At this I was uneasy and sent to ask them to come. It was reported to me that they were painted for war. I went to them and tried to gain them over to me; and for fear of some ill deed on their part, I asked them to cross the river. They listened to me, and we went to sleep on the other side. Soon after, a French pirogue that was ascending the river arrived. As they always spoke ill in that band, I told the French to cross to the Saline, which they did.

<sup>1</sup> The Saline was directly across the Mississippi from the mouth of the Kaskaskia.

gens que nous Estions partis de Notre Village pour aller sur Les chikachas, que nous ne pourions pas Executter notre dessein parceque nous avions plusieurs Malades; quil Convenoit de Retourner chez nous; Le chef françois parlant de moy; Est sur Le point de deriver allons Le voir nous Luy ferons plaisir; apres quelques deliberations ont se Rendy jenmenay mes gens au village françois; quand ceux gens quy onts frapé Ce jour La Et La veille jé ne les connois pas; Manque tils des fols dans toutes Les Nations, ont ma dit qu'on avoit Reconnû un fusil; Les fusils se Resemble tous sur Cela ont Luy dit quil ne sagissoit pas seulement d'un fusil Reconnû mais quon avoit trouvé dans Le sacq des mis á mis tué Le 7 xbre aupres du fort de chartre des Basles quy Sortoints du Magasin, Une pierre á affiller des couteaux Vollée, chez dodier jnterprette du poste, chez quy jl avoit Logé avec tous Ces gens, trois jours auparavants, Et que d'aillieurs dodier avoit Reconnû Le mort á Une marque quil avoit au frond; Les peorias frapée de Ces peines dirents que Le Loup ne disoit pas La veritté

[*Translation*]

"Next morning I represented to my young men that we had left our village to go against the Chickasaw; that we could not execute our design as we had several sick and that it was best to return to our village. The French chief (speaking of me) is just arriving, let us go see him; we shall do him a pleasure. After some deliberation, I came with my people to the French village. As to the people who struck that day and the night before, I do not know them. Are madmen lacking in any of the tribes?

"They say of me that they recognized a gun. All guns resemble each other."

On this he was told that it was not merely a question of recognizing a gun but that in the bag of the Miami killed December 7 near Fort de Chartres had been found bullets from the magazine, and a whetstone that had been stolen from the house of Dodier, the post interpreter with whom he and all his people had lodged three days before. Further Dodier had recognized the dead man by a mark on his face.

The Peoria, struck by these discrepancies, said that Le Loup was not telling the truth, and pressed him to tell all.



Le porterrent á tout avouër que Ne disoits tu que Cette mauvaise Natte na pas voulú te Coutter, Et que malgré toy jls ons frapé Le françois; Le Loup; Embarassé dit qua La veritté Le soir de Ce jour La; jls avoints perdú un de leurs Camarades; jl ajoutá ausy tôt Et dismes il Reviendra peút Estre tu dit vray; vojla Celuy quy fût tué á Letablissement, á áchevée de dire La veritté; Mais jugeant apparenments quil en avoit trop dit jl sadressá á Eux jé Croyois que vous parliez pour moj mais vous mestes Con-  
traires;

Le Loup

jl me priá de Luy Rendre mon amitié deluy donner une lettre apporter dans son Village pour Engager La jeunesse á demeurer tranquilles me promettant de Lappuyer de son mieux; ont Revints sur son aveú; pour Le metre de plus En plus En contradiction avec Luj même; jl se contenta de dire quil avoit Ramenné aux Kaskacias sont party quil ny manquoit personne Lors quil Entrá dans Ce village ont nen pú tirer davantage; jé fits appeller a Lors Le patissier jllinois par hivernement duquel avoit parlé Le Loup, Et son party venants jcy donc, Le Beaufrere Et Beau fils

[*Translation*]

“Did you not say that that bad mat would not listen to you, and that despite you they have struck the French?”

Le Loup, embarrassed, said that in truth the evening of that day they had lost one of their comrades. He added at once, “And if you tell me he will return perhaps you tell the truth.” This is the man who was killed at The Settlement if you finish telling the truth. But judging apparently that he had said too much, he said, addressing them, “I believed you were speaking for me, but you are against me.”

Le Loup begged me to restore him to my friendship, and to give him a letter to carry to his village engaging his young men to keep quiet, promising to do his best to support it. He went back over his confession to contradict himself more and more. He contented himself with saying that he had brought his party back to Kaskaskia and that no one was missing when he entered the village; and no more could be got out of him. Then I called Patissier, the Illinois to whom in his winter camp Le Loup had

Ce sonts trouvé dans son party Et fait prisonniers avec Le Loup ; Cette homme Etoit Arrivée La veüille, Comme jay vous ait deja parlé Cy devant avec un Esclave panis noir pour ôbstenir Leurs delivrance jl dit depuis six jours que trente hommes du village du vermillon Etoints venüé á son hivernement dans Le dessein de venir fraper jcy Les françois ; quilz Les En avoit detourné Et Les avoit obligée á Rebrousser Chemin Le Loup demande Les noms des prinçipeaux ; jl nommâ pichiago sença ; Rissaachara ; neprera ; miceprata ; Apres ce Recit Le Loup me dit jl Est vray mon pere que C'est Le peanguichia quy te frape ; Jé Luÿ dit que jé Le savois Bien Mais quil avoit tord de nen pas Convenir, apres Les preuves qu'on Luy En avoits donné jl Continuá a dire quilz nestoit pas de La Bande ; jé Le Renvojé En prison Et Le Remis au Lendemain á parler aux peorias Le 13 jé fûts tres satisfait de Lattachement que Les peorias nous onts donné depuis quatre ans ; Jé Commencay par La ayant mal Receüe Mr de Berthet a peût pres dans Ce temps passants chez Eux,

[*Translation*]

spoken, and whose brother-in-law and son-in-law were in Le Loup's party when it came hither and were made prisoners with Le Loup. Patissier arrived the night before, as I already told you, with an Indian slave to obtain their deliverance. He said that six days before thirty men of the Vermilion village had come to his winter camp with the design of coming to attack the French here ; they had deflected them and obliged them to go back. Le Loup asked the names of the leaders. He named Pichiagosenca, Rissachara, Neprera, and Miceprata. After this story Le Loup said to me, "It is true, my father, that it is the Piankashaw who strikes you." I told him that I well knew it, but that he was wrong not to agree after the proof that had been given him. He continued to say that they were not of his band. I sent him back to prison, and put off speaking to the Peoria to the next day.

On the thirteenth I was very well satisfied with the attachment the Peoria have shown us for four years past.

I began by their having ill received M. de Bertet, who recently went among them in order to see a mine. I exhorted them

allants voir une minne, jé Les Exorte á nous En donner des marques de plus en plus Les assurances quils men onts donné hier me font presumer quils Ce joindrons á nous pour frâper Ceux quy veuslent Broüiller Les Nations nos alliez Et quy onts dernièrement frapé sur nous; ils surrent Ce quy C'est passé jcy, jls ont Entendûé de la Bouche du Loup Les mauvâses dispositions de La demoiselle Et son party quy onts porte Le trouble dans Le ouâbache, Et Le voudroints porter aillieurs patissier vous a dit avoir Luy á deux jours avoir Renvojé deux nattes du Vermillon dont jl vous á nommée Les noms vous connoissez Nos Ennemis jl faut tomber sur Eux Les punir de Leurs trahisson Et audasce; tâscher de Ramenner par La d'ouçeur, Ceux quy nous sonts Encore attachée Et quy sonts dans La Crainte Les faire declarer, ils dirents tous quils feroints tout ce que tu voudras mon pere; jé Continuéé vous navez Rien á craindre peórias tant que vous aurez Le Cœur françois, jay sçait punir Ces Ennemis, Comme avoir soin des siens; jé vous soutiendray dans vos Besoins Et contre vos Ennemis; jay prend Le Casse tête aujourdhuy; vous

[*Translation*]

to give us proofs of devotion more and more. The assurances they had given me yesterday made me suppose they would join with us to strike those who wished to embroil our allied tribes, and who latterly have struck at us. They knew what had happened here. They had heard from the mouth of Le Loup the evil disposition of La Demoiselle and his party who had brought trouble to the Wabash, and wished to carry it elsewhere. "Patissier told you that he within two days had sent back two mats of the Vermilion Indians, whose names he gave you. You know our enemies. We must fall on them and punish them for their treachery and audacity. We must try to bring back by gentleness those who are yet attached to us, but in fear, and make them declare themselves." They all said, "We will do all you wish, my father." I continued, "You have nothing to fear, Peoria, so long as you have French hearts. I know how to punish these enemies as well as how to take care of my friends. I will sustain you in your wants and against your enemies. I have taken the tomahawk today. You know my enemies."

Connoissez mes Ennemis ; jé fits chanter La guerre par des karis  
 quy Est avec Eux depuis quelques temps, jls la Chanterrent aussi  
 tôt ; jé Leurs dits allez vous Reposer sur vos nattes En attendans  
 La Lune de mars que jé veux vous voir tous Les chefs jllinois  
 Et nos alliez ; jls me Représenterrents quilz Craignois Ce prin-  
 temps Les Renards Et Sioux ; jé Leurs promis decrire á Mr  
 Marin Ce que jé fait par Eux, pour Ladvertir de ce quy se passé  
 jcj : Et de tâscher de Luder quon frape sur Les peorias Ce  
 printemps, jls sonts partis dicj Le 14 tres satisfaits ayant  
 Remplié mes mamelles, donc jls sonts tres avides Et ne man-  
 querons pas a Ce quilz mon dit En partant de venir Boire Un  
 Coup de mon Lait Ce printemps ; ces nations á Ce quil me paroits  
 sonts avides d'eau de vie ne faisant aucun Cas des marchandises  
 quon Leurs donne ne me Remercians que de mon Lait ; il scauraj  
 difficile de Les En Levvez ; surtout dans Le temps present, ou  
 lon peût avoir Besoing deux ;

Cy vous navez Eû monsieur de mes Nouvelles plutôt Et de

[*Translation*]

I had the war song sung by Descaris, who has been with them for some time. They sang it immediately. I told them, "Go rest on your mats until the moon of March, when I wish to see all you Illinois chiefs and our allies."

They represented to me that they feared the Foxes and the Sioux this spring.

I promised to write to M. Marin, which I did by them, to give him notice of what had happened here, and to bid him try to prevent their attacking the Peoria this spring.

They left here the fourteenth very well pleased, as I filled my breasts for which they are very eager, and will not fail to do what they said they would on leaving—come to drink a cup of my milk this spring. These tribes as it seems to me are greedy for brandy, making no account of the goods one gives them, and thanking me only for my milk. It would be difficult to deprive them of it, especially at the present time when we may need them.

If, Monsieur, you have had no news of me sooner, and of

Ce quj Ces passé jcy Et de mon arrivée, La forte gellé; neige; fonste; Verglas; que nous avons depuis plus d'un mois, En Est Cause; jointe à Lesperance de pouvoir faire descendre quelques Batteaux chargé de farine; jé ne Crois pas que La Saison me Le permette; avant Le mois de mars; je Vous, Rends, Comptes mot à mot de Ce que Les jllinois monts dit Et Ce que jaj leur ait dit; afin que vous jugiez par vous même de leurs situation Et La notre; il Etoit temps que nous arrivassions jcy; Car Certainnement jls avoints quelques mauvais desseins; quj jespere serons à vertée, mais Ce nestoit pas general dans Les sauvages; A quy me fait Esperer que Cette Evenement naura pas grands suites sy nous pouvons Conserver Les quatres villages jllinois domicillié; quj sonts Les peorias; Kaokia; Metcchiganiá; Et Kaskakiá; Les premiers mon parú toujours Estre Bien attachée aux françois; Le coup arrivée vient de quelques partisan de la demoiselle jl peut sen trouver quel qu'uns de ce party dans Les Kas quj Est Le village Le plus fautif de Ces Cantons jls onts pourtant toujours nier Le fait jusque á present jé Leurs ait Reproché tous

[*Translation*]

what has happened here since my arrival, the heavy freeze, the snow, the melting, the frost, which we have had for more than a month is the cause of it, as well as the hope of being able to send down some bateaux loaded with flour. I do not think the weather will permit of it before the month of March.

I give you a word for word account of what the Illinois have said to me, and what I said to them, that you may judge for yourself of their situation and ours. It was high time we arrived here, for certainly they had some ill designs which I hope will be deflected. But this was not general among the Indians which makes me hope that this event will have no great consequences if we can retain the four domiciled Illinois villages, which are the Peoria, Cahokia, Michigamea, and Kaskaskia. The first have seemed to me always to be well attached to the French. The late attack came from some partisans of La Demoiselle. There may be some of that party in the Kaskaskia which is the most ill-behaved village of these regions. They have however always up to now denied the fact. I have reproached them with all they

Ce qu'ils ont fait Contre nous; jé Leurs parleray avec plus de force Cy jé peût Rassembler Les chefs Ce printemps, faire quelques partis sur nos Ennemis que nous ne Connoissons pas Encorre parfaitemen Le printemps nous Les declarera; jls paroits que nous avons Encorre quelque chef dans Le ouâbache quy tienne pour nous; jé chercheray Le mojen pour Les faire agir jen ait déjà parlé aux peorias pour tâscher de les voir jay Ecrit deux fois a St Joseph á messieurs de selleront, La Corne, Villiers, Morin; Et á Mr de la jonquiaire pour Les jnformer de ce quy c'est passé jcy; Et faire agir nos allies En Consequence;

jé Remettray vos Lettres pour Le Canadas au sieur font blanche<sup>1</sup> negotians demourente qui doits partir Le premier de gelle par Le fleuve; Et quy Espere Cy Rendre dans Le mois d'avril, jl En á Beaucoup aporté En venents dont jé vous En Envoje Esperants quelle vous feronts plaisir; par cette occasion Ceux quy Sonts de la même Ecriture pouvants Estre des secondes; jé

[*Translation*]

have done against us: I will speak to them more forcefully, if I can assemble the chiefs this spring and form some war parties against our enemies, whom we do not yet perfectly know. The spring will declare them to us. It seems we still have some chiefs on the Wabash who hold to us. I will seek the means of making them act. I have already spoken to the Peoria to try to see them. I have written twice to St. Joseph to Messieurs de Céloron, La Corne, Villiers, Marin, as well as to M. de la Jonquière, to inform them of what has happened here, and to have them make our allies act in consequence.

I will dispatch your letters for Canada by the Sieur Fonblanche,<sup>1</sup> a merchant remaining here who should set off at the first thaw by the river, and who I hope will reach there in the month of April. He has brought many letters on his journey here which I send you hoping that they will please you. By this occasion those written at the same time may come later. I will

<sup>1</sup> Jacques Quenel Fonblanche. He engaged men for the Illinois in June-July, 1751, his permit to make the trip from Montreal being issued on July 4. *L'Archiviste* . . . de Québec pour 1922-1923, 261; 1930-1931, 422, 423.



Les Remettray á Mr Benoits avec une petite Böette ou paquet Enveloppé d'une toille Cirré;

j aj ne pût Envoyer Celle que vous mavez donné pour Mr de port neuf au misouris faute doccasion; jé Les Enverraj par La premier du printemps Et Lordre de satisfaire Mr ollivier; Le Sergent á fait honneur a Son Billet quj Etoit dans Les mains du Sr Villiers. Mr degruisse travaille á faire des fonds pour saquitter En vers Mr ollivier ma promis de faire de son mieux pour saquitter Ce printemps.

Le Sr despains cest arivé depuis quelques temps il ne conte pas descendre cette année mais partir ce printemps pour Les missouris; jé serois charmé Sj jé trouve occasion de luj faire connoistre que vous vous jnterressée pour Luÿ;

Le Sr girardeau Ramasse avec peine Les fonds quj sonts deubs á Mr de la Cotterets. quj monte á peût pres a pareille somme dont, quelquunes sonts vereuses; jl j á des Effets En nature qu'on pourra vendre; jé feray En sorte quil Executte son obligation jcy. Envers Le Sr Barthelemieux Ce printemps;

[Translation]

turn them over to M. Benoist with a little box or packet wrapped in waxed cloth.

I cannot send what you have given me for M. de Portneuf or the Missouri for want of an opportunity. I will send them early in the spring as well as the order to satisfy M. Olivier. The sergeant has honored his note which was in the hands of the Sieur Villiers. M. de Gruis is working to gather the funds to settle with M. Olivier, and has promised to do his best to close the matter this spring.

The Sieur Despains has been here for some time. He does not count on going down this year but rather to leave in the spring for the Missouri. I would be delighted to find an occasion to let him know that you interested yourself in him.

The Sieur Girardeau is collecting with difficulty the funds due M. de la Gautrais, which amounts to a like sum; some items are desperate. There are assets in hand that can be sold. I will see that he fulfils his obligation to the Sieur Barthelemieux this spring.



Jé ne puis vous Rien marquer de ce quy se passe dans Le ouâbache najant aucune nouvelles depuis Le 5.xbre quy mapprend que Le party de la demoiselle á tué deux soldats aux postes des mis amis ; j attends tous Les jours Les Couriers que jé Envoje á Mr de St anges quy tarde Beaucoup ; Et me fonts craindre, Quils ne Leurs soit arrivée quelque choses. jé me prepare á y Envoyer jncessamment des vivres necessaires pour son poste augmentant Sa garnison á 20 hommes Et plus sil Est necessaires selon quil me donnera des nouvelles de Ce quy Ce passe aux Environts de son poste, ne pouvants L augmenter audessus de 20 hommes avec un Batteaux de transports Rapports aux vivres Et ustancilles quy Leurs Est necessaire ;

Les Srs delisles<sup>1</sup> Et fonds Blanche avoints Entrepris pour Le Roy de fournir une quantité de farinnes, Lard ; plomd, Et tabac ; pour Les postes du detroit Et des mis ;

[Translation]

I can tell you nothing of what has happened on the Wabash as I have no news since December 5, when I was informed that La Demoiselle's party had killed two soldiers at the Miamis post. Every day I expect the couriers that I sent M. de St. Ange ; they are much delayed and make me fear something has befallen them. I am preparing to send immediately the necessary provisions for that post increasing its garrison to twenty men and more if necessary according to the news he gives me of what happens about his post. I cannot increase it above twenty men with but one bateau for transport, considering the provisions and equipment necessary for them.

The Sieurs Delisle<sup>1</sup> and Fonblanche had undertaken for the king to supply a quantity of flour, pork, lead, and tobacco for the posts of Detroit and Miamis. The colony needing the little pork

<sup>1</sup> Probably the Louis Delisle whose activity in western trade is indicated from 1743 onward. Between that year and 1751 he engaged ten men to go to the Illinois. *L'Archiviste . . . de Québec pour 1929-1930*, 431, 432, 439 ; *1930-1931*, 392, 415, 422, 423. In 1749 he was permitted to take a canoe and six men to the Illinois, and in 1751 he was allowed a canoe for Detroit. *Op. cit.*, 1922-1923, 238, 252. Between 1748 and 1752 he furnished supplies at Miamis and the Wabash posts. A N Colonies C11A 119:73, 104, 155, 316. May 16, 1753 he bought land at Kaskaskia. His death occurred sometime before December 18, 1761. French MSS.

La Collonnié ayant Besoing du peût de lard. quy se trouvée jcy Et quilz avoient fait monter a 15 Sols La Livre; nous avons deffendu qu'on En sortjé; Et que Le Roy nen prendroit point audessus de dix sols: mais quilz prendroit tout Ce qu'on portiroit au magazin a Ce prix; jé permettray pourtant au Sr Delisle d'en prendre au têt du Roy une petite quantite, avec 15. a 20. milliers de farinnes tout Le plomd; Et tabac quil voudra pour porter aux postes des mis á mis. Le Sr fontblanche ayant Le temps de ce pourvoir par Le Canadas á fournir Le détroit, Le Sr delisle partira au premier degelle avec Les troupes dicy quj vonts au peanguichãs jé ne pouray neanmoins Les faire partir qu'apres avoir eû des nouvelles de se poste; Mr Le doux<sup>1</sup> majant demandé d'aller dans un postes jé Le Commanderay pour j aller servir sous Les ordres du Sr St ange avec une Enseigne quy Ramenera La troupe Et Le Batteau; pressé par Les peorias quy demandoits Mr Villiers; q'uy ne se Soucié pas d'aller chez Eux; jé Leurs presenté Mr adam demandant á Le Connoitre Leurs promis de le faire porter au Beautemps avec quelques soldats,

[Translation]

which is here and which had gone up to fifteen sous a pound, we forbade its being sent away; and the king will not pay above ten sous for it, but all that is brought to the storehouse will be taken at that price. However I will allow the Sieur Delisle to take a little of the king's with fifteen or twenty thousand flour, and all the lead and tobacco he wants to carry to the Miamis post; the Sieur Fonblanche has time to provide himself from Canada with the wherewithal to supply Detroit. The Sieur Delisle will set off at the first thaw with the troops from here going to Vincennes. I cannot however send them off until after having had news of that post. M. le Doux<sup>1</sup> having asked to go to a post, I will order him to go and serve under the orders of the Sieur St. Ange with an ensign who will bring back the troops and the bateau.

Pressed by the Peoria, who asked for M. Villiers who did not care to go among them, I have presented M. Adam to them, asking them to keep their promise of bringing him there with some soldiers when it is good weather.

<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant in Louisiana, October 1, 1750. A N Colonies D2C4.

jay ordonné que Les voyageurs Eussent a fournir des pieux pour L entretiens des forts ou nous auions des postes jen ait ordonné jcy même pour Relever Lençainte que Mr de Berthet avoit fait au cas de Besoin,

Et pour Estre plus En État de metre dehors du monde aux cas dalerté dans Les differents Etablissements; jenverray dans Le Beautemps Mr de vossé, Commander aux Kaokia avec dix **Nta** hommes.

je Lesseray Cette année Mr de port neuf au missoury. Comme Les Soldats Enciens sonts tous detachée jé Les ait mis dans La Compagnie de Mr de Monserveaux, Comme devant Estre La premier Relevée ne sachants pas Les Compagnies quj partirons dicy de la tête ou La queüe j ay jugé de voir attendre vos ordres pour maranger, que Les arrivantes aille Relever Les postes afin que celle quj partironts ayent tous Leurs Soldats jcy. Ce quj ne se peût faire que duné année á une autre surtout au missoury; Et ouyas; j ay vous prié monsieur de me donner vos ordres a Legard du missouris, Sj jé feray payer Les Cents

[Translation]

I have ordered that the *voyageurs* should furnish pickets for the enceintes of the forts where we have posts. I have ordered the same here to rebuild the enceinte that M. de Bertet had made in case of need, and in order to be more in a condition to put men in various settlements in case of an alarm. I will send M. de Vossé when it is good weather to command at Cahokia with ten **Note** men.

I will leave M. de Portneuf at the Missouri this year. As the old soldiers are all detached, I have put them in the company of M. de Montchervaux as before to be the first relieved, not knowing the companies which will leave here first or last. I thought I should await your orders to arrange that companies arriving should go to relieve the posts in order that those who are leaving might have all their soldiers here. This can only be done from one year to the next especially at the Missouri and at Ouiatanon. I beg you, Monsieur, to give me your orders respecting the Missouri, whether I shall have the one hundred

pistoles de gratifica au Commandant du Lieu par Les voyageurs ou Sil auraj un Canton Esclusif, Le Roy ne faisants aucuns frais, Cela me paroits assez juste, pour jndemnifer Lofficier jay vous Envoję Cy joint monsieur Le signalement de unze soldats Enciens, mariée ou quy desirent de Lestre jay fait marquer a La marge Ce quils onts je Les ait Engagé á Ensemencer Leurs terres dans Lesperance que vous voudrez Bien menvoyer Leurs Congé par La premier occasion, Les detachements Et services Leurs Etants honnereaux: jé Compte Les En Exempter aux fort de Leurs Recoltes sils Etoints obligé de partir dicy avec Leurs Compagnié; jls vendront ce quils onts pour Boire Et par La ne trouverois plus La maïne aiseance de setablir, jls j á Encore quelques Encains Soldáts quy demande á prendre des terres se mariroints même sils avoits Leurs Conge; Les filles voulant Les prendres Libres nous avons Besoing jcy d'habitans Et chaque habitans Est un soldat au Roy quy ne Couste Rien; au Roy, Ce pays manque de force; nest pas ausy Etablié quil Lestoit avant

[Translation]

pistoles' gratification to the commandant of that post paid by the *voyageurs*, or if he shall have an exclusive trade region. Since the king assumes none of the expense, this appears to me only just to indemnify the officer.

I have sent you herewith, Monsieur, the description of eleven old soldiers, married or wishing to be; I have marked on the margin which they are. I have induced them to sow their lands in the hope that you would be good enough to send me their *congés* by the first occasion as detached duty and service are burdensome to them. I count on excusing them from duty at the fort at their harvest. If they had to leave here with their companies they would sell what they have for drink and by that would not have the same chance of settling down. There are also some old soldiers who ask to have lands and would marry if they had their leaves, the girls preferring to take them when they are free. We need inhabitants here, and each inhabitant is a soldier who costs the king nothing. This country lacks strength, and is not so well settled as it was before our Chickasaw war. The

notre gurre des chis Les Enfans ne Remplacent pas Leurs peres  
 Lon voit cela par Les terres abandonné je vous Envoyé Cy joints  
 Le Resencement<sup>1</sup> des habitans de difents Lieu dicy j Compris  
 Le nombre des Esclaves Et Bestiaux; Les Etats presents des  
 Compagnies il j á huit Enfans d officier de passée, dans Les  
 deux Compagnié de Benoits, Et monser veaux;

je vous prié de me marquer sils marcheronts avec Les Com-  
 pagnie, ou Sj on Les changera chaque fois que La Compagnié  
 marchera jl sera plus aisé de Les faire passer par Congé pour  
 ne pas changer Letat des Compagnie; ont accorde depuis 15 ans  
 á L interprete des peanguichias une place de soldat pour supleer  
 á Ces gages Ce quj ne pourra plus se faire aujourdhuy par Le  
 changements,

J ay L'honneur D'Estre avec un tres Respectueux attache-  
 ments; Monsieur

Vôtre tres humble Et tres obeissant, Serviteur

MACARTY MACTIGUE

[*Translation*]

children don't replace their fathers as one sees from the  
 abandoned farms.

I send you annexed the census<sup>1</sup> of the inhabitants of the  
 various places, including the number of slaves and cattle. By  
 the present company rolls there are eight former officers' children  
 in the two companies of Benoist and Montchervaux. I beg you  
 to tell me if they shall march with the companies or if they are  
 to be changed each time the company marches. It will be easier  
 to pass them by leave in order not to change the company rolls.  
 For fifteen years a soldier's place has been allowed the Pianka-  
 shaw interpreter to supplement his wages. With the changes, this  
 can no longer be done today.

I have the honor to be with a very respectful attachment,  
 Monsieur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

MACARTY MACTIGUE

<sup>1</sup> This census is in the Huntington Library [LO 426].

Nta luy demander un Estrait mortuaire des officiers qui pourroient passer de cete vie a la l'autre

SAUCIER TO VAUDREUIL, January 20, 1752

[H M LO 329]

Repdu du 28. avril 1752

MONSIEUR.

Le depart du Courier est enfin dessidé pour demain, sans que Je puisse de toutte jmpossibilité envoyer par luy, Les plans et Devis, du fort projeté apres lesquels je travail depuis Trois semaines autant que le froid Exessif qui se fait sentir icy par les Mauvais Logements me l'a pu permettre. Je sens de quelle Consequence jl est que ces pieces vous parviennent promptement, Et Jaurois Sorty de mon exactitude et mon Zel ordinaire si il y avoit de la Negligeance Rende Moy donc Monsieur La justice den estre persuadé.

Cependt comme jl se pouroit que le premier Convoye monte avant l'Envoye d'icy d'une seconde occasion, Et duquel Vous

[*Translation*]

Note: Ask him for a mortuary extract for the officers who may pass from this life to the next.

Answered April 28, 1752

MONSIEUR:

The departure of the courier is finally set for tomorrow, and there is no possibility of my sending by him the plans and estimates of the proposed fort. I have worked on them for three weeks as much as the extreme cold from which one suffers here in bad buildings would permit. I know how important it is that these papers should reach you promptly, and I should have departed from my ordinary punctuality and zeal if there had been negligence on my part; do me the justice, Monsieur, to be assured of it.

However as it may be that the first convoy will ascend before there is another occasion to send a dispatch from here, and

Voudries profiter pour nous donner Vos derniers ordres avec connoissance de ce que pourons Couter en totale ces Traveaux; ne feroit-il pas possible de faire ce dt Plane a la Nelle orleans seulement pour en pouvoir faire Le Toisée suivant les prix du Lieü stipulé dans la lettre Commune que jay L'honneur de vous Ecrire et a M. Michel. Le Terrain nous permet La Regularité, et la grandeur est Terminée par le nombre des Batiments suivant la garnison quil y a a y Loger.

Je ne Crois pas, Monsieur, qu'il soit facil de faire Executer par Les habitans, Vos jntentions sur la fourniture qu'ils devoient faire d'une partie des Matériaux; jls paroissent estre de santiments a se Roidir contre, Exposant leurs peu de force et facultés. Les Voyageurs sont gens passagers dont la plus part se tiendront éloignés d'icy pour quelques années, nayant point un Commerce assé Credité pour Les Congreger dans cet endroit, amoins qu'ils ny soient Tenus de force.

Dequelle façon que les choses Tournent Je ne saurois me persuader qu'il vienne assé d'ouvriers pour accellerer ces ouvrages,

[Translation]

since you may wish to profit by that convoy to give your final orders, after you know what the total cost of these works will be, would it not be possible to have the plans made at New Orleans merely to enable you to estimate their costs on the basis of the local prices as indicated in the joint letter that I had the honor to write to you and to M. Michel. The nature of the ground permits us regularity, and the size of the project is limited by the number of buildings, which are proportioned to the garrison which is to be maintained.

I do not believe, Monsieur, that it will be easy to have the work done by the inhabitants. They appear disposed to resist your intention that they supply a part of the materials, pleading their small resources and aptitudes. The *voyageurs* are birds of passage most of whom will stay away from here for some years as there is not a sufficient trade to draw them to the place, at least unless they were obliged by force.

However things turn out, I cannot persuade myself that there will be enough workmen to push on these undertakings; and



et quand je me rapelle, que plus de Cinquantes ouvriers et manoeuvres, ont esté employés sans interruptions aux Traveaux de la petite fortifications de la Mobille pendt plus de dix années sans L'avoir achevée: Celles a faire icy me promet mon Cimetiere aux jllinois; a moins qu'il ne m'arrive quelque avantage dans La suite ou suffisament d'ouvriers.

Persuadés que je suis d'y demeurer Longtems, J'Ecris a Ma femme de m y Venir Joindre, Cest a ce sujet, Monsieur, que je prend la Libertée de Rememorer, qu'il vous a plut avoir la Bontée de me promêtre que vous auriés celle de luy estre favorable pour son Embarquement dans les batteaux et de Vous Res-souvenir en meme Tems, qu aucuns de ceux n y autre Voiture du Roy, ne M ayant pas monter icy La Moindre chose Vous me promittes, qu'on embarqueroit dans les premiers qui monteroient, ce que j'aurois Bezoins icy Voila ma seule Ressource.

Cest entre vos mains, Mon cher General, qu'est mon Sort, Faite-moy donc la grace de ne me le point laisser hygnorer, je l'Estimerois Toujours heureux Tant que j'aurais Le bonheur de

[*Translation*]

when I remember that more than fifty workmen and laborers have been employed without interruption on the construction of the petty fortifications of Mobile for more than ten years without having finished them, I promise myself to find my grave in the Illinois; at least, unless some favorable chance turns up for me, or a sufficiency of workmen.

Persuaded as I am that I shall be here a long time, I am writing my wife to come and join me here. It is on this matter, Monsieur, that I take the liberty of reminding you, that you were pleased to have the goodness to promise me that you would allow her to embark on the bateaux. At the same time I would recall to you that as none of these or of the king's other transport was available to carry up anything whatever for me, you promised that what I needed would be loaded on the first boats that came up. That is my sole resource.

My fate, my dear General, is in your hands. Do me the favor not to let me be forgotten. I shall always think myself fortunate while I have the honor to serve under your orders.

servir a vos ordres, mais sans aller Contre La volonté Divine, si je Suis menacé de vous perdre pour dependre de mon Employ? Achevés donc Votre ouvrage avant ce moment qui me sera couteux. Mais que dis-je-Toutte La Colonnie vous Cheris et vous L'aimés ! pourquoy armeroit-il.

J ay L'honneur d'estre avec un tres profond Respect, Monsieur.

Votre tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur.

F: SAUCIER.

AUX CASKASIAS Le 20. Jer 1752.

MACARTY TO VAUDREUIL, January 24, 1752

[H M LO 330]

AUX KASKASIAS ce 24 janvier 1752

Repondue du 20. 1752.

MONSIEUR

Vous connoissé La situation de ma famille et Combien mon elogiement y fait tord jl n'y a que L'envie de Servir joint a

[*Translation*]

But without rebelling against the Divine Will, if I am threatened with losing you, on what shall I depend for my living? Finish your work then, before the moment that will cost me so much. But what do I say? All the colony cherishes and loves you. Why should you take care of me?

I have the honor to be with a very profound respect, Monsieur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

F. SAUCIER

KASKASKIA, January 20, 1752

KASKASKIA, January 24, 1752

Answered the 20th, 1752

MONSIEUR:

You know the situation of my family and how much it is impaired by my remoteness at this place. It is only the desire

L'esperance qu'il se trouvera L'ocassion de m'approcher de vous qui m'y engage; je fonde totalement mon esperance sur vos bontes pour moy Les ayant Eprouve tant de fois, et compte que vous voudré bien Ecrire au ministre pour mon avancement ce Lieu est Considerable jl merite un estat major Complet tant aux troupes qu'aux differantes partis a qui on a arepondre un major auroit asses a repondre de sa troupe et du service pendant que Le Lt de Roy seroit pour La Police et gouvernement des Sauvages qui n'est pas une bagatel ysi a cause des L'elonniement des differant postes

Ce pays est fort beau et Bon, tous nos messieurs s'en Louent et ne voudrois plus dessandre jls sont jls sont Nourri blanchi et Logé La Plus par pour cinquante Livres par mois d'autres a dix ecus si bin qu'un officier y peut vivre pour sa payé, je ne scaît pas comman jl peuvent Leur donner a si bon marché, tout y estant pour La vie a plus de deux cents pour cent exepté La grose viande, jl est vrai que La plus part ont des chasseur qui Leur fournissent du gibier un grande partie de L'anné

[Translation]

to serve, joined to the hope that the occasion will be found to bring me nearer to you, which induces me to continue. I base all my hopes on your kindness to me, since I have so often experienced it; I count on your being good enough to write to the minister for my promotion. This place is considerable. It deserves a full *état major* both with respect to the troops and to the various places for which you have to be responsible. A major would have enough to do to be responsible for his troops and the service, while the lieutenant of the king would look after the police and the government of the Indians, which is no trifle here because of the remoteness of the various posts.

This country is very fine and good. All our gentlemen praise it and do not wish to go down again. Their board, washing, and lodging costs most of them fifty livres a month, others ten crowns, so that an officer can live on his pay. I do not see how they can be furnished it so cheaply, all expenses for provisions being at 200 per cent except butcher's meat. It is true that most of them have hunters who furnish them game for a great part of the year.

j avois fait faire un patté de gelinotes a noüel dans L'esperance de pouvoir vous L'envoier mais Le froid et La glasse est venue si forte qu'il n'y a pas eü moiien j'en avois même d'envie dont jl m'en reste deux je ne scait s'ils pouvoient vous parvenir estant tres farouche Comme mon ennée vut finir Les classes, cette anné et aura bientot seze ans vous m'aves promis monsieur d'ecrire au ministre En sa faveur pour Luy faire avoir une plasse de garde marine jl seroit temp de le faire si vous voule bien me faire ce plaisir c'est un eccole ou jl apprendroit ses exersices et un corp ou jl pouvoit avec Le Temp avoir de L'avancement et estre a la porté de son bien si je puis luy Laisser quelque chose je ne doute pas qu'on m'accorde cette grace si vous vous y jnteressé veritablement, ma plus forte Poienne dans mon Elonniement est de ne pouvoir Scavoir La verrité a fin de Ne luy pas faire Perdre son temp j'espere aussi, monsieur que lors qu'il partira des Convois pour ysi vous voudres bien ordonner L'ambarquement de ma provision de vin et quelques eaudevie a fin

[Translation]

I had a Christmas quail pie made in the hope of being able to send it to you, but the cold and the ice were so severe that there was no way of doing it. I even had the wish, two of which are left. [incomprehensible] I do not know if they will reach you, being very wild.

As my oldest son will finish his classes this year and will soon be sixteen, you promised me, Monsieur, to write to the minister in his favor that he may have a place as *garde marin*. This would be the time, if you were good enough to do me this favor. It is a school where he could learn his drill, and a corps where he could in time have promotion and be at the threshold of his fortune if I can leave him something. I doubt not that this favor will be accorded me if you interest yourself for it in earnest. My keenest pain in my remoteness is not to be able to learn the truth in order that he may not lose his time.

I also hope, Monsieur, that when the convoys leave for this place that you will be good enough to order that my provisions of wine and brandy be loaded that I may be able to pay my way

de pouvoir me defraier et Suppleer aux foibles appointement je panse bien que Les Convois ne monteront pas si avide pour Le Roy, que celuy si, je prevois aussi beaucoup de difficulte si chaque officier prand du tier et du Car a moitie profit Comme beaucoup on fait Ce qui Leur Cause de l'ambaras et peû d'avantage jl est meme necessaire d'accorder a chaque officier un peu de fruit mais jl seroit juste qu'il feut reparti

treze et quatorze personnes que J'ay eû toute La Routte a manger ont bien diminue mon vin joint a une bariq et demi de coulage j'espere que ma femme aura soin de s'en pourvoir d'avanse et que j'en recevrai pour L'esté si vous faite partir un Convois ce printans; si vos troupes vous embarasse vous pouvez me En Envoyer surtout des ouvrier au courant et La terre, nous enferons de bons habitans Compte Mr que j'y donnerai tous mes soins mais jl faudroit des forses et de L'aide Ce que je ne puis faire La troupe ne manque ysi que de hardes; La vie Leur estant tres aise, on avoit mis Le Lard a 15 sols mais je luy fait diminuer a dix

[*Translation*]

and supplement my small salary. I think indeed that the convoys will not come up so greedily for the king as this one. I also foresee much difficulty if each officer takes from a third or a fourth to a half profit as many have done, which causes them embarrassment and little advantage. It is but right to allow each officer a little fruit, but it would be just to divide it.

Thirteen and fourteen persons whom I had to mess on the whole voyage have much diminished my wine, in addition to a barrel and a half leakage. I hope my wife will take care to provide it in advance, and that I shall receive it in time for the summer if you might send off a convoy this spring. If your troops embarrass you, you can send some to me, especially workmen suitable for the land. We will make good habitants of them. Depend on it, Monsieur, that I will give all my care to it, but forces and help are needed for what I cannot do. The troops here only lack clothing, their provisions being very easily obtained. Pork was set at fifteen sous, but I had it decreased to ten.

plain de confiance dans vos promesses je suis tranquilles sur mes affaires si ma femme vous en fait part comme j'espere; je ne puis reconnoître tant de bontes que par le Respectueux et sinser attachement avec Lequel jay L'honneur d'estre pour La vie Monsieur

Votre tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur

MACARTY MACTIGUE

Mr Rousellet<sup>1</sup> fait Les fonsions d'ajde major c'est un caractere fort Doux

Le jeunesse s'attant que vous voudres bien Luy faire donner une gratification qu'il merite pour Les voyages qu'il fait Mr Benoit partira sitot que Le fleuve sera debarasse avec trois Bateaux

[*Translation*]

Full of confidence in your promises, I am tranquil as to my private affairs. If my wife communicates them to you as I hope she does, I can show my gratitude for so many bounties only by the respectful and sincere attachment with which I have the honor to be, for my life, Monsieur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

MACARTY MACTIGUE

M. Rousellet<sup>1</sup> acts as aid major; he is a very gentle person.

La Jeunesse expects you will be good enough to have him given a gratification such as he merits for the voyages that he has made. M. Benoist will leave, as soon as the river is open, with three bateaux.

<sup>1</sup> Jean Baptiste Roussetlet de Beaugroger. Lieutenant in the Regiment of Vermandois. Lieutenant in Louisiana, October 1, 1750. He was acting as aid major when the criminal process was taken against the deserters at Kaskaskia in 1752. A N Colonies C13A 36: 103 *et seq.* In 1754 he was reported as taken prisoner or killed on the Wabash. *Post*, 868. The list of officers for Louisiana marks him "dead 1756." A N Colonies D2C4.

MACARTY TO ROUILLÉ, February 1, 1752

[A N Colonies C13A 36:307]

MONSEIGNEUR

Vous m'avez ordonné L'ors que jeus L'honneur de prendre  
Congé de vous à Versailles de vous Rendre Compte de la situa-  
tion de mon poste, du produit du pays, Et de ces forces, Et ce  
qu'on y pouvoit faire;

Je profite de La premier occasion qu'y ce presente a vous  
Instruire; Et de mon arrivée icy avec quatre Compagnies; j'arri-  
vay Le 8 xbre dernier Lors qu'un party de sauvage des Nations  
du ouâbache Lesquels sous L'ombre daller En guerre Contre nos  
Ennemis Les Chikachas setants Eparpilliés dans Differents  
Etablissements Ils tuerre Le même Jour un soldat Deux Esclaves,  
Et Blessa un habitant, ont avertis du Coup fait; Jcÿ, ou il y  
avoit un party qu'y voyant venir du monde avec Rumeur Et  
sachant de quoy il Etoit Cas de camperrent on donna après Eux  
ont En tua Cinq. fait quatre prisonniers dont Le Chef Des dits  
peanguichias Est du nombre, Et Blessa plusieurs que j'ay appris  
Estre morts au Nombre de dix huit avant que Darriver ches Eux;

[Translation]

MONSEIGNEUR:

You directed me when I had the honor to take leave of  
you at Versailles to give you an account of the situation in my  
post, of the produce of the country, of its strength, and what  
could be made of it.

I profit by the first occasion which presents itself to inform  
you, firstly of my arrival here with four companies. I arrived  
December 8 last when a party of Indians of the Wabash tribes  
under pretense of going to war against our enemy the Chickasaw  
had scattered among the various settlements. On the same day  
they killed a soldier and two slaves and wounded an inhabitant.  
The inhabitants were warned of the attacks that had been made.  
Here, one party of Indians, seeing the news arrive, and knowing  
what was the matter, took to flight. They were pursued; five  
were killed, four made prisoners, among them the chief of the  
said Piankashaw. Several more were wounded whom I learned  
were dead to the number of eighteen before reaching their villages.



Cette petite guerre Vient de quelque Rebelles de differentes Nations quy se sonts mis sous Le pavillon Anglois sur La Rivierre a La Roche autrement Le Sauts dans Loÿo ou Il onts du secours de Langlois qui y ont Etably quelques Maisons pour la trette Depuis peut ;

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Jé Eu L'honneur de faire Connoistre à Monseigneur Le Marechal de Noailles<sup>1</sup> L'ors quils minterogéa sur Les Limittes de Nos Colonnies La necessitté d'un poste dans les quartiers quy pûts servir de Barrieres de Ces Cotters La Et metre nos Rivierres à couverts ; plus nous serons pres de notre Ennemy, plus nous Connoistrons Ces mouvements Et pourons nous y opposer ;

ont voit quils onts Dessein de penetrer dans Loüést par toutes Les mauvaises parolles quils font Courir depuis pres d'un an ; Ils onts fait donner En trette des marchandises aux sauvages à un sy Bas prix pour sattirer Les nations ; quil sembleroit Les avoir donné, quelques Chefs illinois mont Dit quils Etoit vray

[*Translation*]

This little war was caused by some rebels in the various tribes who put themselves under the English flag on Great Miami River, otherwise the Falls of the Ohio, where they get help from the English, who a little while ago established several trading houses.

I had the honor of informing Monseigneur le Maréchal de Noailles<sup>1</sup> when he questioned me on the boundaries of our colonies as to the necessity of a post in these regions which might serve as barrier on that side in order to protect our rivers. The closer we are to our enemy the more we know his movements and the better we can oppose him.

It has been evident that they have a plan of penetrating into the West by all the evil messages which they have been sending around for almost a year. In order to draw the tribes, they have given goods in trade to the Indians at so low a price that it seems as though they gave them away. Several Illinois chiefs have told me it was true that they had been to see the English because

<sup>1</sup> Adrien-Maurice, Duc de Noailles, 1678-1766. Minister of finance, 1715-1718. Marshal of France, 1734.

quils avoints Eté voir Langlois par ce que on Leurs avoit Dit quil y avoit Beaucoup de Marchandises, mais quils ny avoints pas Eté avec mauvais dessein; Effectivement Ces se quy leurs attirre Les Nations surtout Les Coureurs;

Le Sauvage nestime Les personnes qu'autant quils luy donne ou quils trouve Leurs avantages; L'affaire quy C'est passée Icy nest que suite du Coup fait sur Ces Rebelles Le mois de 7bre Dernier par un partis du Canada. Jespere que Cette petite affaire ne sçaura pas de Consequence sy nous pouvons Conserver Les quatres villages illinois nos domicilié dont il sen trouve deux prisonniers;

Il se trainoit quelque mauvaises affaires Contre nous, mais Ce nestoit pas general par Le discours des Chefs nos alliez Jé Les ait vûes chacun En particuliers;

Nous avons Besoin pour Etablir ce pays de la tranquillité Et Beaucoup d habitans; il y fait froid autant qu'en france Les Souches de chaque Espece quon y apporte de france y produissent il ne manque que la premier souche; vous trouves des des prairies

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preste à y metre La Charüé Vous jugeres par La Monseig-

[Translation]

they were told that the English had much merchandise, but that they had not been there with an ill design. In effect this is what draws the tribes to the English, especially the *coureurs*. The Indians esteem people only in proportion as people give to them, or as they profit by them. What happened here is only the result of the attack made on the rebels in the month of September last by a party from Canada. I hope this little affair will have no consequence if we can keep our hold on the four Illinois villages domiciled with us, from which are our two prisoners. Some ill devices were in operation against us but they were not general so far as can be judged from the talk of the chiefs who are allied to us. I have seen each of them separately.

To establish this country we have need of tranquillity and many inhabitants. It is as cold here as in France. Trees of every sort brought from France bear fruit here; only the first sapling is needed. Here you will find prairies ready for the plow.

neur de Laisance à Etablir un päys quy nourrira non seulement les habitans mais tout Le Bas de Cette Collonnié En y metants des habitans on y metera des Soldats quy ne Couterons Rien au Roy; Et Ces mesmes familles au Bout de Lan sonts En Etat de ce maintenir pourveüé toutes fois quilz Eussent une Charüé Et les premiers Especies des Bestiaux;

La Collonnié Est Bien Estendüe pour Le peut de monde que nous avons; jay trois Cents hommes de troupes pour Conserver trois à quatre Cents Lieux de pays; Nous avons Environ tants habitans que Esclaves seise Cents ames quy forme six Especies De villages tant grands que petits, Ce sonts toute Les force de ce pay's

C est Lentrepôts des tretteurs du Canadas au Missoury, ont y fait Du Sel dans plusieurs Endroits ou y à des mines de plomb abondantes de Cuivre, même quy sonts Eloigné de Ce poste; Le pays Est magnifique un peüt dans La profondeur du fleuve du Cotte des Escorts à prud'homme jusque a la Rivierres des Cherakis sonts de tres Belles terres; Les plus Beaux Endroits

[*Translation*]

You will judge from that, Monseigneur, of how easy it is to settle a country which will sustain not only its inhabitants but all the lower part of the colony. By putting inhabitants here you will also put soldiers here who cost nothing to the king, and these same families at the end of the year are in a condition to maintain themselves, provided always that they have a plow and the beginning of a stock of cattle.

The colony is very extensive considering the few people that we have. I have three hundred men of troops to keep three or four hundred leagues of country. We have, counting inhabitants and slaves, sixteen hundred souls who form six villages large and small. This is all the population of the country.

It is the stopping place of the traders of Canada on their way to the Missouri. Salt is made in several places; there are lead mines abounding in copper which are at a distance from this post. The country is magnificent; in the extent of the river from the Ecores à Prudhomme as far as the Tennessee River there are very fine lands. The finest places in our colony

de Notre Collonnié sont Incultes par Leloignement; il seroit a propos Defaire du Cotté De la Belle Rivierre autrement Loya un poste asses Considerable pour pouvoir Conserver nos Nations de ce Cotté La Et Enpescher Les tretteurs anglois de venir sur nos terres, Et descendre dans nos Rivierre Ces Ce qu'y nous occasionne Le trouble dans nos Nations;

Nous aurions grand Besoin que Le magazin Du Roÿ fûts Munis dans Loccurence presente de Beaucoup de marchandises de trette pour nous attirer Et faire agir Les Nations Contre nos Ennemis; quoy que ce poste ne soit pas munny Cette année de farines Comme d'ordinaire joints á Laugmentation des troupes

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que nous avons; ayant Receue une Lettre de Mrs de la Jonquaire Et Bigot pour faire fournir des Vivres necessaires au detroit mis-amis Et ouyastana. jé preferé a fournir ces postes par Leloignement de la mer a La nouvllle orleans; je m'en vais faire forcer Les recoltes cette année dans Lesperance que vous nous Envoyeres de nouveaux Colons; ou pour Êstre à même de fournir des vivres Cý Lon avoit quelques Entreprises a faire

[*Translation*]

remain uncultivated on account of their remoteness. It would be apropos to make on the side of Beautiful River, otherwise known as Ohio River, a post sufficiently important to be able to retain our Indians on that side and prevent the English traders from coming on our lands and descending into our rivers which gives us trouble with our tribes; it is very important that the king's storehouse should be furnished under present circumstances with much merchandise for trade in order to draw the tribes to us and make them active against our enemies. Though this post is not supplied this year with flour as ordinarily, while the number of our troops has increased, I have, on receiving a letter from MM. de la Jonquière and Bigot to furnish necessary provisions to Detroit, to the Miamis post, and to Ouiatanon, resolved to supply these posts because they are so far from the sea and New Orleans. I am going to press on the harvest this year in the hope that we will be sent new colonists or at least be in a condition to furnish provisions if there are expeditions to make,

qy donneray ton mes soins ; jé Crains Bien d' Estre Inquietté de mes Ennemis pendants Les Labours ; Les habitans desireroient avoir quelque Sacqs de semence de seigle pour le metre En ordre ; Jespere que vous voudrez Bien Leurs accorder Cette grace ;

J'ay L'honneur d'Estre avec un tres profond Respect, Monseigneur

Votre tres humble Et tres obeissant serviteur

MACARTY MACTIGNY

ST. ANGE TO VAUDREUIL, February 28, 1752

[H M LO 336]

Repdue du 28. avril 1752

MONSIEUR

jay recus la lettre que vous m avé fait l'honneur de m'écrire le premier Septembre dernier je vous Suis tres obligé monsieur de ce quil vous a plus me Continué le Commandement dans ce poste et ne pas moins Sensibles a la grasse que vous veuille bien faire a mon neveux En lui procurant Son navanssemént jay 1

[*Translation*]

to which I will give all my attention. I much fear being disturbed by the enemy during these labors. The inhabitants desire to have some sacks of rye to sow. Accordingly I hope you will be good enough to allow them this favor.

I have the honor to be with very profound respect, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

MACARTY MACTIGUE

Answered April 28, 1752

MONSIEUR:

I received the letter you did me the honor to write me September 1 last. I am very much obliged to you, Monsieur, for being pleased to continue me in the command of this post, and not less sensible of the favor you are good enough to do my nephew by procuring him his advancement. I have the honor to

honneur de vous En faire mes tres humbles rémérsiments de  
 puie que jay l honneur de Commander dans ce poste je nest rien  
 négligé pour Connoitre les Sentiments de nos domisiliers a notre  
 Égare et pour les mettre dans nos jnteraits mais aujourdhuy les  
 Chosse Sont bien changé une partye des nations du Sabache Sont  
 contre nous et ne pouvant guier Compter sur la fidélité des autre  
 Se Sont les répubiquiën de la rivier a la roche qui nous Cause tou  
 Ses troubles et Sala En represalle du Coup qun partye de  
 nipissingue nations du Canada ont fait Sur Eux En leur Cassant  
 deux l'este Comptant avoir fait un grand coup mais nos rébelle se  
 santtant frappé Sans avoir perdue de leur forse né par nierr rien  
 pour Engager nos differante nations a prandre party pour  
 Eux a quoi jl nont que trop reussie Ceux qui lon prie  
 ouvertement Se Sont les pienguichias du vérmillon une partye des  
 jllinois et ceux d aupres de nous les premiers commansaise a  
 frappér au jllinois au Commanssement désembre et le 19 les  
 notre nous tuére deux francois de quatre qui Étoit a faire des

[*Translation*]

offer you my very humble thanks.

Since I have had the honor to command at this post I have neglected nothing to learn the sentiments of our domiciled Indians toward us, and to keep them in our interest. But today things have changed much. A part of the Wabash tribes are opposed to us, and we can scarcely count on the fidelity of the remainder. It is the republicans of Great Miami River who are the cause of all our troubles, and that in reprisal for the attack that a party of the Nipissing tribes of Canada have made on them, tomahawking two of them last summer, and thinking they had made a great stroke. But our rebels feeling themselves attacked, but not weakened, omit nothing to induce our various tribes to take their side, in which they have but too well succeeded. Those who have openly joined them are the Piankashaw of the Vermilion, part of the Illinois, and those near us. The first mentioned tribe began the attack at the Illinois at the beginning of December, and on the nineteenth our Indians killed two Frenchmen out of four who were making pirogues some leagues from the post. The

pirogues a quelques lieux de ce poste le 21 jl tuère deux Esclave rouge a la véue de ce fort qui revenoit de la chasse. de puie Se tems la jl nont point parues an prémiér Crin de Cét guierre j ay fait a longé notre fort pour y an férmer l église et présbitaire et pour j baraquér les habittans Se que nous navont pue faire qu' avec dès petit pieux la peut de monde et la riguierre de la Saisons ne nous a pas pérmié de nous fortiffiér davantage Se post demande assi bien que les batiments a estre rétabli En n'eufe le tout en n'est pourie

mais Se quil minquétte le plus C est que nous n avons plus de Sauvage auprès de ce poste Se quil fait prandre le partye a qu'elqun de nos habittans de laisseise landroit Comme la plus par ne vivoit que du Commerce quil se fait avec le Sauvage

j avoit quélique Esperance que j angageroit les quicapoux de la terre haute a venir setablise au pres de nous mais japrend que Mr deslignery Commandant au 8atanonts les a détermine aller faire village au pres de lui San doute quil Ennarecus les ordre de monsieur le général

[*Translation*]

twenty-first they killed two Indian slaves who were returning from the hunt and within sight of the fort. Since that time we have not seen a sign of war. I have had our fort extended to include the church and the presbytery and to lodge the inhabitants. This we have been able to do only with small pickets. The few people and the harshness of the season have not permitted us to fortify ourselves properly. All the buildings of this post need to be rebuilt anew; they are all decayed.

But what most disquiets me is that we have no more Indians at the post, which induces some of our inhabitants to leave the place as they can live only by the trade with the Indians.

I had some hope that I might induce the Kickapoo of Terre Haute to come and settle with us, but I learn that M. de Ligneris, commandant at Ouiatanon, has induced them to go and make their village with him. Doubtless he has for this received the orders of Monsieur the general.



les traitteurs Englois S avance toujours Sur nos terre, pour donner plus de fassilité a nos nations de leur porter leurs péleries Mr des lignery ma marqué En dernier lieux quil avoit a prie quil liassasoit Sur la rivier blanche peut éloigné de Son poste.

jl Est grand tems que lon prenne le parti de les chasser et de nous mettre Ennédate de réprimér laudasse de nos nations rébélle Senquoi la malle augmantera toujours et nos rivièrs devienderont jnpraticable les pienguichias que nous avons au prés de nous et qui Sont devenue nos Ennemie Se Sont joint a Ceux du vérmillon que lon dit Estre dans les plaines qui sont Éntre la Sabache Ét les jllinois mais je ne pense pas que leur dessins soit de réster la ou bien jl seroit assuré dettre soutenue des autres nations Cest Se que nous avons le plus a Craindre veue la mauvasse dispositions de plusieurs les quicapoux et mascoutin nous parésse En Core un peut atachée Se pendant Mr des lignery ma Écrit quil ne les croyéte pas dispossé a prandre partye pour nous

[*Translation*]

The English traders steadily encroach on our lands, to give greater opportunity to our tribes to bring them their furs. M. de Ligneris has just informed me that he had learned that they were on White River not far from his post.

It is high time that we took the course of driving them off and putting ourselves in a position to repress the audacity of our rebel tribes. Otherwise the evil will always increase, and our rivers will become impassable. The Piankashaw that we had near us, who have become our enemies, have joined those of the Vermilion; these last are said to be in the plains between the Wabash and the Illinois, but I do not think their plans are to remain there, unless they feel sure of being supported by other tribes. That is what we have to fear most, in view of the ill disposition of some of them. The Kickapoo and the Mascoutens still seem a little attached to us. However M. de Ligneris writes me that he does not think them disposed to take our side.

Nos Ennemie de la rivier a la roche ont tué lotonne dernier  
deux soldats de la garnisons de miamie ous Commande Mr villier  
nous ne Savont pas sil En Seront reste-la, lon nous fait Esperer  
que Monsieur le marqu de la jonquierre prandera le partie  
denvoyé des forsse de Canada Capables de méttre a la raisons  
nos Ennemies je le soitte pour la tranquillite de Se payés

Monsieur jay une grasse a vous demand Si Setoit Votre bon  
plaisir da Cordér de Congé au nomme filibér dit orléans Soldat  
de notre garnisons jl Est dans la Colonie de puis 15 ans et ne  
Sest point rangagé

jay l honneur d'ettre avec un tres profond respéct Monsieur  
votre tres humbles et tres obeissant Serviteur

ST ANGE

AU POST VIENCENE le 28 fevrier 1752

les pienguichias du village du vermillon ont tué a la fien  
desembre cinq francois dans leur village.

[*Translation*]

Our enemies of Great Miami River last fall killed two  
soldiers of the Miamis garrison where M. Villiers commands.  
We do not know if they will remain there. We are made to hope  
that Monsieur le Marquis de la Jonquière will decide to send  
forces from Canada capable of making our enemies listen to  
reason. For the tranquillity of the country, I desire it.

Monsieur, I have a favor to ask of you—if you would be  
good enough to allow a leave to the man named Philibert, called  
Orleans, a soldier of my garrison. He has been in this country  
fifteen years and has not reënlisted.

I have the honor to be with a very profound respect, Mon-  
sieur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

ST. ANGE

VINCENNES, February 28, 1752

The Piankashaw of the village on the Vermilion at the end of  
December killed five Frenchmen in their village.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE SHADOW OF THE ENGLISH, MARCH-APRIL, 1752

ALBEMARLE<sup>1</sup> TO HOLDERNESSE,<sup>2</sup> March 8, 1752

[P R O 78—243:173]

PARIS 26. Feb: 1752.

8. Mars:

MY LORD

I have received the honour of both Your Lordship's Letters of the 20th Feby O. S.; and return You my thanks for the Notice you have been pleased to give me in one of them of the Change of Mourning and the time of it's Continuance, to which I shall conform myself accordingly; As the Other brings me no particular Commands from His Majesty than the continuing to refuse accepting the List of Prizes made at Sea; which Mor St Contest<sup>3</sup> might offer to me, and to adhere strictly to the Terms of

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the Declaration of the 8th July 1748.; I have only to assure Your Lordship of my paying due Obedience to those Directions.

I am now to acquaint Your Lordship that I saw Mor Rouillé Yesterday, and that having drawn up a Note<sup>4</sup> of the several Complaints I had received Orders to make of Mor de la Jonquiere's Conduct, I delivered it to him and told him, in general, the Contents of it, insisting on the Necessity, for the preservation of the

<sup>1</sup> William Anne Keppel, Earl of Albemarle, June 5, 1702—December 22, 1754. Titular governor of Virginia from 1737 and British ambassador at Paris from 1749 to his death. See Pease, *Anglo-French Boundary Disputes in the West* (I. H. C., 27), xxiv *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Robert Darcy, Earl of Holderness, 1718-1778. Secretary of state for the southern department from June 18, 1751; for the northern from March 23, 1754. Pease, *Anglo-French Boundary Disputes in the West* (I. H. C., 27), xxiv, n.

<sup>3</sup> François-Dominique Barberie, Marquis de St. Contest. Secretary for foreign affairs, September 11, 1751—July 24, 1754.

<sup>4</sup> For this declaration see Pease, *Anglo-French Boundary Disputes in the West*, (I. H. C., 27), 28.

Good Understanding His Majesty was desirous of keeping up with The Most Christian King, of sending such positive Orders to all their Governors in the West Indies as might effectually prevent their attempting, for the future, any such Incroachments on His Majesty's Territories, and committing such Violences on His Subjects, as had been done in the past. I inclose a Copy of that paper for Your Lordship's Information, in which are col-  
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lected the several Heads of Complaint, contained in Governor Clinton's<sup>1</sup> Letter, and the others that accompanied it; Your Lordship will observe; that tho', according to Mr Clinton's Notes in Mor de la Jonquiere's Letter to him, he is of opinion, as to the Prisoners taken by the French, that it would seem that the Governor of Pensilvania is the most proper person to make remarks on that part of the Letter, as the prisoners belonged to that Government, (which remarks have not been sent me, if made) yet as he has said a little before, that the Country, in which the Prisoners were taken, belonged to the five Nations, and that great part of the River Ohio was actually within the Grant to the Proprietors of Pensilvania, I have chose not to wait 'till an answer from the Governor of Pensilvania can be had (which We could always have recourse to) but to lay hold of that, not to lose time, to deny the Power the French Governor pretends to have, of giving  
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Ordinances forbidding the English to trade in those parts, the Infraction of which occasioned the seizing of those people whom Governor Clinton demands of him, with a Satisfaction for the Seizure and Confiscation of their Effects (and which I have repeated as Your Lordship directs) As I thought this Argument sufficient for the present to overturn those of the French Governor's, which turn upon that Principle; and to condemn his Conduct, in which I hope I shall not be disapproved.

I added to my remonstrances, that I hoped they would be taken into Consideration soon, that he might be able to give me

<sup>1</sup> George Clinton, naval officer, younger son of Francis, sixth Earl of Lincoln, was born in 1686 and died July 10, 1761. He served as governor of New York from 1743 to 1753. Sir Henry Clinton, commander of the British forces during part of the Revolution, was his son. *Dictionary of American Biography*.

an answer next Week, or as soon afterwards as possibly could; that Minister told me, that he would use his best Endeavours for that purpose, assured me that it was the Intention of his Court to prevent any Disputes arising that might tend to alter the present Correspondence between the two Nations, and that I

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might depend on such Orders being sent to their Governors accordingly. He then said they had likewise some Complaints to make of Governor Clinton, which he was not prepared to give me now, but desired that His Majesty would be pleased to order the like Directions to be sent to His Governors, that they might live in a good Understanding with those of His Most Christian Majesty.

Of the three Men I mentioned to Your Lordship in my Letters of last Week, that had been brought Prisoners from Canada to La Rochelle, whom I sent for to come to Paris, two of them are arrived, and the third is gone to London; I will take such Informations from them as may be necessary for my Instruction, to support their receiving Satisfaction for the Injuries

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that have be done them. He that is gone to England is Luke Erwin, who in all probability will apply to the Plantation Office.

I have the honour to be with the greatest respect, My Lord, Your Lordship's Most obedient and most humble Servant.

ALBEMARLE

DEPOSITION OF JOHN PATTON, March 8, 1752

[P R O 78—243:192]

Jean Patten né à Willenstown, dans la Province de Newcastle, en Pensilvanie, declare, qu'il a toujours demeuré dans cette partie du Monde, et qu'il a beaucoup voyagé dans le Païs

[*Translation*]

John Patton, born at Wilmington in the province of Newcastle in Pennsylvania, declares that he has always lived in that part of the world and that he has traveled much in the country

d'alentour; Qu'il faisoit le Commerce avec les Indiens, aux Environs de la Source de la Riviere Miamis, qui tombe dans celle d'Ohio, sur la premiere desquelles, les Indiens appellés les Twightawies, sont etablis; Qu'il connoit très bien tout ce païs, lequel appartient aux Cinq Nations, appellées les Mingos, et par les François, les Iroquois, et s'etend plusieurs Lieux au de là de l'Endroit, où il commerçoit, du Coté du Mississpi.

Que le 20. Novembre 1750., un Parti d'environ Vingt Soldats François armés, ayant à leur Tête le Capitaine Villiers, et le Lieutenant Montigny,<sup>1</sup> se presenterent au lieu où étoit le dit Patten, dans les Bois, y ayant cinq ou Six Cabanes Indiennes, dans lesquelles étoient Ses Marchandizes; Qu'ayant trouvé l'Exposant, ils s'assurerent d'abord de Sa personne, et saisirent Ses

Marchandizes, qui consistoient en Peaux de Daïms, <sup>192v</sup> Fourrures qu'il avoit achetées des Indiens, et en Quincailleries, Gros Draps, et autres Marchandizes et Effets, qu'il donnoit en Echange aux

[Translation]

round about; that he was trading with the Indians in the vicinity of the source of the Miami River, which falls into the Ohio; that on the river first named are settled the Indians called the Miami; that he knows all that country very well; it belongs to the Five Nations, called the Mingo, and known to the French as the Iroquois, and extends divers leagues toward the Mississippi from the place where he was trading.

That November 20, 1750 a party of about twenty French soldiers, armed, commanded by Captain Villiers and Lieutenant Montigny,<sup>1</sup> appeared at the place in the woods where the said Patton was, there being five or six Indian cabins in which were his goods: That having found the deponent, they secured his person and seized his goods which consisted of deerskins and furs which he had bought of the Indians, and of hardware, cloth, and other goods and property which he traded to the Indians for

<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant Montigny may have been Jean-Baptiste-Philippe Testard. Baptized June 16, 1724. Married Charlotte Trotier October 28, 1748. Ensign *en second*, 1743; *en pied*, 1748; lieutenant, 1753; captain, 1757. Cross of St. Louis, 1762. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire*, 7:284. See also, *ante*, 387 n.

Indiens, pour leur Pelleteries et Fourrures. Qu'à la verité les François ne prirent pas les Peaux. de Daims, mais les couperent et les gâterent en les fouillant et jettant de Coté et d'autre.

Que le lendemain, 21. Novembre, l'Exposant fut consigné à un Detachement de Neuf hommes, qui le menerent prisonniér au Fort, que les François ont bâti au Detroit (Riviere qui communique du Lac Erie à celui d'Ontario ou Frontenac), Ce qui faisoit une Marche de Vingt trois Jours; qu'il fut obligé de faire toute à pied, Ses Chevaux ayant été saisi, ainsi que Ses Marchandizes, et pendant toute la route il fut très mal traité, ayant été mal nourri, et obligé de charger sur son Dos, toutes les Commodités, qu'il est necessaire d'avoir avec Soi, quand on voyage dans ces pais deserts, dont il souffrit beaucoup, n'étant point accoutumé à

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porter ce Fardeau, aussi bien que par le mauvais tems, et les mauvais Chemins.

En arrivant à ce Fort, il y trouva les Anglois, nommés, Thomas Bourke, Luc Erwin, et Joseph Faltener, qui y avoient été conduits, par des Detachemens François, sous le même pre-

[*Translation*]

their peltry and fur; That the French indeed did not take the deerskins but cut and spoiled them, trampling them under foot and throwing them about.

That the next day, November 21, the deponent was turned over to a detachment of nine men who led him a prisoner to the fort that the French have built at Detroit (a river joining Lake Erie to Lake Ontario or Frontenac). This was a march of twenty-three days which he was forced to make entirely on foot, his horses having been seized as well as his goods. During the whole journey he was very illtreated, being ill fed, and obliged to carry on his back all the articles it is necessary to have with you when you travel in these desert countries. From this he suffered much, being unaccustomed to carry such a load, as well as from the bad weather and bad roads.

Arrived at this fort, he found the Englishmen named Thomas Bourke, Luke Erwin, and Joseph Faltener who had been brought there by French detachments under the same pretext as the



texte que l'Exposant l'avoit été, et receurent le meme Traitement que lui.—Il fut mené au Gouverneur François, Mor Celeron, qui lui fit plusieurs Questions, sur le Trafic, que les Anglois faisoient, avec les Indiens, qu'un Interprete lui expliqua, n'entendant pas Lui meme, non plus que les autres, la langue Française; aux quelles il repondit comme la Chose étoit; Et le Gouverneur lui ayant demande, s'il n'étoit pas vrai, que les Anglois corrompoient les Indiens, pour les engager à quitter les François, et trafiquer avec les Anglois? l'Exposant repondit, selon la Verité, que cela n'étoit point, Mais qu'il savoit bien, que les François en agissoient ainsi, pour gagner les Indiens, et même qu'ils leur donnoient des recompenses, pour les Pericranes<sup>1</sup> des Anglois qu'ils leur appor-

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toient, et que les Gouverneur Anglois n'en agissoient pas de même envers les Sujets François.

Après que Mor Celeron eut examiné l'Exposant, il l'envoya au Corps de Garde, où il le fit rester six ou sept Jours, n'ayant que la Terre pour se coucher, sans paille, au bout desquels, Mor

[Translation]

deponent, and who received the same treatment that he did. He was carried to the French governor, M. Céloron, who put several questions to him as to the trade the English carried on with the Indians. These questions an interpreter explained to him as neither he nor the other prisoners understood the French language. To the questions he replied according to the facts; and the governor asking him if it was not true that the English were corrupting the Indians to induce them to leave the French and trade with the English, the deponent replied, as was true, that it was not so, but that he knew well that the French acted thus to win the Indians, even giving them rewards for the English scalps they brought, while the English governor did not so behave to French subjects.

After M. Céloron had examined the deponent, he sent him to the guardhouse, where he was left for six or seven days, having only the ground to lie on, and no straw. At the end of that time

<sup>1</sup> This is manifestly translation French as evidenced by the use of such words as "pericrane," the anatomical word for "scalp."

Celeron le fit mener devant lui, et l'examina encore, au même Effet qu'auparavant, et Patten lui fit toujours les mêmes réponses.—Après Quoi, Mor Celeron, lui dit, qu'il avoit écrit trois Lettres à Monsieur Hamilton, Gouverneur de Pensilvanie, pour Lui signifier, qu'il avoit fait faire Defense aux Anglois, de trafiquer avec les Indiens de la Riviere d'Ohio, et lui demanda si Monsr Hamilton ne les avoit pas receuës? à quoi il repondit que non. Et sur cela, Mor de Celeron dit à l'Exposant, que la raison pour laquelle il avoit été arrêté, étoit, tant pour avoir trafiqué avec les Indiens, contraire à la Defense qu'il avoit donnée, et à cause que le Gouverneur de la Pensilvanie, n'avoit pas jugé à propos, de repondre à ses Lettres; l'Exposant lui repeta, sur cela, qu'Elles

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n'étoient point parvenuës à Mor Hamilton, et quand meme elles le seroient, le Territoire, sur lequel, Lui, Exposant, avoit été pris, appartenoit indubitablement aux Cinq Nations, et par consequent, Les Gouverneurs Francois ne pouvoient avoir aucun Droit, de faire Défense aux Anglois, d'y commercer librement; Mais au

[*Translation*]

M. Céloron had him brought before him and examined him again to the same effect as before; and Patton made him the same answers always. After that M. Céloron told him that he had written three letters to Monsieur Hamilton, governor of Pennsylvania, signifying to him that he, Céloron, had forbidden the English to trade with the Indians of the Ohio River, and asked Patton if M. Hamilton had not received them. To this he replied, "No." And on that M. de Céloron said to the deponent that the reason for which he had been arrested was both for trading with the Indians contrary to his prohibition, and because the governor of Pennsylvania had not seen fit to answer his letters. On that the deponent repeated that the letters had not reached M. Hamilton, and that even if they had, the territory on which he, the deponent, had been taken prisoner indubitably belonged to the Five Nations; consequently the French governors could have no right to forbid the English freely to trade there; on the contrary,

contraire, de vouloir les en empêcher, c'étoit agir contre le Droit de la Nation Angloise.

Après cet Examen fini, Mor Celeron fit donner un Logement à Patten, dans lequel on le fit rester jusqu'au premier d'Avril 1751., auquel Jour on le fit partir du Detroit, et on le consigna, avec les trois autres anglois ci-dessus nommés, après les avoir fait examiner à part, de même que Lui, et qui receurent en tout le meme traitement (etant toujours gardés ensemble), à un Detachement de Vingt Cinq hommes, sous les Ordres de Mor Baugier,<sup>1</sup> Officier François, qui les mena à Montreal, où ils furent au delà d'un mois à arriver, et où Mor de la Jonquiere se trouva etre.—

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À leur arrivée, l'Exposant et les autres Prisonniers, furent mis en prison, où ils furent tous durement traités, n'ayant d'autre Lit que de la paille, et pour toute Nourriture, qu'une Livre et demie de pain par Jour, et une Livre de Viande en quatre Jours, et de l'Eau.

[*Translation*]

preventing them from doing it was to act in contravention of the rights of the English nation.

When this examination was ended M. Céloron had a lodging given Patton in which he kept him until the first of April, 1751. On that day he was made to leave Detroit and consigned with the three other Englishmen above named—after they had been examined in the same fashion as himself, and had received in all respects the same treatment, as they were always kept together—to a detachment of twenty-five men under the orders of M. Baugier,<sup>1</sup> a French officer who conducted them to Montreal. They were above a month in getting there, where they found M. de la Jonquière. On their arrival the deponent and the other prisoners were put in prison and harshly treated, having no bed but straw and for rations a pound and a half of bread a day, a pound of meat every four days, and water.

<sup>1</sup>Probably Daniel-Hyacinthe Liénard, Sieur de Beaujeu, for whom see *ante*, 245.

L'Exposant et ses infortunés Confreres, furent detenus dans cette prison un Mois entier, à la fin duquel, Mor de la Jonquiere les interrogea au même Effet, qu'ils l'avoient déjà été, par Mor de Celeron; et il demanda à l'Exposant Patten, la quantité de Marchandizes qu'il avoit eu dans le Desert? à quoi il repondit, qu'en Marchandizes, Pelleteries, et Fourrures, il avoit eu jusqu'à la Concurrence de £750. Cours de Pensilvanie; Que les François prirent, ou, du moins, tout ce qu'ils en voulurent, et abandonnerent le reste au pillage des Indiens, n'y ayant personne de sa part pour les conserver—Que les François lui enleverent douze Chevaux, avec tout leur Equipement, lesquels, à une juste Supputation, valaient au moins £150 même Cours—ces deux Sommes faisant 195

ensemble 900 Livres, Argent de ce País, produisent environ 650. Livres Cours d'Angleterre.

Patten après avoir subi cet Interrogatoire, fut mis en Logement à Montreal, dans lequel on le fit continuer un Mois; Après qu'il y avoit été huit Jours, Patten, fut mené devant Mor de la Jonquiere, qui l'interrogea, une seconde fois, au meme Effet qu'auparavant.

[*Translation*]

The deponent and his companions in misfortune were kept in this prison a whole month. At the end of it M. de la Jonquière questioned them to the same effect that M. de Céloron had already done. And he asked of the deponent Patton the quantity of goods he had had in the wilderness, to which he replied that in goods, peltry, and furs he had as much as £750 Pennsylvania currency, of which the French took what they wished, leaving the rest to be pillaged by the Indians, he having no one to look after it; that the French had taken from him twelve horses with all their equipment, which on a just computation were worth at least £150, same currency. Together these two sums amount to 900 livres in money of this country or about £650 sterling.

Patton having undergone this inquisition was lodged in Montreal, where he was kept a month. At the end of the first week Patton was again brought before M. de la Jonquière, who questioned him a second time to the same effect as before.

Qu'Ensuite Monsr de la Jonquiere obligea Patten et les autres Anglois, de signer plusieurs papiers, au nombre de Sept, qu'il leur fit dire, par un Interprête, comme ils n'entendoient point le François, contenoient leurs Interrogatoires et Dépôtsions.— Ils objecterent Tous, qu'ils ne savoient point ce que ces papiers pouvoient contenir, à quoi Mor de la Jonquiere repondit encore, ce qu'il leur avoit déjà dit que c'étoit, et qu'il falloit qu'ils les signassent, sans quoi, ils seroient renvoyés en prison; intimidés par cette Menace, ils consentirent, à la fin, de les signer, sans savoir leur Contenu, plutôt que d'être jettés dans les Prisons.

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Patten demanda à Mor de la Jonquiere, de vouloir bien lui faire donner, et à ses Camarades une Copie de ce qu'ils venoient de signer, mais cela leur fut absolument refusé, de sorte qu'à l'heure qu'il est ils ignorent à quoi ils ont mis leurs Signatures, et par consequens le dit Exposant, Patten, proteste solennellement contre les dits Ecrits, en tout et chaque partie, en tant qu'ils pourroient être préjudiciables à Lui ou à Ses Intérêts.

Après avoir été detenu un Mois à Montreal, l'Exposant fut

[*Translation*]

Then M. de la Jonquière obliged Patton and the other Englishmen to sign divers papers to the number of seven, which he had them told through an interpreter, they not understanding French, contained their inquisitions and depositions. They all protested that they did not know what these papers might contain, to which M. de la Jonquière again answered that he had already told them what they were, and that they must sign, or otherwise they would be remanded to prison. Intimidated by this threat, they in the end consented to sign, without knowing the contents, rather than be cast into prison. Patton asked M. de la Jonquière to be good enough to have him and his comrades given a copy of what they had just signed, but that he absolutely refused to do, so that to this hour they are ignorant as to what it was they signed. Consequently the said Patton solemnly excepts to the said writings, all and every part of them, in so far as they may be prejudicial to him or to his interests.

After being detained a month at Montreal, deponent was

mené séparément à Quebec, où on lui fit donner un Logement, et l'y fit rester environ deux Mois, et les autres Anglois, savoir, Luc Erwin, Thomas Bourke, et Joseph Faltener, y furent menés un Mois après Lui—au bout des deux Mois, Monsr de la Jonquiere les fit tous embarquer, (excepté Joseph Faltener qui s'étant laissé persuader de changer de Religion, resta dans le Païs) sur un Navire nommé la Charmante Victoire, commandée par Louis Amette, et qui partoît pour la France, Mor de la Jonquiere leur

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disant, que le Territoire sur lequel ils avoient été pris, en trafic avec les Indiens, étoit en dispute, entre les Couronnes de France et de la Grande Bretagne, et qu'il leur falloit aller en France, pour prouver que la Propriété appartenoit au Roy de la Grande Bretagne, sur quoi, la Cour de France Leur feroit faire reparation de toutes leurs pertes. Mais cependant ils furent de pouillés de tout, et abandonnés au Maitre du Navire, sans s'inquieter de ce qui deviendrait d'Eux, dans la Suite, car on ne leur donna rien. Le Maitre du Navire les traita durement, ne

[*Translation*]

sent separately to Quebec, where he was given a lodging and was made to remain about two months. The other English, namely Luke Erwin, Thomas Bourke, and Joseph Faltener, were brought there a month later. At the end of the two months M. de la Jonquière had them all embarked (except Joseph Faltener, who, being persuaded to change his religion, remained in that country) on a ship named *La Charmante Victoire*, commanded by Louis Amette, which sailed for France. M. de la Jonquière told them that the territory in which they had been taken while trading with the Indians was disputed between the crowns of France and of Great Britain, and that they must go to France to prove that the propriety pertained to the King of Great Britain, upon which the Court of France would make reparation for all their losses. Nevertheless they were despoiled of everything and turned over to the master of the ship without any solicitude as to what would become of them in the sequel, for they were given nothing. The master of the ship treated them harshly, giving them only short

leur donnant que la petite provision, pendant tout le Voyage, qui dura cinquante et un Jours.

Ils arriverent à la Rochelle le 15. Octobre dernier, et d'abord, en débarquant, les Gens, à qui ils furent remis, leur mirent des Menottes, et les menerent en Prison dans le Clair Cachot.—Le lendemain on leur ôta les Menottes, et leur mit des Fers aux Pieds, mais dans quelques heures après, les Fers leur furent otés, sur les representations de quelques Habitans de la Ville, aux Gens de la Prison, combien cela etoit contraire aux Loix, en tems de

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paix, et à l'humanité. Ils furent detenus dans le Cachot six Semaines, n'ayant pour toute Nourriture, pendant tout ce tems, qu'une Livre et demie de Pain Bis, et de l'Eau, ni d'autre Lit qu'un peu de paille etendu sur la Terre.

Qu'une Demoiselle François, qui prit pitié de leur Etat, donna l'argent qu'on demandoit à la prison, pour leur fournir une Chambre et des Lits à Coucher, qu'ils obtinrent; Mais ils continuerent du Pain et à l'Eau pendant Six autres Semaines, au bout desquelles, vint un Ordre pour leur rendre leur liberté;—

[*Translation*]

commons during the whole voyage, which lasted fifty-one days.

They arrived at La Rochelle October 15 last, and on first landing the people to whom they were turned over handcuffed them and imprisoned them in Le Clair Cachot. Next day their handcuffs were taken off and irons put on their feet; but some hours later the irons were taken off on representations by some inhabitants of the city to the prison authorities, as to how contrary such treatment was in time of peace to law and to humanity. They were kept in the Cachot six weeks, having for their subsistence during that whole time only a pound and a half of biscuit and water, with no other bed than a little straw spread on the ground.

A French girl who took pity on their situation gave them the money that was demanded at the prison for furnishing them a room and beds to sleep on, and these they obtained. But they continued on bread and water during six weeks more, at the end of which came an order to give them their liberty. But what



Mais, quelle Liberté! Depouillés de tout, on leur donna un Ordre et un passeport, pour aller à Bordeaux; Sans cependant leur donner le moindre Secours d'argent; ainsi on les abandonna à leur besoins, et à trouver leur Subsistance comme ils le pourroient; Dure Necessité, pour des personnes, qui avoient vecu à leur aise, jusqu'à ce que les François leur avoient injustement envahi tout leur Bien, et les avoient fait transporter dans une autre partie du

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Monde Cette Liberté cependant valoit encore bien mieux que les Prisons, les Fers, et les durs Traitemens, et ils trouverent des personnes, dont le Coeur ressentit la Misère de leur Etat, à laquelle Elles subvinrent par leurs Charités—Du moins les François du Canada auroient ils dû les renvoyer à la Nouvelle Ecosse, ce qui etoit bien facile, d'où ils auroient pû se rendre dans les Lieux de leur Etablissemens, d'auprès desquels on les avoit enlevés—Mais on a semblé craindre, de les traiter avec trop de Douceur.

Quand l'Exposant et ses deux Confreres furent liberés de la Prison, ils demanderent à Mor d'Abbadie Commissaire Ordonna-

[Translation]

liberty! Despoiled of everything, they were given an order and a passport to go to Bordeaux, but without any money whatever. Thus they were abandoned to their needs, and to finding their food as they might, a harsh necessity for people who had taken their ease until these same French had unjustly laid hands on all their property and had had them transported into another part of the world. That liberty however was much better than prisons, irons, and harsh treatment, and they found people whose hearts were touched by their miserable situation, and who charitably relieved it.

The French in Canada at least might have sent them to Nova Scotia, which was very easy, and whence they might return to the place of their habitation, from which they had been carried away. But people seemed afraid of treating them too kindly.

When the deponent and his two brethren were released from prison they asked of M. d'Abbadie, *commissaire ordonnateur* at

teur à la Rochelle, de leur faire donner une Copie de leur Ecroux, Mais il le leur refusa positivement.

L'Exposant Patten et Thomas Bourke, vinrent de la Rochelle à Paris, où ils sont actuellement auprès de Monsr l'Ambassadeur de la Grande Bretagne, devant qui l'Exposant Patten a fait cette Declaration, laquelle il est pres à confirmer solennellement par  
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Serment, pour ce qui le regarde personnellement, n'y ayant rien dans son Contenu que la pure Verité.

Luc Erwin ayant trouvé l'occasion de s'embarquer à la Rochelle, est parti pour l'Irlande, pour de là repasser en Angleterre.

Le dit Jean Patten croit devoir ajouter de plus, par Voye d'Information que les François construisent des Forts, dans tous les Endroits par où les Indiens passent, afin de les empêcher de trafiquer avec les Anglois.—Mais malgré toutes les Difficultés que les François leur opposent, les Indiens continuent et desirent de Commercer avec les Anglois, preferablement aux François, trouvant plus de facilité, et à meilleur Compte avec les premiers,

[*Translation*]

La Rochelle, to give them a copy of their commitments, but he absolutely refused it to them.

The deponent Patton and Thomas Bourke came from La Rochelle to Paris, where they now are with M. the ambassador of Great Britain, before whom the deponent Patton has made this declaration, which he is ready to confirm solemnly by oath, as to what concerns him personally, as containing nothing but the simple truth.

Luke Erwin having found an opportunity of taking ship at La Rochelle has gone to Ireland, thence to return to England.

The said John Patton thinks he should further add by way of information that the French are building forts in all the places where the Indians pass to prevent them from trading with the English. But despite all the difficulties which the French make for them, the Indians continue and wish to continue to trade with the English in preference to the French, finding greater ad-

ce qui fait la Jalousie des François, qui ne cessent d'accabler les Anglois de Vexations, lorsqu'ils ont le malheur de tomber entre leurs mains; l'Exposant et ses Confreres infortunés, en viennent de faire la triste Epreuve.

De plus, Il est à observer, qu'en 1749 les François envoyèrent un Detachement de Cent hommes, pour reconnoitre le Païs, sur  
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le Cours de la Riviere Ohio et partout où ils passaient, ils conseilloyent et tâchoient de persuader aux Indiens de ne point avoir d'Amitié, ni de Commerce, avec les Anglois, et leur offrirent des Presents de poudre et de plomb, ce que les Indiens refuserent d'accepter, et ne voulurent avoir rien à faire avec les François. Et sur ce que quelques uns de ceux-ci, leur dirent, que leur Territoire appartenait au Roy de France, les Indiens devinrent furieux, et auroient tombé sur Eux, si les Anglois, qui étoient presents, ne les eussent empêché.

Que les François ont marqué toutes les Debouchûres des Rivières, qui tombent dans la Ohio, et autres Endroits remar-

[*Translation*]

vantages and better bargains with the former, which arouses the jealousy of the French, who do not cease to heap vexations on the English who are so unfortunate as to fall in their hands. The deponent and his unfortunate brethren have just had sad experience of it.

Moreover it is to be observed that in 1749 the French sent a detachment of one hundred men to reconnoiter the country along the Ohio River, and wherever they passed they held councils to try and persuade the Indians to have neither friendship nor trade with the English, offering them presents of powder and lead, which these Indians refused to accept, wishing to have nothing to do with the French. And on what some of the French said to them that their territory belonged to the King of France, the Indians became furious and would have fallen on them if the English present had not prevented them.

The French have marked the mouths of all the rivers which fall into the Ohio and other important places, by burying pieces

quables, en mettant sous Terre, des Morceaux de Fer-blanc, sur lesquels il y avoit quelque chose de gravé, pour marquer que ces Terres leur appartenoit, à ce qu'il comprit.

A PARIS le 8. Mars 1752.

DEPOSITION OF THOMAS BOURKE, March 2, 1752

[P R O 78—243:198v]

Thomas Bourke, Natif d'Irlande, passa en Pensilvanie vers l'an 1739., et a toujours demeuré depuis, dans cette partie du Monde.

Il dit, qu'il connoît tres bien le Païs des Cinq Nations Indiennes; appellées les Mingos, ou Iroquois, avec lesquelles Il a trafiqué.

Que dans le mois de Novembre 1750., l'Exposant et deux autres anglois, nommés, Luc Erwin et Joseph Faltener, furent arrêtés, par un Detachement d'environ cinquante Soldats François, ayant à leur tête, le Capitaine Baugier, le Lieutenant Courtemanche,<sup>1</sup> et un autre Officier, dont il ignore le Nom, à un Endroit

[*Translation*]

of tin on which as he understands something is engraved to designate these lands as belonging to them.

PARIS, March 8, 1752

Thomas Bourke, native of Ireland, went to Pennsylvania about the year 1739, and has always since lived in that part of the world.

He says that he knows very well the country of the Five Nations Indians, called the Mingo or the Iroquois, with whom he has traded; that in the month of November, 1750 the deponent and two other Englishmen named Luke Erwin and Joseph Faltener were arrested by a detachment of about fifty French soldiers, commanded by Captain Baugier, Lieutenant Courtemanche,<sup>1</sup> and another officer whose name he does not know, at

<sup>1</sup> François le Gardeur, Sieur de Courtemanche, son of Charles le Gardeur, Sieur de Croizille. Baptized in 1711; married Marie-Louise St. Ours at Montreal, August 26, 1737. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire*, 5:293-294. He was serving at this time as second in command to Céloron [A N

nommé Cuiahago,<sup>1</sup> environ à dix Lieuës du Fort, que les François ont bâti, sur le Lac Sandouske, qui joint au grand Lac d'Erie.

Que ce Païs est dans le Territoire des Cinq Nations, qui s'etend même à plusieurs Lieuës, au delà, a la ronde.

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Que ce Detachement se saisirent de tous les Effets, Marchandises, et de deux Chevaux, que l'Exposant avoit sur les Lieux où ils le firent prisonnier, lesquels, à une juste Supputation, pouvoient valoir ensemble, au de là de Cent quarante Livres argent de Pensilvanie—Et à un autre Endroit, à environ deux Lieuës de Distance, l'Exposant avoit d'autres Effets; qui furent abandonnés au Pillage, pour la Valeur de Cent Soixante Livres.

Qu'il fut mené Prisonnier au Fort du Détroit, et éprouva beaucoup de Duretés pendant sa Captivité.—Que peu de tems, après qu'il y fut, le nommé Jean Patten, y fut conduit, ayant été pris, sous le meme Pretexte, qu'il avoit été.

[Translation]

a place called Cuyahoga,<sup>1</sup> about ten leagues from the fort which the French have built on Lake Sandusky, which is joined to the great Lake Erie;

That this country is in the territory of the Five Nations which further extends divers leagues about it;

That this detachment seized all the property and goods, as well as the two horses that this deponent had at the place where they made him a prisoner, which effects on a just computation might together amount to above £140 in Pennsylvania currency; and that at another place two leagues off, deponent had other property which was given up to pillage to the value of £160;

That he was carried prisoner to the fort at Detroit and underwent many hardships during his captivity; that after he had been there a short time the person called John Patton was brought there after being seized on the same pretext as he himself had been:

Colonies C11A 119:368] at Detroit where he had served in a similar capacity, 1739-1743. *L'Archiviste . . . de Québec pour 1922-1923*, 194. AN Colonies C11A 79: 147. He was made lieutenant in 1748 and captain in 1756. *Canadian Archives*, 1905, volume 1, part 6, pp. 104, 223. See also *post*, 683.

<sup>1</sup> The present site of Cleveland.

Qu'ayant ouï la Declaration du dit Jean Patten, faite ce jour d'huy devant Monsieur l'Ambassadeur de la Grande Bretagne, Il la confirme, an toutes ses parties, qui le regardent, 199v

egalement comme le dit Patten, à l'exception du lieu où il fut pris, et de la Valeur de Ses Effets, qui varient ainsi qu'il est ci-dessus dit, ayant été fait prisonnier pour les mêmes raisons que Lui, et subi le meme Interrogatoire, et receu aussi le meme traitement que Lui, depuis Son Arrivée au Detroit jusqu'à leur Arrivée à Paris, et ayant toujours été enfermé avec lui, excepté qu'à Montreal il fut detenu un mois après lui, lorsque Patten fut conduit à Quebeck.

Il proteste, de même que Patten l'a fait, contre les papiers que Mor de la Jonquiere lui fit signer, à Montreal, en lui faisant dire, que c'étoit Son Interrogatoire, et ses Depositions, et il est prêt à confirmer, sous serment, la Verité de la presente Declaration. lors qu'il y sera requis.

À PARIS le 8. Mars 1752.

[*Translation*]

That having heard the declaration of the said John Patton made today before Monsieur the ambassador of Great Britain, he confirms it in all its particulars that concern him similarly with the said Patton, with the exception of the place where he was taken, and of the value of his goods which vary as is above said; he having been taken prisoner for the same reasons, and having undergone the same inquisition, and having received the same treatment as he did from his arrival at Detroit until his arrival at Paris, and having always been imprisoned with him except that at Montreal he was kept for a month after Patton had been taken to Quebec.

He protests as Patton has done against the papers that M. de la Jonquière made him sign at Montreal, telling him it was his inquisition and his depositions; and he is willing to confirm under oath the truth of the present declaration when required to do so.  
PARIS, March 8, 1752

MACARTY TO VAUDREUIL, March 18, 1752

[H M LO 338]

AUX KAS CAKIAS Ce 18. mars 1752

Repdu du 28. avril 1752

MONSIEUR

Jay Eû L honneur de vous marquer Le 25 janvier par La jeunesse que jé Envoyé Exprets, Sitot que le temps ma permis de vous Rendre Comptes de Se quy C'est passé jcÿ depuis mon arrivée; Le Lendemain de son depart, jay Receüé Un Courier de mr La jonquiere, Et Bigot, Le 28 janvier avec quatre sauvages quykapoux Et un maskoutin; quy me donnoits ordre de passer un marche pour Le Roy avec Les Srs de Lisle Et font Blanche pour La fournitures des vivres aux troupes, Et milices nouveaux Et Enciens habitans du dedroit Consistant En 100 milliers de farinnes, 500 minots de mahy; 4000 milliers de graisse; outre un premier marché des fournitures quils onts Entreprises pour deux ans de fournir aux deux postes, des ouyastanons Et mis amis; montant par an á trente milliers de farinnes, quinze mille Livres de Lard;

[Translation]

KASKASKIA, March 18, 1752

Answered April 28, 1752

MONSIEUR:

I had the honor to report to you January 25 by La Jeunesse, whom I sent express, as soon as the weather allowed me, to give you an account of what has happened here since my arrival. The day after he left, January 28, I received a courier from MM. la Jonquière and Bigot, with four Kickapoo and one Mascouten Indian; they ordered me to make an arrangement for the king with the Sieurs Delisle and Fonblanche to furnish provisions for the troops and militia, and the new and old inhabitants of Detroit, to the amount of 100,000 flour, 500 minots of corn, 4,000 of grease. This was in addition to a previous arrangement for supplies under which they undertook during two years to furnish the two posts of Ouiatanon and Miamis, amounting in all each year to 30,000 flour; 15,000 pounds of pork; lead, 4000



plomd; 4000H tabac 2000H; jay Receüé par Le même Courier; une Lettre de mr Cellorunt au sujet de Ces Vivres quy Leurs sonts tres necessaires au detroit, Et quil me prié de Les faire Escorter; jusquaux ouyatanons, Ce que jé vais Executter; Mr De La Corne La Colombierre me prié denvoyer Les jllinois quy onts tué Le nommée La grüé poutouatamis dans Le mois daouts 1750; Les gens de St joseph nstant pas Contends de Leurs manôeuvres Les á Retinüés autant quil a pûs Celle de mr Lignery marque que Les peanguichias onts tué 5 françois au Vermillon; Et qu'on Las suroit quils güestoient Les passants sur Le chemin des jllinois, quils Leurs avoints promis de faire avec Eux main Basse sur Les françois; que La femme du nommée Le clerc Lequel á Eté tué par Les peanguichias Luy dit savoir par Le maringoüin chef de Cette nation, Luy dit se quy setoit passé jcy Le 8. xbre, Et que Cetoit Ce quy Les avoit Engagée a faire se mauvais Coup au Vermillon, Et que nous Estions menassée de toutes parts; Celle de Mr de St ange me Rapelle Ce que mon dit Les prece-

[*Translation*]

pounds; tobacco, 2000 pounds. By the same courier I received a letter from M. Céloron on the subject of these provisions which are very necessary at Detroit, and which he begged me to have escorted as far as Ouiatanon, which I am going to do. M. de la Corne la Colombière begs me to send the Illinois Indians who killed La Grüé, a Potawatomi in the month of August, 1750. The people of St. Joseph not being satisfied with the conduct of the Illinois, he has restrained them as well as he could.

M. Ligneris' letter informs me that the Piankashaw have killed five French at the Vermilion; and that he was assured that they would lie in wait for those passing on the way from the Illinois. They had promised to cut off the French with them. The wife of the man named Leclerc, who has been killed by the Piankashaw—informed by Le Maringouin, their chief, as she said—told M. de Ligneris what had happened here December 8, and that it was Le Maringouin who induced them to make that ill attack at the Vermilion, and that we were threatened on all sides.

M. de St. Ange's letter repeats to me what the preceding

dentes, de plus que Le 18. huit plants arriverrent chez toussaint La framboise Sur Les deux heures apres midy pour trette; pendant La nuit jl averty du Mauvais dessein de Leurs nation; Et En particullier qu'un partis de dix mis amis Conduits par Le grand Renard Estoients Venû pour frapper Sur Le poste quils Leurs avoints deja donné tous Leurs Buttins pour Les arrester En Se quils venoits traitter Etoit pour La même Cause mais quils Craignoits nen pouvoir venir á Bout quils Eussent, a Se Retirrer avec Sa femme; La soeur du marin goüin quils La Leurs Recommandoits Et Ces Enfans, La même nuit quatre jeunes gens domicillié frapperent sur quatres Engagées du Sr de Lisle qui faisoits des pirogues a Six Lieux au dessous; apres avoir Soupé avec Eux; jls Les Lesserrent Endormir Et firents Leurs decharge; jls tuerrent deux françois; Les Deux autres Se Revëillerent au Bruit du feu; prirent Leurs armes firent fuir Les quatres sauvages donc ont Croit un de mort par Le Crÿ; Et abandonnerrent leurs fusils; Le 21 Racommodant Le fort on tua a La Vûe deux Esclaves,

[*Translation*]

ones have said, with the addition that on the eighteenth, eight Piankashaw arrived at the house of Toussaint la Framboise about two in the afternoon to trade. During the night they gave him warning of the evil plan of their tribe, and in particular that a party of ten Miami led by Le Grand Renard had come to attack the post; they said they had already given these Miami all their booty to dissuade them, and that what they came to trade was for that purpose, but that they were afraid they might not succeed. They bade him go away, taking with him his wife who is the sister of Le Maringouin, to whom they recommended her, him, and their children. The same night four young men of the domiciled Indians attacked four *engagés* of the Sieur Delisle who were making pirogues six leagues below. After having supped with them, they let them go to sleep and then fired. They killed two Frenchmen. The two others awoke at the sound of the shots, seized their arms and made the four Indians flee, abandoning their guns, one of whom from the death cry they think dead. On the twenty-first while repairing the fort two slaves bringing meat were

Chargé De Viande, Le françois nommé marié quy Etoit avec Eux se sauva ;

Le 31 je Renvoyets Les quykapoux, Chargé d'eau devié Et du fusils avèc des Lettres pour mr de Lajonquiere Et Ces messieurs Les Commandants par Lesquels je Les Engageois a faire frapper nos alliez sur Les mis ; Jay Rendûé Compte á mr Lajonquiere de La Situation dicÿ Et se quy Cy passoit Et de Larangement que javois pris avec Le Sieur de Lisle á Loccasion des vivres necessaires á les transporter faute de voitures Et de monde jé ne pû Envoyer autant de Bled dinde que j aurois pû á Legard de La farine, jé Lessé Sortir Les marchées Entrepris par Le Sr de Lisle pour La fourniture des deux postes mis amis Et ouyastanons, sentant La necessitte de Les Secourir, Et la disette des vivres qu'on me marque Estre En Canada ; nayant pas voulu me demunir dune plus grande quantité de farine pour Estre En État de fournir nos postes Leurs marquants denvoyer des voitures Et du monde onts Leurs feroit fournir des Vivres autant que Lon pouroit Nayant trouvé icÿ que Le Sr Delisle quy aye voulu

[*Translation*]

killed within sight of it. The Frenchman called Marié who was with them escaped.

The thirty-first I sent back the Kickapoo with brandy and guns carrying letters for M. de la Jonquière and these gentlemen, the commandants, by which I engaged them to have our allies attack the Miami. I gave an account to M. la Jonquière of the situation here, what was happening, and the arrangement I had made with the Sieur Delisle, to transport the needed provisions for want of boats and men; I could not send as much corn as I could flour. I allowed the carrying away of the purchases undertaken by the Sieur Delisle for supplying the posts of the Miamis and Oujatanon, in view of the necessity of succoring them, and the want of provisions which I was told obtained in Canada. I did not wish to deprive myself of a greater quantity of flour that I might be in a position to supply our posts. I indicated to them to send boats and men, and they would be supplied with provisions as far as we could, the Sieur Delisle being the

Entreprendre; jay Eté obligé a Luÿ pretter Les Batteaux du Roy pour Le facilliter dans Une occurence ausy presante;

Le même jour La puce chef des jllinois maporta deux Couvertes Lune Bleüe, Lautre noir Barrée de tavelle Rouge avec deux Branches de porcellennes, massurant de La fidellité de sa Bande; Les quels Couvertes disent avoir Receüés des mis qu'y Estoients Venüés trois fois pour Les Engager En Leurs partis se jettants dans Leurs Bras najant plus de pere Et presque personne pour Eux, quils Estoients a Un jour Et demy Les uns des autres quils Cy Estoients fortifié Etant peü Crainte dinsulte;

Jay Les Renvoyée En Leurs disant quils Connoissoits Et voyoients tous Les jours nos Ennemis, que Leurs Conduitte me donneroit Lieu de Connoitre Leurs attachements pour nous; que jé Les attendois avec Le Reste de La nation dans La Lune de mars á Leurs parler tous Ensemble; jay fait cela afin de Les mettre En garants Les Uns des autres de Ce qu'y Se pouroit passer Entre Eux autres;

[*Translation*]

only one here willing to undertake to transport them. I was obliged to lend him the king's bateaux to assist him in so pressing a contingency.

The same day La Puce, an Illinois chief, brought me two blankets, one blue, the other black striped with red ribbon, with two strings of wampum, assuring me of the fidelity of his band. They said they had received the blankets from the Miami who had come three times to enlist them in their party, and throw themselves in their arms, as they no longer had a father and almost no one in favor of them. They were a day and a half's journey distant from each other and being fortified, were in little fear of being affronted.

I sent them back telling them that they knew and saw our enemies every day; that their conduct gave me opportunity to estimate their attachment to us; that I expected them and the rest of their tribe in the month of March that I might speak to them all together. I did that to put them in surety for each other as to what might occur between them.

Le 8 quelques Cahos; Sonts venüe Et mondit quil ny avoit Rien de nouveau; quils moffroients Leurs fruities quils Estoient pres á marcher a mon Ennemy;

jé Leurs dits quils Les Connoissoients; Et que j'aurois soin de Recompenser Ceux quy nous donneroient des marques de Leurs attachements que jespérois Les voir tous Rassemblée dans peüt,

Le 11 fevrier Le petit Boeuf; Et Lours Blanc arriverrent du Bas du fleuve avec trois françois Le nommée Gervais,<sup>1</sup> Et deux Engagé Bodort Et poitous, quy avoient fait Naufrage dans Le ouâbache Le 15 janvier a deux Lieüx du Mississipy; occasionnée par Le charoyement des glaces;

monts Rapporté que Le nommée de quoisne seul des quatres qu'on Disoit Estre tüé á Lentré de La Rivierre des Chaouânons; á Receüe Un Coup de feu a la main Et quil Etoit passé aux anglois jl dit avoir Rencontré un anglois chassant au chevreuille a 15 Lieües au dessous de La chute a La Roche avec deux jroquois En voiture quils navoits Rien appris de nouveaux que

[Translation]

The eighth some Cahokia came and told me that there was no news; that they offered me their service and were ready to march against my enemy. I told them that they knew my enemy and that I would take care to recompense those who gave us proofs of their attachment and that I shortly hoped to see them all assembled.

February 11, Le Petit Boeuf and L'Ours Blanc arrived from the lower river with three Frenchmen, the man named Gervais<sup>1</sup> and two *engagés*, Bodort and Poitous, who had been wrecked in the Wabash January 15, two leagues from the Mississippi as a result of the shifting ice.

They reported to me that only the man named Dequoisne of the four said to have been killed at the mouth of the Cumberland River had been injured; he had received a gunshot in his hand, and he had gone to the English. He said he had met an Englishman hunting deer fifteen leagues below the falls at La Roche in a boat with two Iroquois; he had learned nothing new; La

<sup>1</sup> Probably François Gervais. *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, 14:251; 19:491.

Lamirande Connoissoit Bien Ces Cartiers, ayants Eté aux Chaou-ânon tretter Et quil devoients Estre descendüé a La ville avec tous Les chasseurs du ouâbache, ou jl pourra vous Rendre Compte de Ces Cantons; que montant jcy ils avoients Rencontré Les jllinois; quil Lavoients gardé trois jours pour Le Conduire jcy avec une douzainnes de Sauvages, Lours Blanc Commença Son harrangüé, Mon pere jé ne suis que Linterprette des chefs Et guerriers de La Nation, Vat m'ont jl dit jmplorer La misericorde de Notre pere; parle Luy En faveur de Ceux quy Sonts Liée demande Leurs grace nous pleurons tous Les jours; quand pourons nous avoir Le Cœur satisfait, Et nous Rejoüir de ce que Notre pere Est venu de Sy Loing nous voir, Sil nous Ecoute une fois, nous avons toujours obeÿ aux françois, on Sçait que tu nous parle toujours deux Et que nous obeissons Vat donc parler pour nous Et voir sil nous Ecouterà Une fois, Notre Chaire Est En souffrance, nous ne Sommes point tranquille sur notre natte jl ne tient que Notre pere de nous delivrer de notre peine Et nous donner de la Consolation;

[*Translation*]

Mirande, they said, knew those regions well, having been to the Shawnee to trade, and that he must have gone down to New Orleans with all the hunters on the Wabash, where he will be able to give you an account of those parts. Coming up here they had met the Illinois, who had kept them three days to bring them here with a dozen Indians.

L'Ours Blanc began his speech: "My father, I am but the interpreter of the chiefs and warriors of the tribe. 'Go,' they said to me, 'beg our father's pity. Speak to him in favor of those who are in bonds; ask their pardon. We weep all the days. When can we have our hearts satisfied and rejoice because our father has come so far to see us? If he will but once listen to us, we have always obeyed the French. It is known that you always speak to us of them, and that we obey. Go, then speak for us, and see if he will but once hear us. Our flesh is suffering, and we are not quiet on our mats. It only rests with our father to deliver us from our suffering and to give us consolation. We

Nous ne Luy jmutons point nos meaux mais aux mis amis  
 quy à fait tout Le mal, C'est Luy seul quy nous fait souffrir; Vat  
 a notre pere M'ont dit Thomas, Et Roinsa nous sommes honteux  
 Et nous ne Cessons depleurer toy quy à Le Coœur plus fort Vat  
 Le prier d' avoir pitié de nous Et dessuier nos L'armes; apana  
 a parlé avec Un autre Calumêt; mon pere jé viens jcy de La part  
 de Roinsa, Et Thomas Et tous Les prians, ayé pitié de nous,  
 pardonne nous te disent par ma Bouche; Et sadressant au pere  
 de güesne Leurs Missionnaire nous te sommes obligé de Ce que  
 tu nous as Enseigné La parole de dieu, tu nous dit que dieu  
 pardonne, nous venons prier Le chef quil Epargnée notre chaire  
 Et quil Luy donne Liberté Voulons parler de Leurs Deux prison-  
 niers; Reponse Quand jay vû jcÿ Roinsa et thomas Et les Con-  
 siderées jé Leurs ay dit tout Ce que javois Sur Le Coœur, Les  
 marques verballes quil monts donnée, de Leurs Repentir Et  
 de Leurs attachement pour Les françois aux quels jls sonts  
 alliez par Le sang Leurs ayant donné des femmes; jé Les as-

[*Translation*]

in no wise impute our woes to him but to the Miami who has done all the mischief. It is he alone who has made us suffer.'

"'Go to our father,' said Thomas and Rouensa to me, 'We are ashamed and we do not cease to weep. You, whose heart is stronger, go beg him to have pity on us and to wipe away our tears.'"

Apana spoke with another calumet. "My father, I come here on behalf of Rouensa and Thomas, and all the praying Indians. Have pity on us, pardon us; they speak to you by my mouth." And addressing Father de Guyenne, their missionary: "We are indebted to you because you have taught us the Word of God. You tell us that God pardons. We come to beg the chief to spare our flesh, and to set him free," speaking of their two prisoners.

My answer: "When I saw Rouensa and Thomas here with the chief men, I told them all I had in my heart. As to the verbal marks they gave me of their repentance and their attachment to the French—to whom they are allied by blood, since



suray quils trouveroints En moy un Bon pere, tant quils tien-  
droits Une Conduitte á me satisfaire; jay Remis au mois de mars  
á assembler tous Les chiefs de La nation, Et a decider du sort  
des prisonniers Et de Ce qui jauray a faire, jy ait jnvitté tous Les  
chefs a Cy trouver Et Les parents des morts a se vanger sur  
Les mis á mis des Larmes quils font Repandre, donc nous ne  
Sommes pas Les auteurs; Les deux jllinois quy sonts En prison  
sonts punis Commes des françois mauvais sujets quil est neces-  
saire de punir; quelle assurance me donnerez vous quils ont Le  
Cœur Bien fait, ne Les á ton pas trouvé arrêté avec nos En-  
nemis; Sy jé vous Les donnoits Les puniriez vous; non; Ce nest  
donc qu'en Echange de nos Ennemis que Vous devez Les at-  
tendre; Vous me dittes que dieu pardonne; oüy; mais Cest Lors  
qu'on á Le Cœur Contrit, Et qu'on Luy donne des marques de  
Retour; jl Connoits nos Coeurs Et moj jé ne Connois que Les  
actions, vous avez tous les jours de nouvelles marques de La Con-  
fiance que vous devez avoir aux françois, quy vous ont pardonné  
tant de fois En Considerations des Bons Bons quy sonts parmy  
Vous;

[*Translation*]

they have given them wives—I assured them they would find me  
a good father so long as they held to a conduct that satisfies me.  
I put it off to the month of March to assemble all the chiefs of  
the tribe, and to decide the fate of the prisoners, and what I  
have to do. I have invited all the chiefs to be here, and the rela-  
tives of the dead that they may avenge on the Miami the tears  
they have caused to flow, of which we are not the cause. The two  
Illinois who are in prison are punished like French scoundrels,  
whom it is necessary to punish. What assurance will you give  
me that they have good hearts? Were not these men caught with  
our enemies? If I gave them to you would you punish them?  
No. It is, then, only in exchange for our enemies that you may  
hope to get them. You tell me that God pardons. Yes, but only  
when one has a contrite heart, and when one gives proofs of  
repentance. He knows our hearts, but I, I know only actions.  
Every day you have new proofs of the confidence you should  
have in the French, who have so often pardoned you in con-

Vous pleurez me dictes vous ; Et moy quy me Consolera ne suis je pas affligé quelle assurance ajé de tout Ce quy Cest passé, Et Sur quy dois jé Compter ; allez avec vos familles Vous Reposser sur vos nattes Le plutot que vous pourrez, Venez a vos Villages gouter La tranquillité Et La Consolation dun pere quy pardonne de Bon Cœur quand jl Est Sur d'un sincerre Retour mais jl veût En avoir des marques

Le 17 fevrier maureauis Et deux jllinois quy Laçcompagnoints sonts sarrivée jl me Rapporta que Le quatre dudit mois Etant arrêté par Les glaces depuis pres de Six semainnes, a trois Lieux audessous de La Rivierre dans Le ouâbache jl fût attaquée Le matin, Entendants les chiens, jls se Leverrent Et prirent Leurs armes, trois de les gens fussents Renversée a La premiere decharge deux de tüé Et Un La jambecassé Le dit maureau tuá Le chef de La Bande quÿ joüet d une Espece de flute ; Et que En se Courban pour prendre son sac a plomd Et sa Corne jl. se senty Embrasser par un sauvage a quy il prit Le couteau quil avoit au Col Et Le poignardá avec ; jl se nommá

[*Translation*]

sideration for the good among you. You weep, you say. And I, who will console me, am I not afflicted, what assurance have I for all that is past, and on what can I count? Go with your families to repose on your mats as quickly as you can. Come to your villages, taste the tranquillity and consolation of a father who pardons from a good heart when he is sure of a sincere repentance ; but he wishes to have proofs of it."

February 17 Moreau and two Illinois who accompanied him arrived. He reported to me that the fourth of that month, having been held up by the ice for almost six weeks three leagues below the river in the Wabash, he was attacked in the morning. Hearing the dogs, the men arose and seized their arms. Three of his people dropped at the first fire, two killed and one with his leg broken. The said Moreau killed the chief of the band who played on a sort of flute ; and stooping to pick up his bullet pouch and powder horn he felt himself seized by an Indian, but poinarded him with his own knife which he snatched from his neck. He said he was a Chickasaw. Free of him, Moreau seized

chicachas; parla de Barassé; jl prit Le premier fusil Et se met-  
tant En deffence jl ne vits plus qu'un sauvage quy sauta dans  
un Bas fonds; jl prit Ce moment de prendre des mitasses Et  
La Corne du sauvage mort, Et defuir jl vits un jeune homme des  
siens Le Long de L'eau a quy jl Criá de se sauver; que peut  
Estre reusit jl manque De Courage Et aura Repris Le Bord de  
L'eau; Luy pris Les hauteurs Et Vins tomber ou Estoients Les  
jllinois, dicy; quy ne voulurent pas Le Lesser venir seuel crainte  
quil ne Luy arrivá quelle que chose, jls Le garderent trois jours  
Luy donner des soüilliers, Et une Robe de Boeuf; jl Raportte  
quayant quitté Le 2 juillet mr de grüisse jl Entrá dans Le  
ouâbache dans Le dessein dy faire sa chasse, mais quayant pris  
La Belle Rivierre Et Entré a 21 Lieües, Le 17 jl Rencontra Le  
nommée La mirande avec sa femme Et Lalande<sup>1</sup> son associé  
metife jllinois, un sauvage Libre Et Leurs Esclaves quy chas-  
soits au chevreuille, Le dit Lamirande avoit 360 peaux de faites

[Translation]

the nearest gun and stood on his defense. He saw but one Indian, who jumped into a hollow. He took that occasion to take the leggings and horn of the dead Indian and to flee. He saw one of his young men on the river bank, to whom he called to escape. The man might have succeeded, but his courage failed him, and he came back to the shore. Moreau took to the bluffs and happened on the place where the Illinois were. They would not let him come alone lest something might happen to him. They kept him three days and gave him moccasins and a buffalo robe.

He reports that having left M. de Gruis July 2, he had entered the Wabash with the design of hunting there, but having taken to the Ohio River and gone up it 21 leagues, on July 17 he met the man called La Mirande with his wife and Lalande,<sup>1</sup> his partner, who is an Illinois half-breed, as also a free Indian and their slaves, who were hunting deer. The said La Mirande's

<sup>1</sup> The name Lalande was a common one among *voyageurs* or traders. Jacques Lalande and his wife Marie Tetthio had various children born at Kaskaskia including Jacques, February 9, 1715, and Etienne, July 14, 1721. Either might be the half-breed referred to. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire*, 5:98; Illinois Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1904, pp. 399, 413.

de sa chasse ils firent Routtes pendant quatre jours Ensemble ; mais comme La mirande ne se pressoit pas Le dit moreau Le quitta ajants des pirogues a faire Et Layant Rejoints quelques jours apres Lamirande Luy dit quil alloit aux Chaouânons Commercer les pelletries aux anglois et party ; son assoscié demanda au dit moreau Entrer En Societté de chasser avec Luy Ce quoy Luy accorda En payants partis des fraix Et Resta a chasser Le dit Lamirande Etant de Retour vers Les premiers jours de 9bre apres avoir Vendû sa pelleterié ; Les joignits a dix Lieües au dessous de La Rivierre du sud, Le dit La Lande pris party avec Lamirande Et Retourner aux anglois prendre Les marchandises quil Leurs Estoient deûs de La vente de Leurs pelleteries ils se quitterent Le Cinq Luy promettant de Le Rejoindre Bientot ; il nen a pas En depuis de nouvelles ;

Le Sr deguir fassant Route avec La mirande Et un assoscié dits á moreau avoir 300 peaux de chevreuille En poil quil alloit commercer aux anglois ;

[*Translation*]

hunt had netted him 360 dressed skins. They traveled together for four days. But as La Mirande did not hurry, the said Moreau left him, having pirogues to make. Rejoining some days later La Mirande told him that he was going to the Shawnee to trade his peltry with the English, and left. His partner asked the said Moreau to enter into partnership with him to hunt, to which he assented on his paying part of the expense ; and he remained to hunt.

The said La Mirande, having returned about the first of November after having sold his peltry, joined them ten leagues below the river of the South. The said Lalande joined La Mirande to return to the English to get the goods due them for the sale of their peltry. They left Moreau the fifth promising soon to rejoin him. He has had no news of them since. The Sieur Deguir traveling with La Mirande and an associate, told Moreau he had three hundred undressed deerskins which he was going to trade with the English.

Le 27 fevrier La puce Et Sept jllinois sonts venûs donc Estoï; ousaoüi Kintonga öui Coüatigána; Et patissier;

ousaouÿ Kitonga a fait fumer Lassemblées Et dit mon pere jé tapporte mon Coeur Le Roÿ onontyo, mrs De Berthets; Benoits; monts dit de navoir qu'un Coœur avec Eux, jé Leurs ait toujours obeÿ, jl madit jé sçait que tu as Le Cœur droit, je nait pas changé, on me calomnié; mais on á tort, jé ne Suis quune chaire avec Les françois, on ma parlé des mis amis pour mengager a aller demeurer chez Eux jé Les ait Refusée; jé dit que javois un pere Et que je Lallois trouver, jay querellé ouvertement mr Le general quy a fait tout Le mal En faisant fraper Sur Les mis amis jé Luy ait dit pour quoy mon pere pourquoy ne me frapé tu moy-même pourquoy frape tu une nation quy mest alliée ou jé touts mes parents, jé ne marche point sous terre, jagits franchement, Et sans deguïssement.

Ensuite a prits La harangüé ouy Couetiata avec quelques Branches de porcellennes quils á mis a terre mon pere jé tapporte mon Cœur, jé te presente Les porcellainnes Bleüe Le Ciel

[*Translation*]

February 27 La Puce and seven Illinois came, among them Ousaouikintonga Ouicouatigana, and Patissier.

Ousaouikintonga smoked with those assembled and said, "My father, I bring you my heart. The king, Onontio, MM. de Bertet and Benoist have told me to have but one heart with them. I have always obeyed them." He said to me, "I know you have an upright heart. I have not changed; I have been slandered; but they are wrong who do it. I am but one flesh with the French. The Miami spoke to me to induce me to go and live with them; I refused; I said I had a father and that I was going to seek him. I quarreled openly with M. the general, who has done all the harm by having the Miami attacked. I said to him, 'Why, my father, why do you not strike me myself? Why do you strike a tribe allied to me where all my relatives are?' I do not walk underground. I act frankly and without disguise."

Then Ouycouetiata took up the word with some strings of wampum, which he laid on the ground: "My father, I bring you my heart; I give you blue wampum. The sky is serene, the land

Est serein, La terre Belle, jay Eté Calomnié, mais mon Cœur nest pas changé, Eskepakingonet, ouabichagana; chef des peorias mont dit ne quitte point La main du françois, je Les ait Ecoutté, mourons Ensembles mon pere aye pitié de tes Enfants on les mepris En mangéants de notre chaire jé te prié de nous La Rendre Et delargir Les prisonniers; Et La Repetté plusieurs fois; jl dit Ensuite que Les Caokias quy Etoients avec Eux En hivernement, Etoients allée demander Retraite aux peorias que Des Karis Les avoit Refussé Et Leurs avoit dit d'aller trouver Leurs pere;

J ay Leurs dit que Les chefs peorias mavoints fait savoir que Cetoit patissier quy avoit Eté faire Cette demande; ils Lon nié Etont Dit quils avoints fait des parolles aux Kaoskias pour Les Empescher de Le faire quil ny En avoit qu'un quy ne Leurs Eût point obey mais quil Etoit Retourné a Son villages Et que Les autres Revenoits jcÿ avec Eux;

La puce a dit qu'a Son Retour a Lhivernement Les misamis Les avoits quitté pour aller chercher des françois Et quils de-

[*Translation*]

fair. I have been slandered, but my heart has not changed. Eskepakingonet, Ouabichagana, chiefs of the Peoria told me, 'Never let go the hand of the French.' I have hearkened to them. Let us die together. My father, take pity on your children. We are mocked by having our flesh and blood devoured. I beg you give it back to us and set free the prisoners." This he repeated several times. Then he said that the Cahokia who were with them in their winter camp had gone to ask a refuge among the Peoria, which Descaris had refused, telling them to go and seek their father.

I told them that the Peoria chiefs had informed me that it was Patissier who had gone to make this request. They denied it and said they had sent messages to the Cahokia to prevent them from doing it, and that but one of them had disobeyed, but that he had returned to his village and that the others would return here with them.

La Puce said that at his return from his winter camp the Miami had left them to go and seek the French and that they

voients Retourner tous au Vermillon, que quelques jllinois des Kas quy Etoients parmy Les mis depuis quelque temps Les Estoients venüé trouver a Leur hivernement, mais que Les peanguichias En avoients Engagé plusieurs a Retourner avec Eux Et Leurs avoits dit que langlois Estoit aux ouyastanons; jls onts dit Encorre que Les Kikapou nous trompoits, que Les peanguichias Les avoints solicitée pour nous Venir de faire quils L avoits gaagné que Le Kikapou Luy avoit dit quil avoit quils avoits aporté jcy des Lettres que pour avoir de La poudre Et De L'eaudevié; que Les quatre Kikapoux quy mavoints porté Les Lettres de mr de st ange avoit porté En sen Retournants Cinq Barils d'eaudevié quils y En avoit Eu trois de Bêu au Village quen suite jls En avoits Envoyé un au mis amis que Ceux Cy avoints deputté de Leurs gens pour jnvitter Le Kikapou á Les seconder dans Lentreprise quils feroiñts dassieger Les françois de ouyastanons que Les Kikapaux avoient Repondû faite votre fort quand il sera fait nous nous y Rendrons, que Certainnement Les mis a mis y Estoiient apresent Et quils ne tarderoints pas de venir En petit party de Ce Cotte ycy pour nous sur prendre;

[*Translation*]

were all to return to the Vermilion. Some Illinois from Kaskaskia who had been among the Miami for some time had come to seek them at their winter camp, but the Piankashaw had induced several to go back with them and had told them that the English were at Ouiatanon. They also told me that the Kickapoo were deceiving us. The Piankashaw had solicited the Kickapoo to come to us to do it; and they had won them over. The Kickapoo had told them that they had brought letters here only to get powder and brandy. The four Kickapoo who had brought me the letters of M. de St. Ange had on their return carried five barrels of brandy, three of which they had drunk at the village. Then they had sent one to the Miami who had used their people to invite the Kickapoo to second them in the enterprise they were undertaking of besieging the French of Ouiatanon. The Kickapoo had replied, "Build your fort, and when it is done we will go thither." Certainly the Miami were there at present, and they would not delay coming in small parties from that side to surprise us.



Le 23 jls se sonts Efforcée de justifier Le Loup Entierrement on dit que Le gros Bled avoit voulu Lengager à frapper Le françois, mais quil avoit Repondû quil avoit donné son coeur Et sa main á mr de Berthet quil ne Changeroit pas de pensée, Et quils alloit En guerre chez Les Chicachas Ennemis des françois, que Le gros Bled pour se venger du Loup Et Le metre dans Lembaras avoit fait Lever par un de Ces gens Un party Considerable pour venir fraper ycy que le party avoit passée par Lhivernement des jllinois dix jours apres Celuy du Loup quils Estoients Entré dans La Cabanne dun abas ou a chinga jllinois quy á Eté tué aupres de Letablissement par Le jeune homme; que Cette jllinois avoit fait Ces Efforts pour Les arrester Et Leurs avoit dit quils avoit sa mere Et Ces Enfants chez Les françois. que achicoüa chez quy ils avoints Eté Ensuite navoits pas mieux Reussy á Les detournes de leurs Entreprise que Ce premier Les avoits suivies quils avoients parû chez Les françois avoits parlé a Baptiste gendre de la Sonde a Champagnee Et a un negre de St philippe quy tous Luy avoients dit que sa mere

[*Translation*]

The twenty-third they strove to justify Le Loup completely. They said Le Gros Bled had tried to induce him to strike the French, but that he had answered that he had given his heart and his hand to M. de Bertet and that he would not change his way of thinking; he was going to war against the Chickasaw, the enemies of the French. Le Gros Bled, to be revenged on Le Loup and to compromise him, had had a considerable party raised by one of his people to attack here. The party had passed by the winter villages of the Illinois ten days after Le Loup's party. They had entered the cabin of Abasouachinga, the Illinois who was killed near The Settlement by the young man. That Illinois had made efforts to stop them and told them he had his mother and children with the French. Achicoua, to whose cabin they had next been, had been no more successful in deflecting them from their enterprise. The first named had followed them, and when they had appeared among the French, had spoken to Baptiste, the son-in-law of La Sonde, to Champagnee, and to a negro of St. Philippe. All three told him his mother had been

avoit Estés En hivernement Surquoy il se Determina á aller Rejoindre Le party des mis á mis Et a jnsulter Luy même Les françois que Le petit françois L'avoit tué sans y penser son fusil ayant party de dessus son Bras En fuyant Ce quy á Esté Rapporté par un autre homme du party quy avoit de son Cotté apris d'un petit negre que tout Le plomd avoit donne sur Le Cotte du visage du mort ; Et que du Coup que Le jeune homme abandonna son fusil pour Courir ; que Les mis amis aprenant Le Coup Resolurent de sen vanger, Le Lendemain, mais que Le Loup navoit aucune connoissance de ce party quy se separa ; En deux, L'un a St phillippe ou jls tuerrent un negre, L autre a La prairié du Rocher ou jls avoients tué un soldat Et un Esclave au moulin daubouchont que Les mis amis Comptoit avoir perdû 8 hommes que Les deux fils de ouÿ Couetiala quj setoit sauvé avoit porté Le Lendemain á un negre des peres jesuistes Et ne Luy avoit fait aucune jnsulte, Ce quy Est vray ; sur Ce quon Leurs Representa avoir trouvé dans Le Sacq du mort des Balles sorties du Magazin donné au Loup, Et une pierre a Equiser vollée chez

[*Translation*]

at the winter camp. On this he decided to go and rejoin the party of Miami and himself insult the French. The little French boy had killed him without intending to, his gun having slipped from over his arm as he fled. This was reported by another man of the party who had for his part learned from a little negro that all the lead had struck the side of the dead man's face, and that immediately the young man left his gun and ran ; the Miami learning of the shot resolved to avenge him next day ; but Le Loup had no knowledge of this party which had separated into two, one at St. Philippe, where they killed a negro, the other at Prairie du Rocher, where they had killed a soldier and a slave at Aubuchon's mill. The Miami counted they had lost eight men. The two sons of Ouycouetiata, who escaped, had next day come on a negro belonging to the Jesuit fathers and had offered him no insult ; which is true.

On this they were told that in the pouch of the dead man were bullets from the storehouse that had been given to Le Loup,

dodier interprete jls se Sonts tous recrié que Le fait Etoit faux Et jpossible En suite Comme on Repettoit La mesme chose La puce a dit que peuestre jl avoit reçu quelqu'un du party du loup mais quil n'en savoit Rien, quil Est vray quil y avois des gens mal jntentionné dans La Bande du Loup quy avois tenté plusieurs fois de frapper Et quil Les avoit toujours Empesché;

quau Retours des mis amis quy avois Ete maltraitee Le 8. xbre dans Le village françois jls avois dit au patissier tons fils Est mort Vient avec nous Et pleurons Ensemble; que Celuy cy navoit pas pas Voulû Et Leurs avoit Repondû quil ne desesperoit pas detirer son fils des fers, Et quil Retourneroit a son village; Ensuite jl avoit voulû persuader aux mis amis de donner quelques marques de Repentir Et quil avois Repondû que Leurs partis Etoit pris quil ne Cesseroient pas de frapper Le françois, tous Les chefs du vermillion assemblées Lenfant, Le maringouin, La mouche noir setoient Excitez Les uns au autres de faire vivement La guerre Et de frapper dans tous Les villages Et quil pansoient que nous avois dans nos Environs

[*Translation*]

and a flint stolen from the house of Dodier, the interpreter. They all cried out that it was not true and was impossible. Then as the same thing was repeated, La Puce said that perhaps he had received something from Le Loup's party but that Le Loup knew nothing of it; it was true they had ill-disposed people in Le Loup's band who had tried several times to attack, and he had always hindered it. On the return of the Miami who had been mistreated December 8 in the French village they had said to Patissier, "Your son is dead, come with us, and we will weep together." He would not do it, telling them he did not despair of getting his son out of his irons, and would return to his village. Then he had wished to persuade the Miami to give some signs of repentance; they replied that their decision was made; they would not cease to strike the French. All the assembled chiefs of the Vermilion, L'Enfant, Le Maringouin, La Mouche Noire, were aroused to make war vigorously and to attack all the villages. They thought there were some war parties in our vicinity now, having

quelques partis de guerre ayant Entendû plusieurs Coups de fusils dans La prairié des tamarrois ;

Le 25 jé Leurs dit que jé Leurs avoits fait Connoistre mes intentions pour La puce au Sujet des prisonniers que javois, demandé tous Les chefs des jllinois pour Leurs parler Ensemble, Connoistre Leurs sentiments Et Leurs dire Le mien, qualors je deciderois du sort des prisonniers que jetois Bien aise quils prisent Le party de Rejoindre chaqu'uns Leurs villages que tant quils feroients En hivernements, jls ne seroients suspects Etant tous Les jours parmy Les mis amis Comme jls masuroients que Les mis á mis avoients Esté jnvertir Les ouyas ;

j ay demandé a La puce sil voudroit porter une Lettre á mr de st ange Et men Rapporter des Nouvelles, jl sy determina Et promit de m'en donner Reponse dans 20 jours jé Luy donné avec un petit present, il me dit que Ces gens Retourná á petites journées a Leurs villages ou jls seroients Le 15 du mois prochain ; La nuit du 26 au 27 il Est deserté 21 hommes dont 16 Compe de la mazillierre quy Etoit Composée dune Bande de Co-

[*Translation*]

heard several gunshots in the prairie of the Tamaroa.

The twenty-fifth I told them that I had informed them of my intentions as to the prisoners by La Puce. I had asked all the Illinois chiefs to assemble that I might know their sentiments and tell them mine. Then I would decide the fate of the prisoners. I was very glad they had decided to return each to his village. While they were in winter camps they were open to suspicion, being every day among the Miami, since they assured me the Miami had been to win over the Wea.

I asked La Puce if he wanted to carry a letter to M. de St. Ange and bring me back the news. He decided to do so, and promised to bring me a reply in twenty days. I gave him a small present. He told me the tribes are going back to their villages by easy stages where they would arrive the fifteenth of next month.

The night of the twenty-sixth—twenty-seventh, twenty-one men deserted ; sixteen of them were from Des Mazellière's company which was made up of assorted rascals and mutineers,

quins, Et mutins, deux de moncherveaux Et 3 de Reggio quj ontz  
 vollé une pirogué des jesuittes, Le Sergent quoy a deserté avec Eux  
 ayant trouvé Le Secret d'avoir du Creden de plusieurs habitans de  
 quoy jl attiré Ce quoy Leurs Estoit necessaires; jls fits Sy mauvais  
 temps toute La journée que jé ne pû avoir des gens de Bonne  
 Volonté que sur Lapres midy; Lorsque j avois Une trentaine de  
 miliciens prêts a marcher avec un peût de nos troupes, deux  
 jeunes gens dirents aux autres quesse que nous allons faire La;  
 allons nous En, Et decamperrent En même temps; jen fits venir  
 deux quoy me donnerrent de mauvaises Raisons Et me dirent  
 quils niroients pas, j en fis arrester un pour fornir d exemple  
 aux autres, jé Le fis Embarquer avec picard, Lorsque mes dames  
 LaBarre Et moncherveaux vinrents me demander grace pour le  
 jeune homme qu'on me dits Estre de famille En Canadas,  
 jenvoyé sur Le champ un ordre pour Le Rameinner En prison;  
 mr Le doux quoy Estoit pour faire accommoder La voiture Le  
 Ramenna; jé fits partir picard avec 4 hommes pour avertir aux  
 natchez de Levason afin qu'on mis Les Sauvages apres Sils  
 prenoits Le Bas du fleuve;

[*Translation*]

two from Montchervaux's, and three from Reggio's. They stole  
 a pirogue belonging to the Jesuits. The sergeant who deserted  
 with them found the way to get credit from several habitants  
 from whom he extracted what the deserters needed. The weather  
 was so bad all day that I could not get men to volunteer until  
 afternoon. When I had thirty militia ready to march with a few  
 of our troops, two young men said to the others, "What are we  
 about to do? Let's get away," and immediately decamped. I  
 called up two men who gave me ill reasons, and said they would  
 not go. I had one of them arrested as an example to the others.  
 I had him embarked with Picard when Mesdames la Barre and  
 Montchervaux came to ask pardon for the young man who was  
 said to be of a good family in Canada. I immediately dispatched  
 an order to have him returned to prison. M. le Doux, who was  
 there to get the boat ready, took him there. I sent off Picard  
 with four men to warn them at the Natchez of the escape so that  
 the Indians might be sent after them if they went down the river.

j appris de mr Le doux que Lentaya<sup>1</sup> avoit Eté Luy demander a Rendre Ce jeune homme, mr Le doux Luy dit quils nen feroit Rien quils neûts un ordre quils Receûé au moment; j appris Le Lendemain que Les gabans Et jeunes gens setoints assemblé La nuit avec Leurs armes dans des maisons, quils avoients peur que jé ne fissent partir La nuit Ce jeune homme pour La Ville; j'aurois fait mettre Le Sr Lantaliac au prison aprenant cette nouvelle si jé n'eû crin dégrir Les habitants et gabans dans Lestat presant des choses estant mecontent d'avoir cet Entourage a Relever, a Leur depand. Les demandes que l'on fait pour Le fort projette, un quart de Lard au Roy que je les menassois de payer, un detachement de millic et troupe estant un Batteau qui a hyverne deffonsa et pris Le dit Lard d'auterie jl portent a juste titre Le noms de volontaire, cequi m'a fait reserver un autre temp a Le punir Comme jl m'erite plusieurs habitans Leur fuéssent sentir La faute quils avoient faite de ne

[Translation]

I learned from M. le Doux that Lantaya<sup>1</sup> had been to ask him to give up the young man. M. le Doux told him he would not do it, that he had an order he had just received. I learned next day that the *gabans* and young men had assembled that night with their arms in the houses, being afraid I would send the young man off to New Orleans in the night. I would, on learning this, have put the Sieur Lantaliac in prison if I had not been afraid of disaffecting the habitants and *gabans* in the present situation. They are discontented at having to build the stockade at their own costs, as well as at the demands made on them for the proposed fort, for a fourth of the pork for the king which I threatened to make them pay, and for a detachment of militia and troops [*rest incomprehensible*].

They justly bear the name of volunteers which has made me postpone punishing them as they deserve to another time as several inhabitants made them perceive their fault in not going after

<sup>1</sup> This may refer to some one of the numerous members of the Antaya family.

pas aller apres Les deserteurs m'en ont fait excuse et ont dit aux soldats, que si cela arivoit jls y vois d'eux memes

Le 2 mars un Kaokias nomme Ninechangouëta Est venuë mapporter une Couverte Bleüe Et une Branche de porcellainne me disants quils Estoit Envoyé par Le Vieux tamarrois pour me dire quil avoit Receue Cette Couverte et Cette Branche de porcellainne de des karis Et un chef des peorias quy Les jnvittoit par la a Venir faire Village avec Eux aux peorias quils navoients pas voulû se determiner sans savoir ma pensée que mr mercier Les avoit jnvitté a Revenir a Leurs Villages des Kasokias Et quils En avoients Le dessein Sy Leur pere Lagreoit jl me demanda de Leau de vié et du tabac;

jnterogé surs Les Differents partis des mis amis quy avoients passé a Leurs hivernements jls me dit quils Estoients separré des jllinois depuis Le Coup fait jcy sur Les mis amis que Le Loup avoit dit En passants quils alloits aux Chicachas Et avoit déterminé quelques jllinois á aller avec Luÿ; que Les mis á mis Chagrins de son attachement aux françois avoits pris

[*Translation*]

the deserters, have made me excuses, and have told the soldiers that if it happens again they will go after them themselves.

March 2 a Cahokia named Ninechangoueta came to bring me a blue blanket and a string of wampum, telling me that they were sent by Le Vieux Tamaroa to tell me that he had received that blanket and string of wampum from Descaris and a Peoria chief who invited them to come there to make a village with them at Peoria. They had not wished to decide without knowing my thoughts. M. Mercier had invited them to go back to their villages at Cahokia, and they planned to do so if their father agreed. He asked me for brandy and tobacco.

When questioned about the various parties of Miami who had passed their winter villages, he told me they had separated from the Illinois after the attack that had been made on the Miami here; Le Loup had said on passing there that they were going against the Chickasaw and had induced some Illinois to go with him. The Miami, chagrined at his attachment to the



La Resolution De Le Suivre pour frapper Les françois Et avoits Dit faisons Le tuer par Le françois qu'un des fils de jchinagous ya Conduisoit une des 3 nattes quj Estoients avec Le Loup qu'un autre fils du même avoit Levé un autre party de trente hommes pour fraper jcy Comme jl Lavoit fait, que de puis Le même Et deux autres partisans Etoients venûe trouver patissier quy Les avoit Empesché D'aller plus Loing que Les mis amis avoients parlé á ouiscoustigana par une Couverte á tchinghjacota par Une couverte, porcellainne, habit galonné, Couteaux, tabac, que ces deux hommes avoients dit a tout cela ; Et a la puce quy a apporté jcy une partié ;

Les jllinois des Caskakias avoits parlé aux Kasokias par un fusil Une couverte avant Lhivernement pour Les Engager a Les suivres que La puce Estant Revenû dicy avec un pavillon Et un Baril d'eaudevié avoit dit que Le chef Luy avoit Recommandé de faire Boire Les premiers Les Kas,

quon ne Les avoits jnvittée a Boire que quand jls furents jvres, Ce quj Les avoit choqué Et Leurs avoints donné Envié De

[*Translation*]

French, had taken the resolution of following him to strike the French and had said, "Let us have him killed by the French." One of the sons of Ichinagousya led one of the three mats who were with Le Loup. Another son of the same man had raised another party of thirty men to strike here, as he had done. Since that the same man and two others partisans had come in search of Patissier, who had prevented them from going further. The Miami had spoken to Ouisoustigana by a blanket, and to Tchinghjacota by a blanket, wampum, a laced coat, knives, and tobacco. These two men had spoken of all that, and to La Puce, who brought a party here.

The Illinois of Kaskaskia had spoken to the Cahokia by a gun and a blanket before wintering to engage them to follow. La Puce, returning from here with a flag and a barrel of brandy, had said the chief had recommended him to make the Kaskaskia drink first. They had not been asked to drink until they were drunk, which had offended them and had made them wish to

se separer Deux, mais que Les Kaskakias Leurs avoits parlé de nouveau pour Les Engager á ne pas Les abandonner a quoy jls avoients Consenty, Et quils marcheroients Ensemble jl dit quil avoits fait une folié par Complaisance pour patissier ;

que Celuj cy Lavoit Engagé daller trouver Les chefs des mis a mis pour Les Engager á se Repentir ;

Jé Luj dit que je serois Bien aise de Les voir chaçun a Leurs villages Reunys que tants quils seroints parmy Les mis amis, je ne pouvois pas Compter sur Leurs promesses puisse quils voyent tous Les jours mes Ennemis quils Retournassent tous au desir de mr mercier ;

Le même jour je permis á mr des pins d'aller au Missoury dont jl doit Revenir Le Commencement de may jecrit á mr de port neuf pour Lengager a faire Lever quelques partis du Missoury a frapper sur Les mis amis Et peanguichias, surtout Les panimaha dont ont dit Les chefs absolus jl ny á plus aujourdhuy de nation ou Est mr de port neuf jl ne voit point de voyageurs dans Lhivernement Ce quy devient un poste jnutille ont dit quil

[Translation]

separate. But the Kaskaskia spoke to them again to induce them not to abandon them, to which they had assented. They would march together. He said they had committed a folly out of complaisance to Patissier. That chief had undertaken to go in search of the Miami chiefs in order to induce them to repent.

I told him I was very glad to see them each at his village again. While they were among the Miami I could not count on their promises since they saw my enemies daily. They should all return as M. Mercier desired.

The same day I allowed M. Despins to go to the Missouri, whence he should return at the beginning of May. I wrote to M. de Portneuf to engage him to have some parties raised among the Missouri to attack the Miami and the Piankashaw, especially among the Skidi whose chiefs are said to be absolute. There are today no longer any tribes where M. de Portneuf is. He sees none of the *voyageurs* during the winter season, which makes the post useless. It is said that it would be more useful lower

seroit apropos plus Bas vers Les villages même des missouris ou plus haut jay Luy ait Envoyé vos Lettres Ecrite au Suyet de mr ollivier; sy Ces affaires Le demandois ycy de descendre avec une partye de sa garnison Et Les voyageur, pour Remonter Lorsquils Les auroits arrangée jl minstruira du même temps de ce quy Ce passe Et Ce quy Est necessairre; Moreau arrivée Le 6 mars jcy ma Raporte quêtant Rendüé chez papechingouya Les trouva Bien Chargé de Ce quils Luys avoints temoigné Revenants de sa deffaite jls Luy dirent quils ny avoit plus Rien dans les voitures quils Estoients toutes Brisee Et Cassée quil Etoit jnnutile dy aller parce quils Etoyents Sur quon trouveroit des partis En Route; Cy Lon avoit Envoyé un officier avec des troupes peut estre y auroints jl Eté quils Croiois Le poste de Vincennes deffait, Lorsque on donna Le Baril deaudevié Et La munition que javois donnée Moreau Leurs dit que jé Leurs avoits Envoyé Cela pour parole; Comme jls avoints promis 20 hommes pour aller Connoitre Les marques de Ceux quils Lavoients frapé Enterrer Les morts Et men donner des nouvelles jls se mirent a Boire

[Translation]

down even toward the villages of the Missouri or higher up. I sent him the letters you had written on the subject of M. Olivier. If his affairs call him here he can come down with a party of his garrison and the *voyageurs*, and go back up when his affairs are settled. He will at the same time inform me of what has happened, and of what is necessary. Moreau arrived here March 6 and reported to me that having gone to Papechingouya's he found them returning from the scene of his defeat well loaded with what they had indicated. They told him that there was nothing more in the boats, which were all broken; that it was useless to go there because they were sure one would encounter parties on the way. If an officer with troops had been sent, perhaps there would have been. They thought the post of Vincennes cut off. When the barrel of brandy and the ammunition I had sent were presented, Moreau told them I had sent that for a message, since they had promised me twenty men to go to examine the marks of those they had attacked, to bury the dead, and to bring me news.

Envoyèrent chercher moreau quy Bûé deux Coups avec Eux; un grand homme demanda ou Etoit Le guerrier. Et foncants sur Luÿ, avec un Couteau de chasse ou sabre Voulants Le poigârdier thomas a cotte de quy moreau Etoit se jetta Entre deux moreau Courû a son arme En disants aux françois de prendre Les Leurs, Les autres sauvages sauterrent sur Ces gens yvres Et Les Lierre; qouy que La Boisson fût passé ils ne parlerrent pas aux françois pendants trois jours, deux sauvages quy Estoients desandûé avec Eux Leurs porter a manger Les Chefs ne voulurent pas Les Lesser partir sans aller avec Eux disants quil Les Envoyerets de la Rivierre a La pomme avec quelques hommes cy Etants arrivée jls dirent quil yroints Ensemble jusquaux Bas de La Rivierre des Cas mais thomas Envôyâ chercher moreau jl Luy demanda ou jl vouloit aller jls Luy Repondits quil vouloit Revenir y Cy, thomas Luy dit quil ne pouvoit Luÿ donner du monde Comme jl Etoit mort un Enfant a Roinsa quil alloit porter pour Le menner y Cy Et profita de Son Escorte Etant En Route jls trouverrent des sauvages yvres,

[*Translation*]

They began to drink and sent for Moreau, who drank two cups with them. A chief man asked where the warrior was, and hurled himself on him with a hunting knife or saber, wishing to stab him. Thomas, beside whom Moreau was, threw himself between them. Moreau ran to his arms, telling the French to take theirs. The other Indians leaped on the drunken men and tied them. Although the drunken fit was over, they did not speak to the French for three days. Two Indians who came down with them brought them their food. The chiefs did not wish to let them depart without going with them, saying they would send them from Apple River with some men. Having arrived there, they said that they would go together as far as the lower part of the Kaskaskia River, but Thomas sent to seek Moreau. He asked him where he wanted to go. He answered him that he wished to return here. Thomas said he could not give him men to go. As a child of Rouensa was dead whom he was going to bring here, Moreau profited by his escort. En route they met drunken Indians. Picard, on coming down, had traded brandy

picard En decendans Leurs ayant trette de L'eaudevie pour de L'huile Etant obligé de cou cher a Cette Endroit, Moreau sapercû qu'un sauvage vouloit prendre de Leurs armes Lempeschâ Le Sauvage fit Le Cry En le Retirrant un faisoit Le saôtll plus quil ne Lestoit Celuy La a Son nepveu jcy En prison; Vints a Leurs Campement avec une Boutheille Et Une Coquille dit a son Camorade douvients mas tu ôté mon Couteau jaurois poignardé Cette homme;

Le Lendemain jls ont trouvé Les 21 hommes desertants djcy jls Leurs Cria de metre a terre Le Reconnoissants jls y mirent jls Leurs demanda ou jls alloits, jls Repondirent quil alloits aux anglois, jls demanderrent á moreau La Route jls Leurs dits de prendre toujours sur La gauche quy Etoit Lopposé de La Route, jls Luy Dirents quil Etoit Venüé un nommée La courtaillade La nuit pour massassiner dans ma chambre, jls trouverrent sur Le Soir picard quil Leurs dits quil Craignoit de Rencontrer ces gens La;

Roinsa me dits quil Estoients toujours attachée aux françois Et a La pierre que pour preuve jl maportoit un de Ces neveux

[*Translation*]

with them for oil. Having to halt at that place, Moreau, perceiving that an Indian wanted to take their arms, prevented him. The Indian cried out [*MS incomprehensible*]. That man has his nephew here in prison. He came to their camp with a bottle and a shell. He said to his comrade, "Why did you take away my knife? I would have stabbed that man."

Next day they found the twenty-one deserters from here. They called to them to land. Recognizing them, they did so. They asked where they were going. They answered that they were going to the English. They asked the route of Moreau, who told them to keep always to the left, which was the reverse of the right direction. They told him that a man called La Courtaillade had come in the night to assassinate me in my room. In the evening they met Picard, who told them that he was afraid of meeting those people.

Rouensa told me that they were always attached to the French and to St. Peter; that for proof he brought me one of

quy Etoit mort que les peres me prioits de Le faire Enterrer, Ces gens avoints Entendû Beaucoup de Coups de fusils du Cotte du ouâbache quils avoients Eû peur dy aller avec Moreau que tout Le monde Remontoit Et quils seroients ycy dans peût de jours quils me prioits délargir Leurs prisonniers, Et Leurs faire donner Les marchandisse à Bon Compte ;

Jé Luy fit Repetter Ce qui jay Luy avois deja dit que Lorsque tout Le monde seroit Rendû a Leurs Villages jé deciderois du Sort des prisonniers que je ferois Ensorte, quils Eussent Les marchandisses á Bon Compte que jetois Etonnée de La manœuvre de quelques jeunes gens quy avois voulû jnsulter moreau apparemment quils y En avoit parmy Eux quy avoits Le Coœur mal fait, que Cy Cela Etoit ainsy jé ne Leurs ferois point donner d'eaudevié que jé voulois Connoistre Ces foux il dit quil ne savoit pas se que jé voulois dire quils Comptoit Estre a Leurs villages vers Le 15 ;

Le 9 arriverrent Les deux Couriers que j avois Envoyé Le 16 xbre á mr de St Ange quy me marquoit avoir Recú mes

[*Translation*]

his nephews who was dead, whom the fathers asked me to have buried. These people had heard many gunshots in the direction of the Wabash and were afraid to go there with Moreau. They said everybody was going up and that they would be there in a few days. They begged me to free their prisoners and to have goods given them at a low price.

I had repeated to them what I had already said, that when all had gone to their villages I would decide the fate of the prisoners. I would arrange for them to have goods at a low price. I was astonished at the acts of some young men who had wished to affront Moreau. Apparently they had some among them who had bad hearts. If that were so I would not have brandy given them. I wished to know of these fools. He said he did not know what I meant; they counted on being at their village toward the fifteenth.

The ninth the two couriers arrived whom I had sent December 16 to M. de St. Ange, who indicated that he had received my

Lettres par Les Kikapoux quil navoits point vû dennemis depuis Le 21 xbre que La Crainte de navoir plus de nation aupres du poste faisoit prendre Le party a quelques uns de ces habitants de quitter Lendroit dans La Crainte de ny pouvoir vivre ny ayant point de moulin; jé Luy ait Ecrit a se Sujet dengager quelqu'un á faire faire Un moulin a cheveaux ou a Eáu que jay Luy ferois porter des meusles suivants sa demande même Envoyer Louvrier sil ne sen trouvoit point dans son poste de capables dengager Les habitans de semer suffisanment du froment de quoy pouvoir Entretenir ces habitants mais même une forte garnison qu'on ne peut Envoyer par Le deffaut de Vivres, Le transports Coustant au Roy Considerablement; on á Envoyé Un Extraordinaire de chaque marchandises, Et munitions; jls me marque ausy quil Esperoit Engager Les Kikapoux de la terre haute á venir setablr pres de Luÿ ne Contants plus sur Les peanguichias, mais que mr de Lignery Les avoit determinée a aller chez Luy; jl demande La Reparation de son fôrt Et des Batiments quy tombent En Ruine;

Mr De Lignery me parle des vivres quy Leurs sonts neces-

[*Translation*]

letters by the Kickapoo. He had seen no enemies since December 21. The fear of no longer having any tribe around the post made some of the habitants decide to leave the place lest they could not subsist, having no mill. I wrote him as to this, to induce some one to have a horse or water-mill built. I would have the mill-stones carried to him as he requested. I would even send a workman if none was to be found there capable to undertake it. He was to induce the inhabitants to sow enough wheat to feed themselves as well as a strong garrison which could not be sent while food was short, as transporting it was a considerable expense to the king. An unusual amount of goods and munitions was being sent. He also told me that he hoped to induce the Kickapoo of Terre Haute to come to live near him, not counting further on the Piankashaw; but M. de Ligneris had induced them to come to him. He asks the repair of the fort and buildings which are falling into ruin.

M. de Ligneris indicates the provisions that they need, hoping



saires Esperant que mr de la jonquière Envoyeroit un partis de françois Ce printants pour reprimer Les Sauvages Rebelles sans Le Secours des Nations Ce quy ne se peût guerre par La disette de vivres quy Ce trouve En Canadas; jl me marque que Les ouyastanons paroissent par Leurs disçours fachée de ce que Les peanguichias onts frappé sur Le françois mais quinterieurement ils se dementent, Les Kikapoux; Et maskoutins paroissent plus attachée Et que avec tout Cela Cetoit a quy Leurs donnoit Le plus;

Le dix onts Commencé á arriver des voyageurs de Lentré du missoury ou jl ny a Rien denouveau, Les peorias sonts En Crainte des Renards Et Sioux, ils onts Envoyé un partis aux mis amis dans Lesperance de Leurs faire un coup de trahison ils ne desendrons pas sitots quils me Lavoients promis,

Le 15 mars trois jllinois mont Rapporté que La puce de Retour á son hivernement y avoit trouvé La Biche chefs des peanguichias avec un pavillon françois venants des mis amis avec des Lettres du Commandant pour ycy Et Lavoit menné avec

[Translation]

that M. de la Jonquière would send a party of French this spring to repress the rebel Indians without the assistance of the tribes, which can hardly be, due to the shortage of provisions that there is in Canada. He tells me that from their discourse the Wea appear irritated that the Piankashaw have struck the French, but that privately they belie it. The Kickapoo and Mascoutens appear more attached to us; for all that they will be for whoever gives them most.

The tenth the *voyageurs* began to arrive from the mouth of the Missouri, where nothing has happened. The Peoria are afraid of the Foxes and Sioux. They have sent a party to the Miami in the hope of striking them treacherously. They will not come down as soon as they promised me.

March 15 three Illinois reported to me that La Puce, on returning from his winter camp, had found La Biche, the Piankashaw chief, with a French flag, coming from the Miamis with the letters of the commandant for this place and had gone with him

Luy aux ouyas quils devoit Estre ycy dans quel ques jours ;

j apprend que Les jllinois quy sonts au Bas de la Rivierre differe pour arriver ycy tous Ensemble Les quatres villages avec Les peorias Et Caskakias, Ce quy me fait Retarder Le Convois de quelque jours tant par Raport a Leurs arrivée qu'au peût d'eau quil y á Dans Le Misissipy jé vous Renderay Compte de ce quy ce sera passe apres Leurs arrivée,

Jay L'honneur d Estre avec Un Respectueux attachement  
Monsieur

Votre tres humble Et tres obeissant Serviteur

MACARTY

MACARTY TO VAUDREUIL, March 27, 1752

[H M LO 339]

AUX KASKASIAS ce 27 mars 1752

Repdu du 28. avril 1752

MONSIEUR

je continuerai a vous faire part de ce qui C'est passé jusqu'a aujourd'huy Le 20 de ce mois est arrivé La pusse avec une Lettre

[*Translation*]

to Ouiatanon, whence he should be here in some days.

I judge that the Illinois who are on the lower river are delaying that all the four villages may come together, along with the Peoria and the Kaskaskia. This causes me to delay the convoys some days both with reference to their arrival and to the low water in the Mississippi. I will give you an account of what shall occur after their arrival.

I have the honor to be with a respectful attachment, Monsieur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

MACARTY

KASKASKIA, March 27, 1752

Answered April 28, 1752

MONSIEUR :

I will continue to acquaint you with what has happened up to today. The twentieth of this month La Puce arrived with a

de Mr de St angé qui me marque que le même La pousse ayant rencontre Six peanguichias allant a son poste, avec un pavillion qui venoit ysi pour demander La grace de Son fils Prisonnier ysi ces six Pians L'avoit assure que La mouche noire L'enfant et Le maringoin n'avois pas voulsu suivre Le parti du gros Bled S'estois retire avec Leur bande Sur Le petit ouabache Contant Se jetter entre Les Bras du françois ne voulant pas tramper a la mauvaise affaire qu'il c'estoit faite, Ces six hommes ont resté quatre jours avec Les jllinois avec qui ils ont eu de grande Conferances et quil n'y avoit pas beaucoup a faire fond sur tout ce qui venoit de cette bande, que si Les mis amis Estoient Sur le ouabache c'estoit pour attirer a eux Les Kikapoux et mascoutins que Les Kis de la terrehaute Leurs avoient porté au misamis un Baril d'eau de viê de ceux que je leur avois donné me portant Les Lettres de mr de la jonquaire Leur disant de ne rien crindre de Leur part qu'il ne qu'ils ne prandrois pas parti pour nous; que mr de Lignieri Luy marquoit quil ne Les Connoissoient pas disposé a nous servir non plus que Les ouyatanons; que ce que nous

[*Translation*]

letter of M. de St. Ange, who tells me that this same La Puce, while he was on his way here to ask favor for his son who is a prisoner here, met six Piankashaw going with a flag to Vincennes. These six Piankashaw assured him that La Mouche Noire, L'Enfant, and Le Maringouin, not wishing to follow the party of Le Gros Bled, had retired with their band to the Little Wabash, happy to throw themselves into the arms of the French and wishing no part in the ill affair that was transpiring. These six men had remained four days with the Illinois, with whom they had long conferences; and there was not much to go on, in all that came from this band. If, they said, the Miami were upon the Wabash, it was to attract the Kickapoo and Mascoutens; the Kickapoo of Terre Haute had brought to the Miamis a barrel of brandy from what I had given them for carrying M. de la Jonquière's letters, bidding them fear nothing for they would not take our side. M. de Ligneris informed M. de St. Ange that he did not think them any more disposed to help us than were the Wea. What we could hope of them was that they were not

pouvions esperer d'eux estoit qu'ils nous fussent pas contraire Le Coup qui a estes fait sur Maureau est nié par Les Pians jl me repette La necessite de refaire Le fort et Les Batiment qui sont tous pouri.

Le 22 sont arrive Les Peorias au nombre de 102 trante Kaoskias et un mascoutin fils de ouachione et quelques mitchigamies

jl firent Leur Compliment me dirent qu'ils venois a ma parole et me demanderent L'elargissement des prisonier jllinois Les Kaos n'en parlerent pas Le Landemin Le village des Kas-kasias en firent de même

Le 23 Le mascoutin me dit que sa nasyon L'envoit pour m'assurer de La fidelite qu'ayant a pris que Les mis amis avoient frappe par trahison jl avoient usse de Represallie et quil maportoit des chevelures d'enfants qu'on Luy avoit Remis ; mais soit qu'on L'eû trompé ou qu'il voulu me tromper effectivement jl me presanta deux chevelures comme d'enfants je decouvrit qu'elles estoient de tette de Boeuf qui estoient bien accommode

[*Translation*]

opposed to us. The attack which has been made on Moreau is disclaimed by the Piankashaw. M. de St. Ange reiterates to me the necessity of rebuilding the fort and the buildings, which are in decay.

The twenty-second arrived the Peoria to the number of 102, with 30 Cahokia, a Mascouten, the son of Ouachione, and some Michigamea. They made their compliments, told me that they came at my summons, and asked of me the release of the Illinois prisoner. The Cahokia did not speak of it; next day, the village of Kaskaskia did the same.

The twenty-third the Mascouten told me that his tribe sent him to assure me of their fidelity. Having learned, he said, that the Miami had attacked by treachery, they had retaliated; he brought me the scalps of children that had been given him. But whether he had been deceived or whether he wished to deceive me, he gave me two scalps which looked like children's but which I discovered were taken from the head of a buffalo. They were

mais on avoit Laissé un peu de duvet jl me Les fit remettre en cachette Crinte que les jllinois ne Le sussent me promettant de me faire avertir Secrettement des Partis qui pouvoient venir sur nous jl me dit aussi que Les Renard estoient alles ches Les Mascoutins Les inviter a frapper Le francois, jls repondirent qu'ils ne vouloient pas trumper Les mains dans Leur sang jl me dit aussi que Les Peorias sestoient Laisse gannier par Les mis amis jnsi que Les autres villages quilz sont venu ysi que pour me mieux tromper Le 24 je parles aux Peorias Les premiers quand vous partites d'ysi vous me promistes de me donner des marques de votre attachement dont je ne vois pas encore Les Effaits je vous revois avec plaisir dans Les memes sentiments donner L'exemple aux autres villages de votre nastion que vous excites a nous estre unnies, on m'assure que vous venes ysi que pour me mieux tromper et que vous aves estes au mis amis que pour vous Lier avec eux Contre moy au Lieu de faire Coup. je n'en crois Rien et pour vous marquer mon assurance je fait Present a votre village

[*Translation*]

well made but a little wool had been left. He gave them to me in private lest the Illinois should know, promising to have me secretly informed of parties that might come against us. He also told me that the Foxes had gone to the Mascoutens to invite them to attack the French. They answered that they did not wish to dip their hands in French blood. He also told me that the Peoria had been won over by the Miami as well as the other villages, and that they came here the better to deceive me.

The twenty-fourth I spoke to the Peoria first:

"When you left here you promised me to give me proofs of your attachment of which I do not yet see the effects. Once more, with pleasure I see you of the same opinion, giving the example to the other villages of your tribes whom you urge to be united to us. I am told that you come here only the better to deceive me, and that you have been to the Miami solely to ally yourselves with them against me, instead of to attack them. Of this I do not believe a word. To indicate my confidence in you, I am making a present to your village of the goods you see before

des marchandisses que vous voyez devant vous j'aurai soin de ceux dont je serai satisfait qui me donneront des marques de Leur attachement et qui m'apporteront des chevelures de mès ennemis vos guerrier avoient pris Le cassetette j'esperois que ce ne seroit pas en vin ; j'ay a pris que la mouche noire L'enfants et Le marin-goin c'estoint Retire a Leur village esperant se jetter dans Les Bras des françois ; s'ils estoient bien sinseres qu'ils me donnassent des marques de Leur Repantir evidantes ; jl connoissent Le bon Coeur de Leur Pere qui pardonne a ce prix et en Luy portant quelques chevelure de Ses ennemis. gardes vous bien Peorias de frequenter nos ennemis crinte d'estre rencontre avec eux ecartes Les de vos terres et qu'on n'y fusse pas de mauvais coup exorté vos jeunes gens et guerrier a faire quelque coup qui me prouve Leur attachement

jl repondirent que Les chasseur n'apportoient pas du gibier chaque fois qu'ils alloient a la chasse ; qu'ils voient bien qu'ils avoient des ennemis qui parloient mal deux, mais qu'ils ne quitteroient jamais La main du françois et qu'ils nous endonneroit des marques

[*Translation*]

you. I shall take care of those with whom I am satisfied who give me proofs of their attachment and who bring me the scalps of my enemies. Your warriors took the tomahawk, not, I hope, in vain. I have learned La Mouche Noire, L'Enfant, and Le Maringouin have returned to their village, hoping to throw themselves into the arms of the French. If they be sincere, let them give me evident marks of their repentance. They know their father's good heart who pardons when that is done and the scalps of his enemies are brought him. Beware, Peoria, of frequenting our enemies lest you be caught among them. Keep them away from your lands, and to avoid some ill enterprise, exhort your young men and warriors to undertake one which will prove their attachment to me."

They replied that hunters did not bring back game every time they hunted ; that they clearly saw they had enemies who spoke ill of them, but that they would never let go the hand of the French and would give us proofs of it.

Il me demanderent de Rechef quand et ce que je leur don-  
nerois un chef françois je Leur repondi dans peu Lorsque Les  
nastions seroient tranquiles

je parle Le même jour aux Kaskasias Kaos et metchi

Mon Coeur Pleure quand je pansé a toy, quelle est ta Pensé  
Illinois en te Lians avec Les misamis ton Corp est peti et peu  
nombreuse jusque ysi Le françois tu Soutenit, Le Renard, Saki,  
Poutouatami, Sioux et tant d'autres demandent a te manger, tu  
n'a pas pitie de ta famme et tes enfants, tu ne faits poin de  
Reflection; tu dit que Le françois te maltrite. je te punis Comme  
je faits mes enfants quand jls sont foux je Les chatie et quand  
ils sont repantant je Leur pardonne. toy chefs chatie Les foux  
je le regarderés faire et je dirai que tua de Lesprit tu dit qu'on ne  
tobeit pas voila pour quoy je veut'aider a donner de la sagesse  
aux foux Le mechi Le Kaos, Peorias Sont tranquille toy seul  
Kaskasias tu perd L'esprit tu têt Laisse conduire par des villiard  
jnsancé et tu ne veut pas ecouter ceux qui sont sage; voila ce que

[*Translation*]

They again asked when I would give them a French chief and  
who it would be. I replied, "In a little while when the tribes are  
calm."

I spoke the same day to the Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and  
Michigamea:

"My heart weeps when I think of you. Of what do you  
think, oh Illinois, when you ally yourself with the Miami. You  
are small, and your tribe few in number. Up to now the French-  
man has sustained you. The Foxes, Sauk, Potawatomi, Sioux,  
and many others ask to eat you up. You have no pity on your  
wives and children. You do not think. You say the French  
maltreat you; I punish you as I do my children when they are  
foolish. I chastise them, and when they are repentant I pardon  
them. You, chiefs, chastise your fools. I will watch it done and  
will say that you have good sense. You say you are not obeyed;  
that is why I wish to help you give wisdom to your fools. The  
Michigamea, the Cahokia, the Peoria stay quiet; you alone, you  
Kaskaskia, you lose your wits. You let yourself be led by silly  
old men, and you won't listen to those who are wise. That is



produit ton commerce avec L'anglois tu dissois je cherche La marchandise et tu a gannie La follie, Mrs de Bertet et Benoit t'ont jnstruit jl net'on pas gannie je te jnstruit a mon tour me prisera tu ma parole. que Pensera onontio mr de Vaudreuil ton pere qui est Labas; depeche toy de changer fait moy Connoistre ton repantir afin que je puisse ecrire pour toy, jl seront enfin Console Sil voyent Leur enfants faire des Reflections

guerrier je ne t'invite point a faire La guerre Contre ton jnclination je ne te dit point aide moy. mais Souviens toy que Le francois T'a conserves depuis que tu a Connoissance quil ta sauvé La vie qu'il ta tirer de chez tes Ennemis qu'il Les a ecarté de toy quil a chatie Les Renards jroquois qui te tuoit je ne te dis pas encore un fois aide moy a ton tour si tu a un coeur tu Le fera connoistre, jetentandrai, je te dis seulement ecarte Les ennemis de tes terres ne Les recois poin dans ton village ne marche point avec eux, Crinte que je Ne sois contrain de frapper mes enfants avec eux

[*Translation*]

what comes of your trade with the English. You say, 'I go to get goods,' and you have bargained for folly. MM. de Bertet and Benoist have instructed you and have not won you. I instruct you in my turn; will you despise my words? What will Onontio, what will M. de Vaudreuil your father down at New Orleans think? Hasten to change your ways. Tell me of your repentance so that I may write it for you. They will in the end be consoled if they see that their children reflect.

"Warrior, I do not ask you to make war against your wish. In no wise do I say to you, 'Help me.' But remember that the Frenchman has preserved you as long as you can remember, that he has saved your lives, that he has redeemed you from the house of your enemies, that he has held them back from you, that he has chastised the Foxes and Iroquois who were killing you. Once again I do not say to you, 'Help me in your turn.' If you have a heart you will let it appear, and I will understand you. I only bid you keep our enemies off your lands, don't receive them in your village, don't go with them, lest I may have to strike my children along with them.

Si tu est misamis de coeur declare toy vat avec eux fait moy  
 La guerre ouvertement apporte moy tes Buchettes je ne te crin  
 point si je meur je trouveres des vangeur de ma mort et toy tu  
 Periras sans sans resource ou sont Les nattions qui ont fait La  
 guerre aux francois jl y en a qui ont trahi surpris que sont jls  
 devenu, jl y a deux milles ans que les francois Sont sur Leur  
 nattes, jls ont eû beaucoup d'ennemis, Les etranger se sont tous  
 Lie contre Luy jalousie jl n'a pas encore perdu un pousse de  
 terre jl est toujours Le plus fort jl frappe Ses ennemis, jl Les  
 pardonne quand jls Se repantent tandisque Le francois prira  
 veritablement jl ne sera point detruit tua parle Kaskasias pendant  
 que tu priois bien que tu n'a pas ecouter Les foux tu a bien vecu  
 avec Le francois, nous navons eû qu un Coeur Le francois te  
 donnoit tes besoins, jl t'aimast L'Etranger nausoit te attaquer, tu  
 a abandonné La sagesse en n'ecoutant plus de chef tu veu quiter  
 La main du francois n'es tu pas dignie de pitie de compassion tu  
 dit que c'est onontio qui Le premier qui le premier a broulie La

[*Translation*]

"If you have a Miami heart, say so. Go with them. Make war on me openly. Bring me your fagots. I fear you not. If I die I shall find an avenger of my death; and you, you will inevitably perish. Where are the tribes who have made war on the French? There are some who have surprised me by treachery. What has become of them? The French have sat on their mats for two thousand years; they have had many enemies; foreigners are all leagued against them from jealousy; but they have not yet lost an inch of land. The Frenchman is always strongest. He strikes his enemies; he pardons them when they repent. While the Frenchman prays sincerely he will in no wise be destroyed. You have spoken, Kaskaskia. While you prayed, while you did not listen to the fools, you have lived on good terms with the French. You and I have had but one heart. The Frenchman supplied your wants. He loved you. The stranger dared not attack you. You have abandoned wisdom in no longer listening to your chiefs. You wish to let go the hand of the Frenchman; are you not worthy of pity and compassion? You say that it was Onontio who was the first to embroil the land; there La

terre, c'est La demoisselle qui parle par ta bouche; jl y a cinq ans que ce mauvais homme a pillie Le françois dans Le fort des misamis La enleve de son fort qu'il a Brulé qu'il Le vouloit faire manger par Letrange voila ce qu'il a fait L'ignore tu ont dit que c'est Le françois qui frappe Le premier onontio a estes Longtemp Sans agir jl a eu pitie de ses enfants, jl a pansé qu'ils se repantiroient jl Leur a fait parler jl Leur a envoie des chefs pour Leur donner La sagesse jl a estes refusee en fin jl Les a chatie Legerelement mais La demoisselle a gannie Les misamis jl veut gannier Les jllinois et Les fera mourir avec Luy ouvre Les yeux mon enfant ecoute ma parole et soit tranquille ce que je dit n'est que pour ton jnstruction donnez moy des marques de votre attachement et je vous ferai connoistre que je suis un veritable pere

Les chefs se Leverent et me remersierent de mes jnstruction et des reproches que je Leur avois fait, jl firent aporte quelque pla coté et funt d'huile me dissant quils me portois a manger et que tout Le vilage me demandoit L'elargissement des prisoniers

[*Translation*]

Demoiselle speaks through your mouth. It is five years since that wicked man pillaged the Frenchman in the Miamis fort, and carried him away from his fort which he burned, and since he wished him eaten by strangers. That is what he has done; are you ignorant of it? They have told you that it is the Frenchman who has struck first. Onontio has long put off acting. He had pity on his children; he thought they would repent; he had them spoken to; he sent them chiefs to give them wisdom; he was refused. Finally he chastised them lightly, but La Demoiselle has won over the Miamis; he wishes to win over the Illinois and will cause them to die with him.

"Open thy eyes, my child, hear my word and be calm. What I say is only for your instruction. Give me proofs of your attachment, and I will let you perceive that I am a true father."

The chiefs rose and thanked me for my instruction and for the reproaches I had made them. They had brought some salted sides and oil, saying that they brought me something to eat and that the whole village asked the freedom of the Illinois prisoners.

Illinois, Le vieux Boeuf pris La parole et dit La même chose et Jasscinoueta parlant pour Les guerrier Presanta un petit Collier et enfit autant Dacouarensa parla avec plus de force disant c'est aujourd'hui que Les guerriers souhaitent voir Les Prisonniers plusieurs autres Les demanderent avec force et instance je parlay alors

C'est toi Patissier qui a tué ton beau frère et ton fils qui Les a engagé à suivre Les amis qui ont passé à ton hivernement; tu a envoyé une Couverture dans Le mississipi pour débaucher mes enfants, tu a trempé ta main dans mon sang que Le mis a mis t'a porté pour te consoler, rebute toi je connais ton cœur il te reproche ta folie et tu crims Le jour tu a envoyé demander Retraite au Peorias ils me l'ont dit, ton beau frère et ton fils méritent la mort dieu veut que Le meurtrier meure; mais que ferai je tuer je mes enfants Le français et L'illinois n'ont ils pas le même père; me souviendrez je pas de toi, Thomas, Rouensa, vous qui avez eu compassion des français dégradés par Les glasses, tue

[*Translation*]

Le Vieux Boeuf took up the word and said the same thing. Jasscinoueta, speaking for the warriors, presented a little wampum belt and did the same. Dacouarens spoke with more force saying, "It is today that the warriors wish to see the prisoners." Several others asked them with force and directness. I then spoke:

"It is you, Patissier, who have killed your brother-in-law and your son, you who induced them to follow the Miamis who passed your winter camp. You sent a blanket into the Mississippi region to seduce my children; you have dipped your hand in my blood which the Miami brought to console you. Be discouraged. I know your heart. It reproaches you for your folly and your crime. The day you sent to ask a refuge of the Peoria, they told me. Your brother-in-law and your son are worthy of death. It is God's will that the murderer die.

"But what am I to do? Am I to kill my children? Have not the French and the Illinois the same father? Shall I not remember, you, Thomas and Rouensa, you who had compassion

par L'etrange qui Luy aves donne a manger qui me Les aves ramene ysi serai je jnsensible aux marques que vous m'aves donne de votre bon Coeur ecoutes moy je vous dit La verite je vous decouvre mon coeur quand quand vous m'aves ramen   mes   nfants de votre h  vernement, jay pans   je veux faire plus qu   ux je leur donnerai ceux qui m'ont tue je dirai a thomas et Roinsa Cest vous qui donnez La vie aux deux jllinois prisonier, je Leur dirai jnstruises Les donner Leur de Lesprit voila ce que je voulois faire; mais Les mauvais esprits Lient ma Langue et reserent mon Coeur, j'avois de La joye dans La panse que je consolerois mes enfants au retour de Leur h  vernement mais j'apprend que plusieurs parlent mal, L'ourse qui se cache a envoie un Calumet aux misamis qu'il Les appelle et veut Se distinguer par sa folie j'apprend que avant hier au soir dans une grande assemble on a dit publiquement rebutons nous n'allons pas voir notre pere allons a notre village qu'il panse ce quil voudra de nous Cest Le peorias qui c'est oppos   a cette folie j'appand que Les chefs ne font n'y

[*Translation*]

on the Frenchman caught in the ice, slain by the enemy, you who gave him to eat and have brought him back here to me? Shall I be insensible of the proofs you have given me of your good heart? Hear me; I speak the truth to you; I show you my heart. When you brought my children back from your winter camp, I thought, I wish to do more than they have done. I will give them those who have killed me. I will say to Thomas and Rouensa, 'It is you who give their lives to the two Illinois prisoners.' I will say to those chiefs, 'Instruct them, give them sense.' That is what I wished to do. But the evil spirit tied my tongue and restrained my heart. I had joy in the thought that I would console my children on their return from their winter camp. But I learn that several of them speak ill. L'Ours qui se cache has sent a peace pipe to the Miamis, whom he summons; he wishes to distinguish himself for folly. I learn that day before yesterday in the evening in a great gathering it was publicly said, 'Let us give it up; we will not go to see our father. Let us go to our village and let him think what he will of us.' It was the Peoria who opposed that folly. I perceive that the chiefs are no

ecoute n'y obeÿ, mon Coeur est malade je ne puis executer ma pansé encore, quand vous serai a votre village tranquille je le ferai aussi et je montrerai mon coeur. L homme noir des mitchigamias et un autre se leverent marquerent aux Kaskasias Le plaisir qu'ils avoient de m'entandre et me voir me remersierent de mes jnstructions. Le vieux Boeuf Se Leva encore et dit reproche qu'on fait a Leur me regarde j'estois presant Lors qu'il envoia Le Calumet aux misamis, mais ce n'estoit pas pour nous joindre a eux que Nous L'envoions, C'estoit pour L'attirer ysi L'engager a se repantir venir demander pardon de sa faute nous avons adesse Le calume a La pusee et au Patissier et a Leur Bandes jls L'ont averte et n'est point alles aux misamis. La pusee ne c'est pas trouve a cette assamble n'y aucun de sa bande n'y de ceux qui ont parle mal Les soldats dirent encore rien ne nous est jmpossible mais nous ne Levons pas de nous meme Le Cassetette C'est notre pere qui nous gouverne qu'il parle il sera obeï je finis La senne par cette repose L'empressement

[*Translation*]

longer heard or obeyed.

"My heart is sick. I cannot yet carry out my thought. When you are tranquil in your village, I will do it, and I will show my heart."

L' Homme Noir of the Michigamea and another arose, told the Kaskaskia the pleasure they had in hearing me and seeing me, and thanked me for my instruction.

Le Vieux Boeuf arose again and said, "The reproach that was made them concerns me. I was present when he sent the peace pipe to Miami. But it was not in order to join them that we sent it. It was to draw them here and engage them to repent, to come and ask pardon for their fault. We addressed the peace pipe to La Puce and to Patissier and their bands. They have given notice of it, and it did not go to the Miami. La Puce was not at this assembly nor any of his band nor of those who spoke ill. Their warriors say, 'Nothing is impossible to us, but we will not of ourselves take up the hatchet. It is our father who governs us; let him speak and he will be obeyed.' "

I ended the sitting by this answer :

que vous temoignie pour La delivrance de vos prisoniers me paroistroit voulloir L'obtenir de forsee pour quoy me presse vous ne vous aje pas dejà declare ma panse je m'entendra la, quand Le village sera tranquille mon coeur Le sera vous me viendres trouver je vous dires mes Santiments quand vous y serai rasamble j'envoiera chercher Les Chefs je leur parleres Retenes bien ce que je viens de vous dire soye ferme Roinsa Thomas La Pusee chefs et soldats qui aves L'esprit bien fait je ne veu pas detruire La cher je ne change pas je te la garde Combat La follie fait changer Les Coeurs de ceux qui sont foux je le soutiendrai tes ennemis seront Les miens tandis que tu ecouteras ma parolle jecouterai La tienne

touts Le monde applodi et se retira a pres plus de trois heures de senne

mars Le 22 je Récu une Lettre de mr de Porneuf qui envoiet trois hommes de sa garnison faute de vivres, me marque que Les nastions de son coste sont tranquilles me demande monsieur ou vous avez dessidé de mettre Le fort qui est tout pouri de meme

[*Translation*]

"The anxiety which you show for the delivery of your prisoners seems to me a desire to have it by force. Why do you press me? Have I not already declared my thought? I will abide by it; when the village is quiet, my heart will be also. You may come to seek me, and I will tell you my sentiments when you have gathered there. Hold fast to what I have just told you. I will send in search of the chiefs, and I will speak to them. Be strong Rouensa, Thomas, La Puce, chiefs, and warriors who have good sense. I do not wish to destroy your flesh and blood. I do not change. I hold you fast. Fight against folly; change the hearts of those who are fools; I will sustain you. Your enemies shall be mine. While you hear my word, I will hear yours."

All applauded and withdrew after a session of more than three hours.

March 22. I received a letter from M. de Portneuf, who sent three men from his garrison for want of provisions. He informs me that the tribes on his side are tranquil. He asks me, Monsieur, if you have decided to build the fort, which is all rotten



que Les Baraques dessirant Le scavoir de bonne heure pour faire Lever des ecorses en son temp que la ou jl est jl est a trois journé de marche d'aucun Sauvages<sup>1</sup> quil a remarque un endroit plus Convenable qu'aux Missouri raport aux nastion du Kan qui tiennent Les missouri turbulent en Respect jl se plain qu'il ne voit point Les voyageur qui entre a La riviere des Kans qui peuvent causser du trouble et se plain d'un nomme d'avion qui a reste aux bas de Cette Riviere et qui apris dispute avec Les Sauvages qu'il avoit debauché de son poste qui faisoient vivres Ses gens jl luy a envoie deux soldats de la garnison pour Luy dire de se retirer jl c'est moqué de se rendre je l'ussent pour Le Leger a son arriveé jl represante quil seroit apropos que tous Les francois qui vont du cote des Kans fissent La trette au fort que Les sauvage meme Le demande pour eviter Le traquas des voyageur qui Sarachent Les un aux autres un Castor.

jl me parle de la gratification qu'on a eux Coutume d'avoir

[*Translation*]

as well as the barracks. He wishes to know soon so that he can get the bark in time. Where he is, he is three days' march from any Indians.<sup>1</sup> He has seen a more suitable site than that of the Missouri with reference to the Kansa tribe, which holds in respect the turbulent Missouri. He complains that he does not see the *voyageurs* who enter the Kansas River, which may cause trouble. He complains of a certain Avion who has remained lower down on that river and who has got into a dispute with the Indians whom he had seduced from Portneuf's post, where they supported his people. He sent two soldiers from the garrison to bid Avion retire; but he laughed at the idea of coming away. (I thought him light on his arrival.) M. de Portneuf represents it would be well that all the French coming from the region of the Kansa should trade at the fort. Even the Indians ask it to avoid the uproar of the *voyageurs* who snatch a beaver pelt from each other.

He speaks to me of the gratification that was customary

<sup>1</sup> This post was at the site of Leavenworth. The Kansas River enters the Missouri below that point.

qui n'a pas estes persa Sur Les voyageur C'ette anne jl mé prie de vous en ecrire j'espere que vous me donneres monsieur quelques ordres La dessus jl paroît juste que Les officier de cette Colonie ayent Les memes avantage que ceux qui commande aux postes du Canada j'espere Le voir a la fin du mois prochin je vous jnformere du Lieu dont il veut parler pour replasser Le fort et Comme on fera pour la construction Le Roy ne voulant faire aucun frais pour ces postes jl n'est guerre possible qu'un officier le puisse faire si on ne luy donne quelques avantage que jgnore encor

Le 26 de mars est arrivé Les nommés Paget et la Lande metif qui m'ont raporter avoir Laissé Les nommes La mirande, deguir et Leurs Engagé. jl y avoit onze jours dessendent a La ville avec trois voitures charge de suif huile et Salaison Le premier est absent d'ysi depuis pres de deux ans sans Congé menant sa famme enfant et six engagé qui L'on quite Les un apres Les autre Le Sr deguir est a plus pars dans Le meme Cas Ce Sont Ces messieurs treteur anglois qui peu a peu jntroduissent

[Translation]

which has not been levied on the *voyageurs* this year. He begs me to write you about it. I hope you will give me orders on that, Monsieur. It seems just that the officer of that colony should have the same advantages as those who command at the posts of Canada. I hope to see him at the end of next month. I will inform you of the place which he indicates as a site for rebuilding the fort. And as he will have to provide for the construction, since the king will be at no expense for these posts, it is hardly possible that an officer can do it unless some advantage of which I am not aware has been allowed him.

March 26 the persons named Paget and Lalande, a half-breed, arrived. They reported to me that they had left the persons known as La Mirande, Deguir, and their *engagé* eleven days ago going down to New Orleans with three boats loaded with fat, oil, and salt meat. The first named has been away from here almost two years without a *congé* along with his wife, child, and six *engagés*, who have left him one after the other. The Sieur Deguir is in the same case. It is these gentlemen, trading with the Eng-

L'anglois dans nos riviere, jay fait mettre en prison ces deux arrivant sans conge jl ont arrive a minuit aparament Crinte qu'on ne vit Les marchandisses quils ont porte jl seroit apropos qu'on peut fermer Cette porte et qu'aucun voyageur font en chasse ou trette de ces costes La il n'y a qu'un poste establi de ces Coste qu'on ne peu passer qui pouvoit y remedier qui d'un autre Cotte garderoit L'entre de nos rivières et nos Limittes; Ces deux voyageur Raportent quil ont trouve deux anglois et Le fils du nomme metivie autrement fils de marie gongon metif dysi qui est parmi Les jroquois du grand village plusieurs jroquois et et Chauanon a La chute de la belle Riviere; je vous ay ecrit ce que maureau m'a deposse du Sr Lamirande et deguir pouront vous mettre au fait de ce qui ce passe dans cette Riviere a filadelfie et chauanon ceux ci dissent navoir fait aucune mauvaise rencontre jl n'ont veû aucune vestige de nos deserteurs Ce qui me fait Croire quils ont pris La Riviere Rouge et quils auront estes arreste par Les tonnikas si piquard a peû Les depasser de nuit

## [Translation]

lish, who little by little are bringing the English into our rivers. I have put in prison the two who came without *congés*. They arrived at midnight for fear that the goods they carried would be seen. It would be well to close that gate and that no *voyageur* should go to hunt or to trade in that direction. If there were only one post established on that side that could not be passed, it would remedy the difficulty, and from the other side protect the entry to our river and our boundary.

These two *voyageurs* report that they found at the Falls of the Ohio two English and the son of the person known as Metivie, and of Marie Gongon, a half-breed of this place, now among the Iroquois of the great village, as also several Iroquois and Shawnee. I wrote you what Moreau has told me concerning the Sieur la Mirande and Deguir. They can tell you of what is happening on that river, at Philadelphia, and among the Shawnee. These men say they have made no ill encounter, and have seen no trace of our deserters. This makes me believe that these last have taken the direction of Red River, and that they will be taken by the Tunica if Picard has been able to pass them in the night.

je joint ysi deux prosses criminels L'un de celuy qui a as-sasine Le 7 Xbre son Camarade L'autre des vinte et un deserteur<sup>1</sup> dont on a pas mis Le signialement de quelques un Les Capitaines Les ayant pas pris et ne m'ayant pas estes donné a La ville quoy que j'en eû averti Mr Les Capitaines de les prandres jls doivent estre sur Le grand Livre Comme on a Laisse La plusse en blanc je vous prie d'ordonner monsieur quils y soient mis et qu'on me Les envoie pour Les mettres sur L'original La Colombie est purgé de grand Coquin que mr de la masiliere avoit choisi dans Le vesseau ou jl a passe par preference Cett officier est malade de puis un mois jl devoit aller aux ouyas Mr de Reggio en a pris La plasse

jl est arrive hier neuf ozages qui ont Commanse Leur Complimens qu'ayant appris qu'il estoit arrive un veritable Pere qu'on avoit frappe nous venons Luy offrir nos services Les nattes sont Levé pres a marcher a Sa parole Lorsque nous serons de Retour

[*Translation*]

I annex two criminal processes, one for the man who murdered his comrade December 7, the other for the twenty-one deserters.<sup>1</sup> The descriptions of some have not been included as they were not given me at the city, and the captains had not taken them, although I had directed that they do this. The descriptions must be in the great register. Since most of them have been left blank, I beg you, Monsieur, to give orders that they be filled in, and then sent to me for insertion in the originals. The colony is freed of a great scoundrel whom M. des Mazellières had himself chosen for the boat in which he traveled. That officer has been sick for a month; he was to have gone to Ouïatanon; M. de Reggio has taken his place there.

Yesterday nine Osage arrived who began their compliments by saying that they had learned that a real father had arrived, and that he had been attacked: "We come to offer him our services; our mats are picked up ready to march at his word when we have returned to our village." Today I made them a small

<sup>1</sup> For proceedings against the deserters see A N Colonies C13A 36: 102 *et seq.*

a notre village je Leur ay fait aujourd'hui un petit present apres Les en avoir fait details Les nouvelle d'ysi je leur ay fait presenter Le cassette qu'ils ont accepte et chante La guerre il m'ont promis de partir sitot Leur arrive a Leur villages que Les chefs viendroient me voir pendant que Les jeunes gens seroit en guerre

Vous m'avez dit monsieur d'entrer dans le moindre detail je ne C'est mieux Le faire quand vous faissant un espece de journal de ce qu'on m'a dit ou j'ay fait mot a mot afin que vous approuvie ou blamie ce que vous Croies Contraire au bien du service de la vous prendrez du temps allire, mais je ne vous aures rien omis je crois voir dans Les nations une incertitude de ce qu'ils ont a faire je tacherai a ramener nos commissaires par la douceur en attendant que nous puissions faire autrement Le pays n'est guerre plus fort qu'avant mon arrivee partant pour Les ouyas quatre vingt trois hommes trente cinq pour La ville vingt qui sont parti pour Les Le Cannadas Sans ceux qui partiront Le

[*Translation*]

present, after having told them the news here. I offered them the tomahawk which they accepted, and they sang the war song. They have promised me that they will set out as soon as they arrive at their villages, and that the chiefs will come to see me while the young men are at war.

You told me, Monsieur, to go into the smallest details. This I cannot do better than by making you a kind of journal of what has been said to me, which I have done word for word so that you may approve, or else censure what you think contrary to the good of the service. It will take you time to read it, but I will omit nothing.

I think I see among the tribes an uncertainty as to what they are to do. I will try to bring back our domiciled Indians by gentleness while awaiting the time at which we can act otherwise. The country is scarcely in greater strength than before my arrival, as eighty-three men have gone to Ouïatanon, thirty-five to New Orleans, and twenty to Canada, not counting those who will leave

mois prochain quand Les voyageurs seront Rassemble j'apprené  
 Les sauvages au mois de mars pour avoir Le temps de faire Les  
 semences tranquille j'espère qu'elles seront finis La semaine pro-  
 chaine on a perdu beaucoup de Blaid d'hiver qu'on est obligé  
 de Remplacer je fait fosses en Bled d'inde et froment Le plus  
 qu'il est possible a fin d'avoir des vivres Si l'on fait quelques  
 entreprisses du Cote de canadas j'ay permis aux soldats mariés qui  
 ont des terres et Ceux dont je vous ay demandé Les congés de Les  
 aller cultiver en attendant Les exantans de service et de detache-  
 ment, Les detachement parti il me reste ysi quarante quatre  
 fusilliers pour y faire Le service en ayant un peu de tout cote  
 ou L'un travaille pour ne pas interrompre Les travaux et  
 L'avantage de Ce pays.

La tranquillité des mis a mis me fait augurer joint a ce que  
 les Illinois n'ont cessé de vouloir justifier Le Loup qu'ils ont  
 dessin de demander La paix qui est tres necessaire pour Le bien  
 de ce pays et de La collonie je trainerai Les choses en L'estat  
 pressant en attendant vos ordres et ceux de Mr de la Jonquiere

[Translation]

next month when the *voyageurs* shall have assembled. I am  
 informing the Indians in the month of March in order to have  
 time for sowing in peace; I hope the sowing will be finished in  
 the next week. We have lost much winter wheat which we will  
 have to replace. I have had as much land sowed in corn and  
 wheat as possible, in order to have provisions in case expedi-  
 tions are undertaken on the side of Canada. I have permitted the  
 married soldiers who have lands, as well as those whose leaves  
 I have asked of you, to go and cultivate their lands, subject to the  
 exigencies of service and of detached duty. All detachments  
 being made, I have left here forty-four musketeers for duty, with  
 a few in each direction in which men are working in order not  
 to interrupt the works and the development of this country.

The quietness of the Miami, joined to the fact that the Illi-  
 nois have not ceased to try to exculpate Le Loup, makes me  
 infer that they are planning to ask for peace, which is very neces-  
 sary for the good of this country and of the colony. I will spin  
 matters out in the present emergency while awaiting your orders



me tenant Sur La defensive pansant bien que nous avons ches nous nos plus grand ennemis c'est Les mutins du village des Kaskasias qui ont occassione tout Le troubles de ces Cotté par Les voyages qu'ils ont fait ches la demoiselle d'ou jls ont eû de la marchandise pour Rien au prix des notres et ce sont Lié avec Les misamis

J'espere monsieur que vous nous enverrai de quoy recruter nos Compagnies dont je vous envoie L'estat present Si vous voulies augmanter La garnison de deux elles ne seroient point de trop plus même dans L'estat present des chosé Le pays sera en estat de Les nourrir apres La recolte et si on veut entreprendre quelques choses et que Les nastions se declarent jl ne font pas grande chose encore qui nous prouve de L'attachement pour nous j ay Ecrit a Mr de portneuf pour exiter Les nastions du missouri a prandre Les armes pour nous ; j'en attend Le Ls en Cas pour nous nous ne sommes en estat tout au plus que nous deffandre foiblement Selon qu'on nous attaqueroit, j'ay ordonne de relever L'ensinte que mr de Bertet avoit fait faire elle sera bientot achevé n'ayant pas voulu de tourner Les Labour jl la font a Leur

[*Translation*]

and those of M. de la Jonquière and keeping on the defensive; I am convinced that our greatest enemies are the mutineers of the Kaskaskia village who have been the cause of all our troubles in this region by the journeys which they have made to La Demoiselle's village, whence they have merchandise for no price at all; and where they have allied themselves with the Miamis.

I hope, Monsieur, that you will send men to fill up my companies, whose present state I send you. If you wish to increase the garrison by two companies that would not be too much, especially in the present emergency. The country will be in a situation to feed them after the harvest if it is decided to undertake some expedition and if the tribes declare for us; so far they have done little to manifest their attachment to us. I have written M. de Portneuf to stir up the Missouri tribes to take arms for us. I await this to be in a position to defend ourselves feebly at least in case we are attacked. I have given orders to raise anew the enceinte that M. de Bertet had made, and it will soon be finished. As I did not wish to take labor from other tasks for it,



aisé et par la je serai plus a meme de mettre des detachement de ou pour soutenir Les travailleur si les partis viennent a Rouler; Cette ensinte est mal plasse mais en fin c'est un porte respect aux Sauvagé ou il y a quelque maison de renferme j'ay eu lhonneur de vous ecrire pour quil vous plaisse nous donner des ordres Conjointement avec Mr Michel a pouvoir aligner L'endroit y faire des rüe et terrin eqaux Le mal n'est pas encore tout a fait incurable si on ne Laisse pas batir qu'en alligniement on pourra le regler sur L'eglisse qui est une belle piessse pour cette Colonnie et quelque maison qui sont Batie de Pierre Mr Sausier vous envoie Le Part du fort projette—jl vous fait toutes C'est observations je n'ay peû vous faire Les miennes ne L'ayant pas encore veû y travaillant encore a pres mais j'espere quil finira demain ce fort Se trouve bien plasse pour aujourd'hui mais quand La Collonie Sera plus establie on trouvera a Le mieux plasser entendent parler d'endroits tres prope a etablier je ne puis vous en parler ne Les ayant pas veû tout ce que je puis vous dire de

[*Translation*]

it has been done at odd times. Thus I shall be better able to make detachments to protect those who are working if raiding parties come. This enceinte is badly placed, but it serves to make the Indians respect us when there are houses walled in. I had the honor to write you to ask that you and M. Michel would be pleased to give me joint orders to enable me to align the village and make streets and equal lots. The evil is not yet irremediable, if they were allowed to build only on the lines laid out. These could be laid out from the church, which is a fine structure for this colony, and from some houses which have been built of stone.

M. Saucier is sending you the plan of the proposed fort, making to you all his remarks on it. I am not able to make mine; I have not yet seen the plan as he is still working on it. But I hope he will finish tomorrow. This fort is well located for the present, but when the colony is better settled, it will be possible to place it to better advantage, as I hear of sites very proper for settlements. I cannot speak to you of them as I have not

cette rivier de puis que je y suis Ce qu'il n'a pas estes possible d'y faire monter un batteau a vide que depuis quelques jours qu'on n'auroit peu faire partir un batteau charge sans risque pour La ville depuis le mois d'aoust L'esperiance de Mr Girardo Le prouve Cette riviere n'est pas de Resoure pour Les bois qui seront Rare a Ce poste dans quelques anné n'ayant point de courant ni deau Les trois quart de L'anne outre qu'avec pertes C'est environs ne sont que marecage ont se plaint beaucoup de ses eaux qui donne souvent ysi des maladies; je m'en suis meme apersu dans la troupe par des Colliques frequantes quelles donne; Le temp ne me a pas permis de faire toutes Les observasson que j'aurois desire vous faire sur ce pays ou L'on panse qu'il n'y a rien affaire mais je puis vous assurer que depuis mon arrivé jay usse plus de papier que je n'en ferois en dix ans allieur il faut Le voir pour Le croire Mr La jonquere m'a prie de Luy donner un memoire sur mon poste de son etablissement du nombre de ses nastions de Lur moeurs des Limites de notre Colonie de ses proprieste des etablissement Ce qu'on y peu faire de

[*Translation*]

seen them. All that I can tell you of the Kaskaskia River since I have been here, is that it has not been possible to take an empty boat up it until a few days ago, and that a loaded boat could not have been sent off for New Orleans without risk since the month of August. The experience of M. Girardeau proves it. This river is not a resource for wood which will be scarce at this post in a few years, as it has neither current nor water three-quarters of the year. Its environs are nothing but marsh, and its water much complained of as causing frequent sicknesses. I have even observed the frequent colics it occasions in the troops. Time does not permit me to offer you all the observations that I would have wished to make you on this country, where people think there is nothing to do. But I assure you that since my arrival I have used more paper than I would in ten years elsewhere. You must see it to believe it. M. la Jonquière has begged me to give him a memoir on my post, as to the settlement, the numbers of its tribes and their customs, the boundaries of our colony, which settlements

L'avantage de son etablissement de son denombrement toutes ces parties pour Les decires de mon devoir plus de temps que je n'ay pris, je luy ay envoie en observastion en luy rendant Compte de la situassion de nos nastions et des fournitures que j'ay fait faire aux poste du Canadas vous scavez monsieur La necessité de marchandise au magasin du Roy qui est le nerf de la guerre, pour ces pays ysi j'espere que vous voudres bien nous en faire envoyer Comme Les petites monture de nos troupes qui avoient ysi La plus part n'avoit point de chapeau et souliers vous aves une lettres vivante En Mr Benois qui vous detaliera tout ce que je peû oublier

Vous m'aves defendu monsieur de changer des soldats d'une Compagnie a un autres cependant Lors qu'il partira quelque ouvrier absolument necessaire au pays comme meunier qui ne sont d'aucune necessite ailleurs des massons tallieur de pierre dont nous aurons grand besoin si L'on fait le fort même, je vous prirois de nous envoyer ceux qui sont La bas pour L'asselerer L'ouvrage tout c'est sortes d'ouvrier seroient utile a ce pays ou il trou-

[*Translation*]

belong to it, what can be done to increase the settlement, and what its population is. All these require more time to describe than I can spare from duty. I sent him some observations, giving him an account of our tribes and of the supplies that I have had sent to the posts of Canada.

You know, Monsieur, the necessity of having goods in the king's stores, which are the sinews of war in this country. I hope you will be good enough to send us some, as well as the lesser equipment of our troops here, who have for the most part no hats or shoes. You have a living letter in M. Benoist who will tell you all that I may forget to write.

You have, Monsieur, forbidden me to change soldiers from one company to another. However when some workman absolutely necessary in this country, like a miller, may leave, who is of no use elsewhere, to say nothing of masons or stonecutters of whom we have great need if the fort is to be built, I would beg you to send us those who are below to hasten the work. All kinds of workmen will be useful in this country where they would

veroient a ganier Leur vie meme a s'establiir si vous voulies Leur donner des Congé, donne moy je vous prie vos ordres pour Les deux soldats par compagnie, qui doivent avoir Leur congé sil s'entrouvoit qui voulussent s'establiir ysi, si je peu Leur donner des terres plusieurs des Ensins avoient quelque chose quils ont mangé perdant Lesperance de leur Congé d'alieur Les fillie de ce pays ne veulent La plus part que des personne Libres effective-ment Les detachment sont tous a charge a ces gens La perdant souvant par L'absence ce quils ont fait ; nous avons plus besoins dans ce pays d'habitans que de soldats parce que dans L'occassion ils font L'un et L'autre si la volonté y estoit un peu Rompue cequi viendra avec le temp

j ay eû l honneur de vous ecrire au sujet du Convois pour ysi de la necessite de la necessite d'observer plusieurs choses qui sont d'importance pour La Routte et Le bien de la troupe et L'eparnie du Roy

Nous avons ecrit en Commun avec Mr Buchet cequé nous croions estre necessaire pour Le bien du Paÿs

[*Translation*]

be able to earn their living and even establish themselves if you would give them their leaves. Give me, I beg you, your orders for the two soldiers from each company who should have their leaves, if there are any who wish to settle here, in case I could give them lands. Several of the old soldiers had a little property which they have consumed on losing hope of getting their leaves. The girls of this country for the most part don't want men who are not free. Indeed, detached service is a burden to these people, who during their absence lose the fruit of their labors. We need inhabitants more than soldiers in this country, because on occasion they would serve as both if their spirits were a little broken, which will come in time.

I had the honor to write you on the subject of the convoys for this place, and of the need of observing several things of importance in the journey, for the welfare of the troops, and for saving the king's money.

M. Buchet and I have written jointly on what we think necessary for the good of the country.

je vous prie monsieur de rechef de me procurer L'ambarquement de mes provision de vin et audevie necessaire pour me soutenir en ce poste ou La consomasson est forte, encore mieux de me procurer L honneur d'en asses boire avec vous fonde sur L'esperance que vous m avec donne den Lesir L'occassion je L'attant avec jmpassiance je serois pourtant charmé de pouvoir L'aisser a ce pay's quelque de mes travaux qui seroit La tranquilite que je ne puis encore prevoir et dont il ne sauroit se passer

Mr Rousselet officier sagé et paisible, estant convenu avec Mr Neyon<sup>1</sup> qu'il n'avoit pas Les talans necessaire a un aide major; Les ayant exerse pendant plusieurs anné Dans Le Regiment ou jla servie m'a pris de vous ecrire en sa faveur pour L'ayde ma-

[*Translation*]

I beg you once more, Monsieur, to get me the freight of my provision of wine and brandy which are necessary to maintain me in this place where the consumption of them is great. Better yet, get me the honor of having enough to drink with you, founded on the hope you have given me of affording me the occasion. I await it with impatience, but I should be delighted first to leave in this country a landmark of my labors, namely tranquillity, which I do not yet foresee, and without which it cannot get on.

M. Rousselet, a wise and peaceable officer, agreed with M. Neyon<sup>1</sup> that he did not have the talents necessary in an aid major. Since M. de Neyon was employed in that capacity for several years in the regiment in which he served, he has begged me to write you in his favor for the place, desiring to be assured of it,

<sup>1</sup> Pierre Joseph de Neyon de Villiers. Born in Lorraine, he began his military service in 1735 as ensign in the regiment of Choiseul. He became lieutenant in 1742 and in 1744 was aid major in the Royal Lorraine Regiment. He became a captain in 1747 and was put on half-pay status in 1748. In 1749 he was attached to the corps of Louisiana, his rank as captain there dating from October 1, 1750. He married the sister of Mme de Kerlérec. He served as major commandant at Fort de Chartres from August 20, 1756 [A N Colonies C13A 40:238] although Macarty continued to enjoy the emoluments for the next four years. He received the Cross of St. Louis in 1759. In 1764 he turned the command of the Illinois over to St. Ange and returned to New Orleans. He was colonel of the regiment of Guadeloupe in 1773 and governor of Mariegalant in 1775. He died at sea in August, 1779. Villiers du Terrage, *Les Dernières Années*, 190 n.; A N Colonies D2C4; see also *post*, 870.

jorite d'ysi desirant estre tranquille et a porte de faire quelque chose je crois qu'il en a Les talans et La volonte, jl doit vous en ecrire et poser Les services, avec Ses dispossitions je crois qu'il L' aquitera de son devoir, vous procurireres par la L'avancement de tous Les Lieutenant je puis vous assurer qu'il y a ysi de la besonie pour trois quand ont La veut bien faire; j'espere tant pour mon jnterois particulier que pour Le general de la Colonie vous voudres bien nous procurer ysi un estat major Complet

Mr de vossé<sup>1</sup> me prie de vous demander La permission de se marier avec La fillie de Mr marin Le quel m'est venu assurer qu'il doneroit a sa fillie en avancement de Doirie huit mille Livres. Cette fille est metive agé de dix huit ans qu'il a eû d'une premiere femme dans Le missouri vous aves connoissance de sa familie L'un et L'autre doivent vous en ecrire

vous trouverai ysi des lettres de made La Barre par Les quelle elle vous expose Les Raison qu'elle a de ne pas aller en Canadas qui paroissent asses possible elle se récommende a vos

[*Translation*]

and in a situation to accomplish something. I think that he has talents and good will. He is to write you and state his services. With his disposition I think he will acquit himself well of his duty. You will thus bring about the promotion of all the lieutenants. I can assure you that there is need here for three if one wishes things well done. I hope, both for my special interest as well as for that of the colony in general, that you will procure for us a full *état major*.

M. de Vossé<sup>1</sup> begs me to ask your permission to marry the daughter of M. Marin, who has come to assure me that he would give the girl a dowry in advance of eight thousand livres. The girl is a half-breed aged eighteen, whom he had by his first wife in the Missouri region. You know his family. Both he and De Vossé are to write you.

You will find herewith letters of Mme la Barre by which she tells you her reasons for not going to Canada though it seemed quite feasible. She recommends herself to your kindness. I

<sup>1</sup> It is impossible to identify this officer. No such name is on the lists, and the facts do not point clearly to anyone with a similar name.

bontes jespere que vous ne trouveres pas mauvais que j'ay fait passer deux de ses garçons dans Les compagnie de Montchervaux et neyon on sera oblige a changer ses enfant chaque fois que les compagnie quiteront cette garnison

Je vous prie monsieur de recommander de prandre Les hommes qui jay L'aisse aux arkansas malade de differante Compagnies dont je vous ay envoie L'etat.

Mr villier soiteroit rester ysi jenevois pas d'officer ensiens a dessendre si La Compagnie de Benoit ne remontoit pas jl passera ysi par conge Comme Mr de girardo qui m'a remis aujourd huy un certificat de 1769 pour envoyer en acompte de payement au Sr Bartelemieux sur La somme que Mr La Cotrai doit au dit Sieur il me promoit de mieux faire par le premier convoi, n'ayant peu estre paye de cequi est du a mr La Catrai. je Luy envoie dans une Lettre c'y jointe en attendant mieux je n'ay rien peu tirer de Mr de gruis pour Mr Olivier jl a remis a Le satisfaire au mois de may devant remettre au magasin du Roy vingt milliers de Plomb qui font a plus pres La Somme due Ce Mr

[*Translation*]

hope you will not find it amiss that I put two of her sons in Montchervaux's and Neyon's companies. We shall have to transfer her children each time their companies leave this garrison.

I beg you, Monsieur, to redispach the men from different companies that I left sick at the Arkansas, the list of whom I sent you.

M. Villiers would like to stay here. I do not see any senior officer to send down; if Benoit's company does not return here, he will come here on leave like M. de Girardeau, who gave me today a certificate of 1,769 livres to send on account of the payment to Sieur Barthelemieux, on the sum that M. la Gautrais owes the said Sieur. He promises me to do better by the first convoy, as he cannot be reimbursed from what is due to M. la Gautrais. I send it in a letter annexed, hoping to do better. I have been unable to get anything of M. de Gruis for M. Olivier. He has put off satisfying him to the month of May, when he should transfer to the king's stores twenty thousand of lead, which makes almost the whole sum due. This Monsieur works at great ex-



travailie a grand frais n'ayant point de negres Les Blanc coutant ysi considerablement ce qui Luy mangé Le peû quil peu faire il y a actuellement vinte cinq hommes qui travaillent a la mine ayant Cent millier d'entre prisse pour Les postes du Canadas ou on a trouvé une tres abondante puis que un blanc et un negre en ont fondu dans six semaines pour trois milles Livres d'argent jl dessant quatre ving millier de farrine par Les trois bateaux on en auroit mis d'avantage si on eû pas mis des quard et soixante madrie de noier et merisier que l'on envoie a Mr Michel.

Nous avons de quoy charger Les trois autres aussitot Leur arrive des ouyas je ne Crois pas meme qu'ils puissent porter Le tout jl seroit a souhaiter que vous fissie deux Convois tous Les ans Comme vous vous esties proposé et quil y eû asses de bateau pour ne pas s'attendre aux retour de ceux qui seroient monté car quelque chose qu'on fassé jl peû survenir des accident qui sont frequant dans ses voyage soit du manque d'eau de bateau creve d hyvernement et minte autres accidant qu'on ne peut prevoir Les Bateau ne sont jamais de trop quand on Ramasseres

[Translation]

pense, having no negroes, and white labor costing considerably here, which eats up the little profit he might make. Actually he has twenty-five men working at the mine, having undertaken to supply a hundred thousand to the posts of Canada; a very rich vein has been found, since in six weeks a white and a negro have cast it to the value of three thousand livres of silver. Eighty thousand of flour is going down by the three boats. More would have been loaded if it had not been for the [?] and sixty beams of walnut and cherry which are being sent to M. Michel.

We have enough to load the three other boats as soon as they come from Ouiatanon, but I don't think they can carry all. It would be desirable for you to send two convoys every year as you proposed and that there should be enough bateaux in order not to await the return of those that had gone up, for whatever is done, accidents may happen which are frequent in these voyages, from want of water, snagged boats, wintering, and many other accidents which cannot be foreseen. The bateaux are never superfluous when one gathers the stuff to load them early enough, and

de bon heure de quoy Les charger et cela occassionera un temp que vous pouver fixer a huit jours pres de depart de la ville moienant quoy en chaque poste on se peut tenir prêt a recevoir Les Convois qui n'auroit pas du temp a perdre

Le poste des arkansa est d'un grand Retardement aux montant et dessendant qui ont a remettre des farines Ce voyage est deja asses long sans Le prolonger davantage un poste sur Le fleuve seroit bien plus utile et je suis persuadé qu'on y auroit toujours quelques sauvages si on alloit par Les chercher sil y avoit quelques familles Le poste sen etabliroit mieux La plus par comptant sur Les Sauvages pour Leur guerre C'est ce qui arrivé aujourd'hui aux habitant du Poste vincen jl y a bien des choses d'entre prendre En Ce pay qui tireroit des habitant d'affaire Les ouvriers meme y manquent et s'ils si en trouve jls sont cher ce qui fait que Les entre preneur ne peuvent se tirer d'affaire

Si vous croie Monsieur que le fort ne puisse se finir sitot jl seroit a propos de Baraquer Les soldats en attendant par Com-

[*Translation*]

that will require a time that you can fix at a week from the departure from New Orleans, taking it for granted that at each post they are ready to receive the convoy, which will have no time to lose.

Sending flour to the Arkansas post is a great delay in ascending and descending the river. This voyage is long enough without extending it still more. A post on the Mississippi would be much more useful, and I am persuaded that you would always have some Indians there if you went about getting them. If there were some families there, the post would be the better established, counting on the Indians mainly for warlike operations. That is the case today with the inhabitants of Vincennes. There are many things to be undertaken in this country which would draw the inhabitants from their business. Even the workmen are lacking, and if there are any, they are high priced, which makes business men unable to get out of their undertakings with a profit.

If you think, Monsieur, that the fort cannot be finished so soon, it would be well to put the soldiers in barracks by com-

pagnie a pouvoir estre a posté de les voir souvant et en fere L'appelle quelques attantion, que l'on ait elle ne peut estre La même que lors quils sont tout sous Les yeux cela ne couteroit pas grande chose si l'on pouvoit faire servir Les comble a quelque autre batiment

je ne finirois pas de vous faire des demande si Mr Benoit qui veut partir ne m'obligeoit de finir jl est plus au fait du Paÿs que moy y estant depuis plus long temp tachés monsieur de L'en-voier me relever cela nous conviendrait asses a tout deux je luy ay donné vinte sept homme de la compagnie j'envoierai Le Reste par les trois autres Batteau je vous drois bien exanter Les gens marie de ce voyage si vous Leur accordé Le Conge que j'ay demande pour eux je les gardera si je ne recois aucunt de vos nouvelles

je vous prie monsieur de vouloir bien vous jntresser pour mon fils qui sortira bientôt du College pour luy procurer une plasse de garde marine je suis persuadé que Mr Roullie ne vous Le refusera pas; je luy feraî presanter par milord Clare qui

[Translation]

panies meanwhile, in order to be able to inspect them often, and to call the roll. However much attention you give them it is not the same as when they are all under your eyes. That would not cost much if the frame of some other building could be used.

I would not stop making demands on you, if M. Benoist, who wants to set off, did not oblige me to end. He knows this country better than I do, having been here a much longer time. Try, Monsieur, to send him to relieve me; that would suit us both well enough. I have given him twenty-seven men of the company; I will send the rest by the other three bateaux. I would like to excuse the married men from this voyage if you granted them the leave I asked for them. I will keep them if I do not hear from you.

I beg you, Monsieur, to be good enough to interest yourself for my son who will soon leave college, and to procure him a place as *garde marin*. I am persuaded M. Rouillé will not refuse it to you. I will have him presented by My Lord Clare, who has

c'est toujours fait un plaisir de me rendre service jettant tout de votre equities et du Respectueuse attachement avec Lequel je suis pour La vie Monsieur

Votre tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur

MACARTY

j'ay remis a monsieur Benois une Boitte envelope de toille si revenant du Cannadas et quelque duplicata qui me restoit pour vous j'envois bien desire pouvoir vous envoyer quelque chose de ce pays je n'ay peû avoir ny paquenne jámbon ni morilles on dit n'avoir pas veû ysi une telle anne

ABBÉ DE L'ISLE DIEU<sup>1</sup> TO ROUILLÉ, March 28, 1752

[A N Colonies C11A 98:376]

.....  
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Outre Les quatre missionnaires absolument necessaires a M. Le Loutre pour favoriser les nouveaux Etablissemens qujl

[Translation]

always had pleasure in serving me. Relying wholly on your equity and the respectful attachment with which I am for life, Monsieur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

MACARTY

I have entrusted to Monsieur Benoist a box wrapped in linen, which comes from Canada, and some duplicates for you which were by me. I would much have wished to send you something from this country, but I could get neither pecans, ham, nor mushrooms. They say there never has been such a year.

.....  
In addition to the four missionaries absolutely essential to M. le Loutre to assist the new settlements which he wishes to

<sup>1</sup> Pierre de la Rue, Abbé de l'Isle Dieu. Vicar-general of Canada and for the Mississippi. His service began in 1734 and continued until after the British conquest. He carried on a continual correspondence with the ministry of the colonies on the religious affairs of America, the dispatch and support of priests and missionaries, etc. *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, 14:18, 78.

veut Faire des acadiens françois Sortis de la peninsule, Je pense qu'il en faudroit Envoyer un aux Tamarois Mission de la Louisianne, la plus proche des jllinois desservie par des Prêtres Seculiers des missions Etrangeres, du Seminaire de Paris et de Celui de Québec.

Vous verrez Monsieur, par cet article de mes Extraits, que cette mission est presque tombée, Quelle ne Consiste presque plus qu'en un petit Etablissement de françois. . . <sup>1</sup> que presque toutes les nations Sauvages S'en Sont detachées pour aller aux anglois, tandis que cette Mission auroit pû non Seulement Se conserver, mais S'acroitre, comme celle des Jesuites aux jllinois, et aux autres nations quils desservent, si Elle avoit ete fournie de Sujets

Il n'y a aux Tamarois que trois prêtres Seculiers, dont deux Sont fort agés et demandent depuis Longtems du Secour, Il faudroit du moins y en Envoyer un cette année y ayant plus de 16. ans, quon y en a Envoyé.

[*Translation*]

form from the French Acadians drawn from the peninsula, I think it will be necessary to send one to the Tamaroa mission of Louisiana, which is the nearest one to Canada of the Illinois, and served by the secular priests for foreign missions of the seminaries of Paris and Quebec.

You will see, Monsieur, by that heading in my extracts that that mission has almost fallen, consisting of little more than a small French settlement, . . . all the Indian tribes being departed to go to the English. However, that mission, if it had been supplied with missionaries, would not only have held its ground, but would have grown like the Jesuit mission to the Illinois and to the other tribes served by it. There are only three secular priests at Tamaroa; two of whom are very old, begging for relief for a long time. One missionary at least should be sent there this year, as it is more than sixteen years since one has been sent.

<sup>1</sup> These periods in the text are in the original.

Ceux qui sont chargés de cette mission ne Comprennent pas  
assés combien Il est jimportant de la bien Etablir, Elle est  
environnée de toute part de nations Sauvages et tout ce que nous

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en perdons S'acquiert par L'anglois. . . La religion est  
un des plus forts motifs qui nous les attache, Sjl vient a manquer  
par nôtre faute La Cupidité et L'jvrognerie nous les Enlèvent Je  
pense donc Monsieur, quil n'y auroit pas de tems a perdre pour  
rétablir peu a peu Cette mission, en y Envoyant du moins cette  
année un Sujet qui iroit a la nouvelle orleans et remontroit  
facilement aux tamarois, comme les Jesuites le font aux Jllinois.

.....  
A PARIS ce 28. Mars 1752

L'ABBÉ DE L'ISLE DIEU  
Vic gal des colonies françoises

[*Translation*]

Those in charge of that mission don't understand how im-  
portant it is to establish it solidly. On all sides it is surrounded  
by Indian tribes, and every one that we lose is gained by the  
English. . . . Religion is among the strongest motives that tie  
the Indians to us. If by our fault it is wanting, greed and drunken-  
ness will take them away from us. I think then, Monsieur, that  
there is no time to lose in reëstablishing that mission little by  
little, sending this year at least one person; he could go to New  
Orleans and easily go up to Tamaroa as the Jesuits go to their  
Illinois mission.

.....

ABBÉ DE L'ISLE DIEU  
Vicar-general of the French colonies

PARIS, March 28, 1752

MACARTY AND BUCHET TO VAUDREUIL AND MICHEL

[H M LO 340]

DES CASKAKIAS L 29e Mars 1752

MESSIEURS

Nous Aurions deziré fair partir plutot Les trois Batteaux Que Nous Vous avons destiné par Le premier Convoy, Les Eaux. Et Le mauvais temps nous En Ont Empesché, Nous avons Expedié Les trois Autres pour Aler Au poste de Mr St Ange, dont Un Est Charge des provisions pour sa garnison, Et Les deux Autres de vivre pour Les Ouyatanons Et Miami, suivan Le Marché quen a fait Le Sr Delisle En canada Et icy avec nous Messieurs Les Gouverneurs Et Jntendans ayent ecrit a Mr de Macarty den faire Un suplemant En Mahie Et gresse Et Le Soutenir dans sa marche pour La conduittes desd Vivres JI paye La gratiffication des troupes qui sonts dans Les deux Bateaux Et reconduit Les Vivres des pians aux ouyas Le Nomé La fatigue sest Aussi Engagé avec nous pour En Conduire une Certinne quantité de Mahie

[Translation]

KASKASKIA, March 29, 1752

MESSIEURS:

We should have wished to send off at an earlier date the three bateaux that we have intended for you by the first convoy. Low water and bad weather have prevented us from doing so. We have sent the three others to the post of M. St. Ange, one of them loaded with provisions for his garrison and the two others with provisions for Ouiatanon and Miamis in accord with the bargain which the Sieur Delisle has made in Canada and here with us. Messieurs the governors and intendants have written M. de Macarty, telling him to supply an additional amount of corn and grease, and approving the bargain he had made for sending the provisions in question. He pays the gratification of the troops in the two bateaux who carry the provisions from Vincennes to Ouiatanon. The person known as La Fatigue has also agreed with us to transport a certain amount of corn.



Me De Macarty A reçu Une Lettre de Mr St Ange qui Luy Marque que tous Les habitans Et Volontaires qui sonts a son postes sonts sur Lepoint de Labandonner, ne pouvan Avoir de quoy Vivre, quil seroit Necessaire quil y Eut un Moulin a Cheval pour pouvoir y Semer du bled francais Et y faire des farines, Cequi seroit dun Grand avantage pour Cette Endroy qui setabliroit Et Lon trouveroit sur Les Lieux La Subsistence de La garnison Et epargneroit Bien des frays ; Cequi Nous a determiné Comptent que vous Le trouveriez bon a Luy fair Reponse dengager Les habitans Et Volontaires arester a son poste, que L'anné prochaine On Leurs Avanceroit des Meules Mesme Un homme pour La construction du Moulin Quils En rembourceroit Le prix a mesure quils Recueuilleroit.

Mrs Les Officiers qui sonts detachés dans Les postes sauvages qui Nont Aucune Gratiffication ny La traitte Exclusive Ne peuvent se fournir dintrepette A leurs depens, jls sonts Cependent obligé de Leurs faire parler Quant Jls Viennent Dans Leurs forts Nous vous prion Messieurs de fair Un reglemant a Ce sujet

[*Translation*]

M. de Macarty has received a letter from M. St. Ange which informs him that all the inhabitants and volunteers at his post are on the point of abandoning it, as they cannot manage to live there ; a horse mill would be necessary for grinding French wheat into flour ; such an arrangement would be very advantageous for that place, establishing it so that the subsistence of the garrison could be obtained on the spot and much expense spared. This has decided us in case you approve to tell him to induce the inhabitants and volunteers to remain, telling them that next year they will be furnished with stones for the mill, and a man to build it, which they can pay for out of the tolls.

Messieurs the officers detached in the Indian posts having no gratifications or exclusive trade privileges cannot furnish interpreters at their own expense. Nevertheless they are obliged to speak to the Indians when they come to their forts. We beg you, Messieurs, to issue a regulation on this subject.

Nous Vous observeron Messieurs que Les soldat qui tombent Malade Journelemant Et En grand Nombre, Les quelles La plus pard du temps Ne pouvant sesoulager avec dix sols par jour quon Leurs donnent, Attendue La rareté des Vivres quil ont dans Leurs Chambres Et Ne conviennent point A Leurs Maladie JI seroit Apropos Messieurs quil y Eut Une Maison destiné pour servir d' hopital Avec toutes Les Ustanciles necessaire Mantionne Au memoir Cy jouint Nous penson que Le roy y gagneroit En caure, tant pour La Conservation des troupes, que par La Multitude de journées d'hospital a dix sols par jour qui se trouveront au bon de L'ainné Que par La retinue de Leurs paye pendent Le temps de Leurs Maladie

Nous Avons L honneur destre Avec Respect Messieurs

Vos tres humbles Et très obeissants serviteurs

MACARTY

BUCHET

[*Translation*]

We will observe to you, Messieurs, that the soldiers who daily fall sick in great numbers, cannot for the most part take care of themselves on the ten sous a day that is allowed them, when one considers the scarcity of the provisions they have in their barracks, such as are not suited to their complaints. It would be well, Messieurs, that a house should be designated to serve as a hospital with all the necessary equipment enumerated in the annexed memoir. We think the king would gain by it also, both by the preservation of the troops, and by the great number of days-in-hospital at ten sous a day which there would be at the end of the year, to say nothing of the retention of the pay of the men while they are sick.

We have the honor to be with respect, Messieurs,

Your very humble and very obedient servants,

MACARTY

BUCHET

VAUDREUIL TO ROUILLÉ, April 8, 1752

[A N Colonies C13A 36:66]

MONSEIGNEUR

J'ay eû L'honneur de vous rendre compte par ma Lettre du 10 8bre dernier de la revolution que L'on avoit a appréhender aux Jllinois de la part des nations sauvages de Ce continent qui S'est a la fin confermée le Sept du mois de decembre dernier.

Jl y á même eû Lieu de croire que L'entreprise avoit été concertée de façon a en devoir craindre une action generale, Si

66v

L'on peut S'en rapporter aux dispositions que les ennemis en avoient faites en divisant leurs forces dans les differens établissemens et Sur Les avenues de chaque endroit pour y observer Les demarches des habitans, mais la precipitation de quelques guerriers des differens partis qui devoient frapper ensemble peu de Jours apres en rompit heureusement toutes Les mesures.

Jl ne parut d'abort qu'un party de 33e hommes du village des Peanguichias et du vermillon qui estoient venûs trouver Mr Benoît de ste Clére Sous prétexte d'aller en guerre Sur les

[*Translation*]

MONSEIGNEUR:

I had the honor to give you an account by my letter of the tenth of October last of the revolution that we had to apprehend in the Illinois from the Indian tribes of that region which was at length confirmed the seventh of December last. There is even reason to believe that the scheme had been concerted in such a way that a general movement might have been feared if one can judge by the arrangements the enemy had made in dividing their forces in the different settlements and on the approaches to each place to observe the movements of the inhabitants. However the impatience of some warriors of the different parties who should have struck together a few days later happily disconcerted all these plans.

At the outset there only appeared a party of thirty-three men from the village of the Piankashaw and the Vermilion who came to seek M. Benoist de St. Claire under pretext of a war party

Chikachas, cet officier leur fit delivrer les munitions ordinaires, persuades de la Sincerité de leur demarche mais il ne fut pas longtemps Sans penetrer leur veritable desséin par la chevelure Levée

67

a un Soldat de Sa garnison, La défaite d'un Sauvage de Ce party par deux jeunes negres qui en avoient été manques et par les Blessures de plus aurs habitans sur le Chemin du fort de Chartres aux Kaskakias.

Toutes ces hostillites ne Laisserent plus douter au Sieur Benoist que ce ne fut le moment ou L'orage devoit tomber il fit aussitôt Battre La generale mit Ses troupes et milices Sur pieds et envoya des detachemens pour reconnoître L'ennemy et luy donner chasse; de tous aux quil mit en Campagne et a la poursuite de ces sauvages qui avoient pris la fuite voyans leurs projets decouvertes il n'y eut que celui sous le commandement du Sieur de Moncharveaux qui eut occasion de faire repentir de leur demarche ceux que étoient restes dans un village appelé

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L'établissement dont cinq furent tues et 4 autres faîts prison-

[*Translation*]

against the Chickasaw. This officer had the ordinary ammunition given them, persuaded of the sincerity of their intentions. But he was not long in penetrating their real design when a scalp was taken from a soldier of his garrison, an Indian of the party overcome by two young negroes who had escaped it, and several of the inhabitants wounded on the road from Fort de Chartres to Kaskaskia.

All these hostilities left the Sieur Benoist no longer in doubt that this was the moment when the storm was about to break. He at once had the general alarm beaten, mustered his troops and militia, and sent detachments to reconnoiter the enemy and to pursue them. Of all the detachments which he sent into the country to pursue these Indians who had taken flight on seeing their plans discovered, only the one under the command of the Sieur de Montchervaux had the opportunity to make them repent the affair. Of the Indians who had stopped in the village called The Settlement, five were killed and four others made

niers du nombre des quils S'est trouves Le nommes Le loup L'un des Chefs du village des Peanguichias avec un de Ses guerriers et deux Jllinois

Mr de Macarty arriva heureusemt Le Lendemain de la défaite avec Son Convoy qui rassura Bien les habitants qui craignoient de cette Entreprise des Suites encore plus facheuses par nombre d'autres partis qui furent decouvêrts et qui Echapperent a la poursuite d'un gros détachement a la faveur d'une nuit obscure qui ne permit pas d'en suivre les pistes

Ce commandant n'a rien negligé pour decouvrir au moïen  
 68  
 de ces prisonniers qu'il tient Soigneusement aux fêrs ceux des nations que ont êu part a cette conspiration

Jl S'est trouvé que toutes les nations D'ouabaches, et a L'exception des Kikapoux et Maskoutins y avoient entres et que toutes les dispositions en avoient été faites par la demoiselle L'un des Chêfs des Miamis et L'un des refugies sur la Rivierre a la Roche

[*Translation*]

prisoners, among whom was the Indian called Le Loup, one of the chiefs of the Piankashaw village, with one of his warriors and two Illinois.

M. de Macarty fortunately arrived the day after the affair with a convoy which much reassured the inhabitants, who feared yet more unfortunate results from this enterprise on account of the number of other parties which were discovered and which escaped from the pursuit of a large detachment, due to a dark night which did not permit it to follow the trail. This commandant has neglected nothing to discover from these prisoners, whom he keeps carefully in irons, which of the tribes took part in this conspiracy. It has been established that all the tribes of the Wabash with the exception of the Kickapoo and Mascoutens had entered into it, and all the arrangements had been made by LaDemoiselle, one of the Miami chiefs and one of the refugees on Great Miami River.

Les Jllinois même ont parûs du Complot et n'ont pu disconvenir d'avoir reçu a cét Egard des coliers de lá part des Rebelles qui étoient venus les trouver a leur hyvernement pour les Engager par prière et par menace a Se renger de leur côté, Sinon qu'ils commenceroient par frapper Sur eux avant d'en venir aux mains avéc le françois Sur lequel devoit fondre Sous peu de Lunes un partisan Anglois a la tête de mil de ces republi-

68v

quains Enfin qu'ils n'avoient qu'a Se determiner au plûtôt a leur porter des chevelures francoises Sans quoy ils Seroient traittes a toute rigueur

Jl y a toute apparence que ces Menaces avoient faites impression a ces Jlinois du moins a une grande partie puis qu'il S'est trouvé de leur gens parmy les Peanguichias qui ont frappé comme ils n'ont pu en disconvenir, mais ils ont donnes pour raison de leur action qu'ils avoient remis a Mr Benoist de Ste Clére les coliers qu'ils avoient reçu des Anglois que du reste

[*Translation*]

The Illinois even appeared to be in the plot and were not able to deny having received to this end belts sent by the rebels who came in search of them to their winter camp, to engage them by entreaties and by threats to take sides with them; otherwise they would begin by attacking them before coming to hostilities with the French, who within a few moons would be attacked by an English partisan at the head of a thousand of these republicans. In short, the Illinois only had to decide as soon as possible to bring French scalps; otherwise they would be treated with the utmost severity.

There is every appearance that these threats had made an impression on the Illinois, especially on a large part of them since some of their people were found among the Piankashaw who attacked; this they were not able to deny. However they have given as the reason of their action that they had transmitted to M. Benoist de St. Claire the belts which they had received from the English, and that otherwise it was the young men who

c'étoit de Jeunes gens qui S'étoient laisser Intimider et persuader a L'inçu du Chéf et consideres de leur nation qui en avoient ignorez les desséins Jusqu'a ce moment.

69

Mr de Macarty leur fit tous les reproches qu'ils meritoient en conformité des ordres que Je luy avois donnees, Se reservant a leur faire part de mes Intentions au retour de leur chasse ou il devoit les assemblee avec toutes les nations D'ouabaches pour Sçavoir leur veritable sentiment a nôtre Egard J'en attend le resultat a la premiere occasion.

Mais quoiqu'il en soit des dispositions de ces Illinois, Sauvages domicilies de L'endroit, je ne pense pas qu'ils osent d'avantage rien entreprendre contre nous, La garnison que Je me Sçais Bon gres d'y avoir envoyes leur en imposera surtout lors qu'il y aura un fort aux Kaskakias comme J'ay eû L'honneur de vous en prevenir, Monseigneur, par Le Vaisseau du Roy Le Parham, il y á Longtemps que J'en Sens La nécessité mais  
69v  
Je la trouve aujourd'huy Bien plus importante par rapport

[*Translation*]

had let themselves be intimidated and persuaded without the knowledge of the chief and the chief men of their tribe who had known nothing of the designs up to that moment.

M. de Macarty made them all the reproaches which they merited in conformity with the orders which I had given him, delaying to inform them of my intentions until they returned from their hunt where they were to assemble with all the tribes of the Wabash that we might know their real sentiment toward us. I am awaiting the result by the first messenger.

But whatever may be the disposition of these Illinois, domiciled Indians of this place, I do not think that they dare to undertake anything against us. The garrison which I am very glad to have sent will keep them in order, especially when there shall be a fort at Kaskaskia as I had the honor to inform you, Monseigneur, by the king's ship *Le Parham*. For a long time I have felt the necessity of it, but I find it today much more important on account of the continual movements of this republic,



aux mouvement continuéls de cette republique qui vient de nous manifester le prélude des desséins que les Anglois paroissent avoir formes sur les pais d'enhaut

Mr de la Jonquiérre ma fait part d'un projet qu'il avoit conçu pour en prevenir les Suites en Se portant á reprimer l'audace de ces rebelles et a les contraindre a force ouverte de retourner a leur nation.

Pour cét éffet il envoya L'été dernier au Detroit environ 600 hommes Bien armes pour en faire L'expédition avec les forces qu'on pouvoit rassemblées en cét endroit Mais Mr de Celoron ne les voyans pas a Beaucoup pres suffisantes comme il les avoit

70

demandés n'a pas Jugés devoir faire sur eux une seconde entreprise craignant dessén retirer pas plus de Succes que de la première

Ce qui paroît avoir fait perdre a Mr le Marquis de la Jonquiérre tout Espoir d'aniantir par la force cette republique qu'il á desséin aujourd'huy de faire arcéller par toutes les nations qui tiennent pour nous en leur payant les chevelures et les prisonniers qu'elles feront, il m'ajoute avoir donnez Ses ordres en

[*Translation*]

which has just shown us the prelude of the designs which the English appear to have formed upon the upcountry.

M. de la Jonquière has communicated to me a plan which he had conceived to forestall such events by quelling the audacity of these rebels and constraining them by open force to return to their nation.

To that end he sent last summer to Detroit about six hundred well-armed men to make the expedition with the forces which could be assembled in that place. But M. de Céloron, finding them far inferior to what he had asked for, decided not to make a second expedition against them, fearing it would be no more successful than the first.

This appears to have caused M. le Marquis de la Jonquière to give up all hope of extirpating this republic by force; today he plans to harry it by means of all the tribes which are on our side, paying them for the scalps and the prisoners which they

consequence au Detroit et aux commandans des autres postes éloignés même a celui des Illinois.

Apparemment qu'il n'est pas informé qu'il y a peu de ces nations que n'ayent parmy ces refugies ou des parents ou des allies Sur qui elles Se determineront difficillement a frapper parti-

culierement aujourd'huy ou elles Sont persuadées <sup>70v</sup> plus que Jamais que nous ne Sommes point en Situation de rien entreprendre contre elles

Secondement en Supposant que le projet de Mr de la Jonquière a cet Egard put avec tout le Succes qu'il devoit en attendre combien n'en coutera-il pas au Roy et combien d'années ne faudrat-il pas pour Etéindre cette republique en Se Bornant a la faire arcéllér c'est Bien un moyen a L'inquiéter mais qu'en resultat-il?

A Mesure que L'en fera coup Sur elle elle en fera Sur nous comme il est déjà arrivé aux Miamis L'année dernière ou le party de la demoiselle a fait tuer deux Soldats a la porte du fort

[Translation]

take. He adds to me that he has given orders in consequence at Detroit and to the commandants of the other distant posts, even to the commandant of the Illinois.

Apparently he is not informed that there are few of those tribes who have not relatives by blood or marriage among these refugees. As a result they will with difficulty be induced to strike, especially today when they are more than ever persuaded that we are in no situation to undertake anything against them.

Secondly, supposing the plan of M. de la Jonquière in that respect might have all the success which might be expected from it, how much will it cost the king and how many years will be necessary to extinguish this republic if we confine ourselves to having it harried? This is indeed a means of making it uneasy, but what result will come of it?

In proportion as it is attacked, it will attack us as has already happened at the Miamis last year where the party of La Demoiselle had two soldiers killed at the gate of the fort in reprisal for

en represailles de deux guerriers qu'il avoit perdu au passage du Sieur Beletre, d'ailleurs Ce n'en Sera Jamais un Bien efficace

71

pour faire déguerpir les Anglois de cet endroit qui y attireront Successivement les Sauvages par les avantages qu'ils leur font et qu'ils ne peuvent attendre de nous.

Troisiesmement Mr de la Jonquièrre ignore apparemment aussy qu'en prenant ce party il nous allie au païs des Jlinois les nations D'ouabaches parentes et alliées de ces refugies que chercheront Infailliblement a Sevengér et a faire retomber Sur nous leur ressentement et par La nous couperont la communication d'icy aux Jlinois.

Selon moy, Monseigneur, il etoit plus Simple et Bien moins dispendieux de faire une entreprise capable de reduire ces rebelles au mojen des forces que Le Canada est en état de mettre Sur pied tant avec les françois qu'avec les nations du Bas de la colonie Joint a celles que L'on auroit pu rassembler dans les

71v

[Translation]

two warriors whom he had lost in the campaign of the Sieur Belestre. Moreover that will never be a thoroughly effective way to make the English withdraw from that place; they will draw in the Indians one tribe after another as a result of the advantages which they afford them, and which the Indians cannot expect of us.

Thirdly, M. de la Jonquière is apparently ignorant of the fact that by taking this course he alienates from us in the Illinois country the tribes of the Wabash allied by blood and marriage with these refugees. These tribes will certainly seek to revenge them and will make their resentment fall upon us; thus they will cut our communication between here and the Illinois.

According to my way of thinking, Monseigneur, it would be more simple and much less expensive to undertake an enterprise capable of reducing these rebels by means of the forces which Canada is in a condition to put on foot, what with the French and with the tribes of the lower part of the colony joined to

païs d'en haut avec ordre expresse de ne faire de cartier au personne particulièrement aux Anglois pour faire perdre a d'autres le goux de pousser aussy loing leur vuës de commerce

Une entreprise de cette espèce auroit fait Indubitablement toute L'impression qui seroit a desirer Sur L'esprit des nations qui par La auroient crains et respectes Le françois, c'est Bien Le Seul moïen Monseigneur, pour y parvenir et Empêcher les progres des Anglois Sur nos terres et a retablie la tranquillites dans Les païs d'en haut ou toutes les affaires sont Bien dérangées Si l'on doit S'en rapporter aux apparances auxquelles il Seroit encore temps de remediér par un coup d'Eclat Sur ces refugies

72

tendis qu'il reste quelques nations assé Bien disposées pour nous

Il y á au Surplus une consideration Bien importante a faire la dessus qui est le temps de paix ou Seul l'on puisse y pretendre pourquoy il conviendrait de profiter de L'occurance qui deviendrait aussy contraire en cas de guërre qu'elle nous est favorable

[*Translation*]

those that could be assembled in the upcountry. They should have express orders to give quarter to no one, especially to the English, in order to make them lose their taste for pushing their trading interests so far.

Such an enterprise as this would have indubitably made all the impression that was to be desired upon the minds of the tribes who thus would have feared and respected the French. This indeed is the only way, Monseigneur, to attain this end and hinder the progress of the English on our lands and to reëstablish tranquillity in the upcountry, where affairs are in great disorder if one can judge by appearances. There is yet time to remedy this by a decisive blow on these refugees while there still remain some tribes well enough disposed to us.

There is moreover a very important consideration on this head, which is that we are in a time of peace when alone such a thing can be undertaken. Accordingly it will be well to profit by the situation which in time of war would be as unfavorable to us as it is favorable today. Otherwise I am much afraid that

aujourd'huy ou Je crains Bien que tout autre party ne tourne a nôtre des avantage Surtout aux païs des Jlinois que deviendra infailliblement le theatre de la guërre et du ressentiment de ces rebelles Si L'en reste plus longtemps dans L'inaction avec eux il est Même a craindre que par les Suite ils ne nous aliennent les nations qui nous sont demeurées les plus affidées.

Les choses au point ou elles Sont je ne puis cependant me

72v

dépenser de laisser suivre a Mr de Macarty les ordres de Mr de La Jonquierre Joint auqu'il ne Seroit plus temps d'y remedier par L'exécution qui S'en faite partout ou il les a données

Je ne puis au contraire que y engager cét officier et le porter a Seconder de tout son pouvoir les Jntentions de Mr de la Jonquière qui paroît a cette occasion n'avoir pu prendre dautre party, mais il faudroit pour y donner une entéirre exécution du côtes des Jlinois Beaucoup de Munition de gûerre et d'armes a feux avec une plus grande quentité de marchandise de traite pour faire agir les nations comme il est d'usage autrement l'on ne pourroit

[*Translation*]

any other course will turn to our disadvantage, especially with respect to the Illinois country, which will infallibly become the theater of war and of the resentment of these rebels. If we remain much longer inactive with respect to them, it is even to be feared that in the end they will alienate from us the tribes which have remained most faithful to us.

Things having reached the point that they have I cannot nevertheless dispense with letting M. de Macarty follow the orders of M. de la Jonquière; moreover there is no time left to improve them on account of the fact that they are being carried into execution wherever he has issued them.

On the contrary I have nothing to do but to have that officer second with all his power the intentions of M. de la Jonquière. On this occasion it appears that he could take no other course. However in order to give the movement its full effect on the side of the Illinois, much in the way of munitions of war and arms are necessary as well as a larger quantity of trade goods to use as is customary in making the tribes act. Otherwise one

compter Sur elles a quoy Je me persuade Monséigneur, que vous voudre Bien pourvoir en donnant vos ordres en consequence au

73

port de Rochefort ou il á été oublié dans L'aprovisionnement de l'année derniere les fusils de traite et les Balles qui Sont les articles les plus essentiéles pour les presens des Sauvages auxquels on a Suplayes par de mauvaises armis que J'ay fait achepter chez les marchands et au moien du plomb en grant et celuy des poids des magazins du Roy que L'on a fondu pour en faire les Balles necessaires en sorte que la colonie est tout a fait demunie de ces deux articles a un tel point même que L'entreprise que Les Chactas ont medetes de faire Sur les Chikachas le printemps ne pourra avoir tout le Succes que J'avois lieu d'en attendre.

Mr de Macarty m'observe qu'a L'égard des hostillites qui doivent Sexercer contre les rebelles de la rivière a la Roche dont

73v

le ressentiment doit infailliblement retomber Sur le païs des Jlinois ou il y a une Belle Jeunesse et des cheveaux tres propres

[*Translation*]

cannot count on them, and accordingly I am persuaded, Monseigneur, that you will be good enough to provide for this by giving your orders in consequence at the port of Rochefort. There in last year's supply trade guns and bullets were forgotten, which are the most essential articles for presents to the Indians who have been supplied with bad arms which I have bought from the traders and with lead in grain and bulk from the king's storehouse which has been cast into the necessary bullets. The colony indeed is entirely stripped of these two articles to such a point that the enterprise which the Choctaw have considered undertaking against the Chickasaw this spring cannot possibly have all the success which I had reason to expect of it.

M. de Macarty observes to me with regard to the hostilities which are to be undertaken against the rebels of Great Miami River that their resentment will infallibly be visited on the Illinois country, where there are fine young men and horses very

a faire une compagnie de Volontaire pour donner chasse a L'enemy il manque pour cét éffét des pistolôts d'arson

Si vous Jugez apropos Monseigneur, d'en faire Joindre cent paires a l'augmentation d'armes et de Munition de guërre indispensable pour cette expedition il n'en pourra resulter qu'un plus grand avantage.

Mr de la Jonquierre me fait part aussy de la necessité d'Etablir un fort au Bas de la Rivière a la Roche duquel doit dependre la tranquillité du Sud du Canada

Je me reservois aussy Monseigneur, de vous en observer L'utilites pour mettre une Barrière aux Anglois qui ne Se sont qui trop familiarité Sur les terres de Sa Majesté, comme de vous

74

faire de nouvelles representations touchand L'exécution de celui qui J'ay éû L'honneur de proposer Cy devant a la Cour qui ne devroit pas moins y contribuer par sa position vis avis L'Embouchure de la Rivierre des Cherakis a 12 ou 15 Lieües du Mississipy ces deux forts serviroient non Seulement de Bârière

[*Translation*]

fit to mount a company of volunteers to chase the enemy; for that end holster pistols are wanting. If you thought it proper, Monseigneur, to have one hundred pairs added, together with the increment of arms and munitions of war indispensable for this expedition, the advantage would be all the greater.

M. de la Jonquière also communicates to me the necessity of establishing a fort at the mouth of the Great Miami River on which would depend the tranquillity of the south of Canada. On this I will confine myself, Monseigneur, to observing to you its utility for opposing a barrier to the English, who are but too familiar with the lands of His Majesty; I will also offer new representations touching the execution of the project that I had the honor to propose formerly to the court which did not less contribute to that end by its position opposite the mouth of the Tennessee River, twelve to fifteen leagues from the Mississippi. These two forts would serve not only as a barrier to the English



aux Anglois et Empêcheroient leur progres sur nos terres et Sur nos nations Mais ils nous en assureroient la possession et nous couvreroient sur le Mississipy des Jncurtions des Cherakis têteplates et autres ennemis Cy devant Sa Majeste y avoit déterminé ce dernier mais l'occurance de la guërre en a Empêché L'exécution vous entrouveré Même Monseigneur, le plan et memoire avec les devis que en ont été faïts du temps de Mr.

74v

Le comte de Maurepas qui vous mettront aportée d'en faire agréer au Roy la depense Sur laquelle J'attendray Ses ordres et Vôte agrément pour que ce fort soit fait en pierre par preference en Bois afin deviter par la Suite les reparations continuelles aux quels Sont Sujets tous les Bâtimens en Bois qui pour l'ordinaire Sont peu de durée et courent risques toutefois d'être incendies outre qu'ils ne sont Jamais Sur L'esprit des Sauvages toute L'impression qu'on pourroit en attendre

Les Chaouanons qui etoient venus s'etablir aux Alibamons Sont retournes La pluspart avec leurs freres sur la Rivière Oÿoo

[*Translation*]

and would hinder their progress on our lands and with our tribes, but they would also assure to us the possession of the territory and would cover us on the Mississippi from the raids of the Cherokee, Flatheads, and other enemies. Formerly His Majesty had decided on the latter fort, but the outbreak of the war prevented its being carried into execution. You will even find, Monseigneur, the plan and memoir with the estimate which was made in the time of M. le Comte de Maurepas which will enable you to have the expense approved by the king. On it I will await his orders and your approval for that fort's being built in stone in preference to wood in order to avoid the continual repairs which are necessary on all buildings of wood; such buildings ordinarily are not durable and run continual risks of being burned. Moreover they never make the impression upon the minds of the Indians that might be expected.

The Shawnee who had come to settle with the Alibamu have for the most part returned with their brothers to the Ohio River

a 100 Lieües audessus de la chute en un endroit appellé les fourches des Rivierres qui conduisent L'une de sandoskez et  
75

l'autre du Côté de Philadelfohis, Cette nation paroît toujours Bien disposée pour nous si l'on peut S'en rapporter aux temoignages que m'en ont rendu nombre de chasseurs qui Sont descendû ce printemps Mr de la Jonquierre doit y Envoyer du Canada Le Sieur de la Saussaye<sup>1</sup> avec une permission gratis pour y faire la traite, étant Bon amy de cette nation Se faisant fort d'en rassembler toutes les Bandes et de les faire retourner a Sonioto leur ancienne demeure J'y contribueray volontiers de mon cotes, a L'Egard de ceux qui restent encore aux Alibamous Bien persuades qu'ils conviendront Mieux en cet endroit que partout Ailleurs.

Voila, Monseigneur, tout ce qui m'est Revenu d'interessant tant d'une part que d'autre depuis le depart du navire le marquis

[Translation]

one hundred leagues above the Falls in a place called the Forks of the Rivers, which lead, one to Sandusky, and the other in the direction of Philadelphia. That tribe always appears well disposed to us if one can rely upon the testimony which has been given me by numbers of hunters who came down this spring. M. de la Jonquière ought to send there from Canada the Sieur de la Saussaye<sup>1</sup> with a free permit to trade there as he is a good friend of that tribe to do his best to assemble all the bands and to make them return to Sonnioto, their ancient dwelling. I will willingly contribute to it on my side with respect to those who yet remain with the Alibamu, being well persuaded that they will do better at that place than anywhere else.

Here, Monseigneur, is all that has come to me of interest on the one side or the other since the departure of the ship *Le*

<sup>1</sup> Philippe Dagneau, Sieur de la Saussaye. Baptized June 9, 1700. Died before November 17, 1755. Married Madeleine Raimbault, September 13, 1727, at Montreal. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire*, 3:217, 218; *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, 14:272. In 1743-1744 he was endeavoring to move the Shawnee to the neighborhood of Terre Haute. A N Colonies C11A 79:102v, 103; 81:170v. November 2, 1748 he signed as Phillippe Dagneaux de la Saussaye, escuyer. *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, 22:349.

de Conflans le mois de Jenvier dernier ou J'ay eû L'honneur de  
 75v  
 vous adresser plusieurs Lettres dont vous recevré les dupli-  
 cata par cette occasion.

J'ay L'honneur d'être avec un tres Profond respect Mon-  
 seigneur

Vôtre tres humble et obéissant serviteur.

VAUDREUIL

A LA NOUVELLE ORLÉANS 8 avril 1752

VAUDREUIL TO ROUILLÉ, April 8, 1752

[A N Colonies C13A 36:81]

MONSEIGNEUR

Vous verrez par ma Lettre du 8 du present que Le convoy de  
 Mr de Macarty s'est rendu a Bon port aux Illinois le mois de  
 decembre dernier, mais ce n'a pas été sans Beaucoup de peine  
 rapport aux Eaux Basses et sans perte de plusieurs soldâts au  
 nombre de Vingt Morts de malaises occasionnees par les grandes  
 chaleurs.

[Translation]

*Marquis de Conflans* in the month of January last, when I had  
 the honor to address you several letters the duplicates of which  
 you will receive by this occasion.

I have the honor to be with a very profound respect, Mon-  
 seigneur,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL

NEW ORLEANS, April 8, 1752

MONSEIGNEUR:

You will see by my letter of the eighth of the present month  
 that the convoy of M. de Macarty arrived in good order at the  
 Illinois in the month of December last; but this has not been  
 without much difficulty on account of the low water and without  
 the loss of several soldiers to the number of twenty who are dead  
 of sickness occasioned by the great heat.

81v

Il y a toute apparence que celui de cette année coutera les mêmes risques par le retardement du vaisseau du Roy qui ne paroît devoir arriver que dans une saison tardive et peu propre a L'apvisionnement des postes.

J'ay eû L'honneur d'observer plusieurs fois que pour parvenir a les munir a Beaucoup moins de frais et de difficultes il conviendrait que l'apvisionnement general de la Colonie y arrivât tous les ans au mois d'octobre. cet arrangement me mettroit a portée de faire partir les convoys dans les Eaux hautes surtout celui des Illinois qui se rendroit Bien plus promptement sans perte de monde et sans Courrir risque de L'ennemy.

L'occurance des choses en ce païs la M'oblige, Monseigneur, à vous réiterer a cèt Egard la nécessité de faire partir ce convoi

82

a la fin de Janvier châce année pour Le mettre a L'abry des Incurtions qu'il va y avoir sur le fleuve de la part des differentes nations qui tiennent pour L'Anglois et dont nous sommes menacés

[Translation]

There is every appearance that the convoy of this year will entail the same results by the delay of the king's vessel, which apparently cannot arrive save at a season that is very late and very improper for the supply of the posts.

I have had the honor to observe several times that in order to succeed in supplying them with much less cost and difficulty, it would be desirable that the general supply of the colony should arrive here every year in the month of October. This arrangement would enable me to start off the convoys during the high water, especially that of the Illinois, which would arrive much more promptly without loss of people and without running risks from the enemy.

The situation of things in this country obliges me, Monseigneur, to repeat to you in this connection the necessity of sending off this convoy at the end of January each year to protect it from the raids which will be made along the river by the various tribes who hold with the English and by whom we are threatened.

Je me persuade que vous voudré Bien faire attention a mes remontrances la dessus étant d'ailleurs d'une consequence infinie de ne point exposer le païs des Illinois a Manquer de Munitions de guerre dans un temps aussi critique que celui des revolutions qui y sont a craindre.

Mr De Macarty me fait part aussy que peu de Jours avant de M'ecrire il est déserté 21 hommes de sa garnison qui suivant toute apparence auront gagnes Les Anglois sur la Rivierre a la Roche ou du moins se seront mis en Marche dans cette Intention si Les detachemens que Ce Commandant a Envoyes a la poursuite

82v

de ces déserteurs ne Les ramenêt pas

Voila ce quoy, Monseigneur, les garnisons de ce païs seront exposées tant que cette republique subsistera sur la Rivierre a la Roche

Il faut esperer que Lorsqu'elles seront Bien casernées dans des forts, les desertions en seront moins frequentes et du moins pas si considerables.

Cet officier me marque au surplus que Les habitans a la vüe de ces troupes se sont Entierrement rassures, et se sont

[*Translation*]

I persuade myself that you will be good enough to pay attention to my remonstrances on this point as it is moreover of infinite consequence that the Illinois country should not be exposed to lack of munitions of war at a time so critical as that of the revolutions which are to be feared there. M. de Macarty also comments to me that a few days before writing me twenty-one men of his garrison deserted who, according to all appearances, will have reached the English on Great Miami River or at least will have set out with that intention if the detachments which that commandant has sent in pursuit of these deserters do not bring them back. This is what the garrisons of that country will be exposed to, Monseigneur, so long as that republic remains on Great Miami River. It is to be hoped that when the troops are well barracked in the forts, desertions will be less frequent or at least on not so large a scale.

This officer also informs me that the sight of the troops has entirely reassured the inhabitants; they are determined im-

determines d'abord a augmenter de Beaucoup leur culture ce qui va produire au Bas de la Colonie une Bien plus grande quantité de farine que du passé a quoy il m'assure devoir contribuer en tout ce qui dependra de luy pour les y Engager les habitans

83

Il m'observe en outre que toutes ces revolutions y vont interrompre la fabrique du plomb qui s'y faisoit tous Les ans pour la consommation de ce païs et qu'il L'attendra du Bas de la colonie ou nous en sommes d'une disette extreme a laquelle Je suis Bien persuade Monseigneur, que vous voudré Bien pourvoir en donnant en consequence vos ordres aux Munitionnaires et a Rochefort pour que cette augmentation avec les Armes et autres munitions de guerre que J'ay L'honneur de vous demander par cette occasion, nous parviennent par les premiers Bâtimens qui partiront de France.

J'ay L'honneur d'être avec un tres profond respect Monseigneur

Vôte tres humble et tres obéissant serviteur

VAUDREUIL

A LA NOUVELLE ORLEANS 8 Avril 1752

[*Translation*]

mediately to increase their agriculture largely. This will make available in the lower colony a much larger quantity of flour than in the past. He assures me that he will contribute in all that depends on him to induce the inhabitants to do so.

He further observes to me that all these revolutions will interrupt the manufacture of lead which was carried on yearly for the consumption of this country and that he will have to get it from the lower colony, where we are in extreme want of it. I am persuaded, Monseigneur, that you will be good enough to supply this by giving your orders in consequence to the contractors at Rochefort, to send us the additional arms and other munitions of war that I have the honor to ask of you on this occasion by the first ships which leave France.

I have the honor to be with very profound respect, Monseigneur,  
Your very humble and very obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL

NEW ORLEANS, April 8, 1752

## CHAPTER VII

### THE MINISTRY ANNOUNCES ITS POLICY

VAUDREUIL TO MACARTY, April 25, 1752

[H M LO 360]

A Mr de Macarty Major comdt aux jllinois ce. 25. Avril 1752

J'ay recû Mr toutes les lettres que vous m'aves fait l'honneur de m'Ecrire tant en Route que dans les postes avec celles par l'occasion de la Jeunesse Sergent Et autres en date du 20 Et 24. janvier dernier.

J'y ay vû avec plaisir la bonne Conduite que vous avez tenues dans vostre marche Et la diligence que vous avez faite pour vous rendre a vostre destination ou jl etoit temps que vous arrivassiés tant pour prevenir les glaces que pour en jmposer par la force de vostre Convoy aux Nations qui paroissoient etres bien disposeés a jnqueter le paÿs des jllinois ou la Conspiration dont il Etoit menacé á commencé de Se Manifester le Sept decembre dernier.

[*Translation*]

To M. de Macarty, major commandant at the Illinois, April 25, 1752

I have received, Monsieur, all the letters you did me the honor to write me, both en route and at the posts, together with those sent by Sergeant la Jeunesse, and by others dated January 20, and 24 last.

I have seen with pleasure your good conduct of your journey and your diligence to reach your destination, where it was high time you arrived, both to anticipate the ice and to lay down the law by the strength of your convoy to the tribes which seemed disposed to disquiet the Illinois country, where the conspiracy with which it was threatened had first appeared December 7 last.



Il n'y a point de doute que vos Sauvages domiciliées n'y aient trempés du moins les apparences En son bien pour eux, Si lon doit s'en rapporter a deux de leurs Gens qui se sont trouvés dans le partie de peanguichias Et du Vermillon qui ont frappés.

jl est Encore heureux que Mr Benoist ayt penetré parlà le dessein de cet Ennemy et que par Ses precautions jl ayt pû faire Echoïer une Entreprise qui par Ses dispositions devoit avoir des Suites plus facheuses.

jl eut été bien a desirer que les detachemens que vous Envoyates a la poursuite de ces Ennemis Eussent Eüe le succes de celuy du Sr moncharvaux ou du moins quil Eüssent faïts sur eux quelqu' actes d'hostilités qui eussent pû leur faire jmpression.

Je ne puis du reste mr que louer les sages precautions que vous avez prises à cet effet Et les dispositions que vous avez faites depuis pour vous mettre à couvert de leur ressentiment, Comme pour prévenir les revolutions que vous avez aujourdhuy à Craindre, tant de la part des Rebelles Sur la Rivière a la Roche

[*Translation*]

There is no doubt that your domiciled Indians are concerned in it; at least appearances are much against them, if one can rely on the fact that two of these people were in the party of Piankashaw and of the Vermilion who attacked. It is however fortunate that M. Benoist had penetrated the enemy's design and that by his precautions he insured the failure of an enterprise so conceived that it might have had more unfortunate results.

It would also have been much to be desired that the detachments you sent out in pursuit of these enemies might all have had the success of that of the Sieur Montchervaux, or at least that they might have inflicted on the Indians acts of hostility that might have made some impression.

For the rest, Monsieur, I can only praise the wise precautions you have taken to that end and the arrangements you will have since made to shelter yourself from their resentment and to forestall the revolutions that you have to fear today, both from the rebels of Great Miami River and from the Wabash tribes.

que les nations d'ouabache ou vous ne devois rien negliger pour y maintenir dans nos jnterests les Kikapoux et Maskoutins Et vous faire des partisans parmy elles qui vous paroistront les plus détacheés afin d'Eviter qu'elles ne viennent a se declarer tout a fait contre nous.

Je ne pense pas qu'il Soit bien difficile á vous Conciller les Sauvages Domicilies desque vous este assureés des Kaokias et peorias, jl est Comme Certain qui cete resource joints à nos forces qu'ils voyent Augmenter, leur fera jmpression Et les fera vraisemblablement rentrer dans le devoir; dans le Cas ou ils prennent Ce party jl faudra les Observer de prez, comme si ils viennent à S'en Ecarter; Employer la force pour les remettre à la raison Surtout dans l'occurrance ou sont les choses qui n'Exigent plus d'avoir pour eux les mêmes menagemens que du passé. Vous este Mr prudent Et Sage je suis persuadé que vous vous conduires à leur Egard Suivant les Circonstances des révolutions que vous aves a Craindre Et sur les quelles je ne puis vous donner d'ordres positives parraport aux changemens.

[*Translation*]

Nothing should be neglected to maintain the Kickapoo and Mascoutens in our interest and to procure you partisans among those who seem to you most aloof by way of avoiding their declaring altogether against us.

I do not think it will be hard for you to conciliate the domiciled Indians, once you are assured of the Cahokia and Peoria. It is certain that this resource, joined to the increase of our forces which they perceive, will make an impression on them and will presumably make them return to their duty. In case they take that course, it will be necessary to watch them closely as if they were about to diverge from it, and to employ force to reduce them to reason, especially since the situation in which things are, no longer obliges us to humor them as formerly. You are, Monsieur, prudent and wise, and I am persuaded that you will conduct yourself toward them according to the circumstances of the revolutions you may have to fear, and on which in view of changing conditions I can give you no positive orders.

Voyla déjà un prelude des desseins que les anglois ont formés au moyens des Rebelles sur les paÿs dans haut et un marque Certaine de la mauvaise disposition des nations d'ouabache pour nous.

Il y a long temps que je prevois les suites funestes de leur Etablissement sur la Riviere a la Roche je n'ay rien negligé pour en faire Sentir toute l'importance à Mr de la jonquiere qui paroist avoir perdu tout le poid de reprimer par la force ces Rebelles Et les faire rentrer dans le devoir, puisquil preffare aujourdhuy a les faire arceller par les Nations qui nous demeurent attachées Et m'ajoute avoir donne des ordres En Consequence a Mr Benoist ainsy qu'au Comdt du Detroit et a Ceux des autres postes du Canada.

Quoy que Ce partis Soit Suceptible de bien des jnconveniens je ne puis cependant me dispenser de vous les laisser Suivre meme de vous Engager a seconder En cela Et de tout votre pouvoir les jntentions de mr de la jonquierre du moyen des nations de vostre Continent qui voudront agir Sincerement, vous aurez les peorias Et les puans qui ont offert de Lever la hache Il Con-

[*Translation*]

Here even now is a prelude of the designs which the English have formed on the rebels of the upcountry, and a sure sign of the bad disposition toward us of the Wabash tribes.

I have long foreseen the fatal results of their settlement on Great Miami River. I have omitted nothing to make M. de la Jonquière perceive its importance; but he seems to have lost all disposition to subdue these rebels by force and make them return to their duty, since today he is preparing to turn upon them the tribes which remain faithful to us; and it is said that he has given orders in consequence to M. Benoist as well as to the commandants of Detroit and of the other posts of Canada.

Although that course is subject to many difficulties, I must leave you to engage yourself to second in that and with all your power the intentions of M. de la Jonquière with the tribes of your territory who may be disposed to act sincerely. You will have the Peoria and the Winnebago who have offered to take up

viendra de les mettre En Mouvemens Et jnteresser dans ces demarches les osages avec les Nations du Missouris voir meme vos sauvages Domicilieés pour les mettre a portée de réparer leurs faute pour les Arkansas jl n'est pas de la politique du Gouvernement de luy Engager par les Connoissances qu'ils pourroient prendre Et par les risques d'attirrer sur le fleuve Et sur Eux les ressentimens des Ennemis.

S'il arrive meme qu'il Soit question par la Suite d autres Mouvemens Sur Ces Rebelles vous aurez agreable Mr de suivre En Cela les ordres de Mr de la jonquierre Et ferez a cet Egard generalmente tout ce quil Exigera du paÿs des jllinois, Comme jl pourroit arriver par les representations que je luy fais touchant le peu de Succes que doit avoir l'Execution de son projet qui n'aboutira qu'à jnquieter les Rebelles dont tout le ressentiment retombera jnfailliblement Sur Les paÿs des jllinois, nous y occasionera une guerre qui Sera de longue durée Et nous fera Courrir les risques de nous aliener parlà toutes les Nations meme

[*Translation*]

the tomahawk. It will be necessary to set them in motion and to interest in these enterprises the Osage and the Missouri tribes. It will be well even to see your domiciled Indians to put them in a way to repair their faults. As to the Quapaw, it is not the policy of the government to engage them, both for the information they might acquire and for the risk of drawing on the river and on them the retaliation of our enemies.

If it even happens that in the event other movements against the rebels are under consideration, you will be good enough, Monsieur, to follow in that the orders of M. de la Jonquière, and to that end perform in general all that he may require of the Illinois country. This may happen as a result of the representations which I am making to him as to the small success likely to result from his project, which will only serve to alarm the rebels, all whose retaliation will surely fall on the Illinois country, occasioning us a war that will be long drawn out and will make us run the risk of alienating all of the tribes, even the best affected,

les plus affideés qui Se laisseront a la fin gagner par les avantages que les Anglois leur font et qu'elles ne peuvent attendre de nous.

Mon sentiment a toujours eté d'aller a force ouverte sur ces Rebelles au moyen de celles que le Canada Seroit en Etat de mettre sur pied aux quelles se joindroient celles du Detroit et des jllinois avec ordres de ne faire de quartier à personne; par là nous parvienderions a faire sur cete Republique un Coup d'Ecclat qui nous feroit respecter des Nations et retabliroit parmy elles la gloire du Nom françois; Outre que nous vienderions seurement a Bout de degouter l'anglois et metterions des bornes à Son Ambition Sur nos terres ou jls ne S'est desjas que trop familiarités Comme paroist le sentir aujourdhuy Mr de la Jonquierre qui projette d'Etablir à cet effet un fort au Bas de la Rivierre a la Roche.

Je n'ay rien negligé de mon Coté pour en faire connoistre au ministre toute toute l'jmportance, a qui je renouvelles mes jnstances Sur celuy que j'avois proposé au Bas de l'Ouabache à 12 ou 15. lieux du Miscissipy un plus bas et a l'opposé de la

[*Translation*]

leaving them at the end to be won over by the advantages the English offer them and which they cannot hope from us.

My opinion has always been for attacking these rebels with the men Canada can put on foot, joined to those of Detroit and Illinois, with orders to give quarter to no one. Thus we should succeed in striking that republic a decisive blow which would make us respected by the tribes and would reëstablish among them the glory of the French name. Moreover we should surely attain the end of distasting the English, and putting bounds to their ambitions on our lands where they are today but too familiar. M. de la Jonquière at length seems to feel this, and plans to that end to build a fort on the lower Great Miami River.

I have on my side neglected nothing to make the minister understand all the importance of such a fort. I have renewed to him my instances on the fort I had proposed on the lower Wabash twelve or fifteen leagues from the Mississippi, and one

Rivierre des cherakis; par le moyen de Ces deux forts nous N'aurions plus a Craindre d'Etablissements de la part des anglois sur la belle Rivierre outre que les Nostres Couvriroient le paÿs des jllinois Et le Missicppy des jncursions des Cherakis, testes plates et autres Ennemis. Mr de la jonquierre paroist ausy avoir dessein d'Engager les chaouanons Etablis à Environ 30 lieux au dessous de la Rivierre a la Roche de retourner avec leur freres a sonioto leur ancienne demeure Et d'y attirer ceux qui sont aux halibamous dont la pluspart Sont dejas retourner Sur la belle Riviere j'y contriburay volontiers de mon Coté persuadé que cete nation conviendra mieux en cet Endroit que partout ailleurs quoy qu'elle paroist la seule de ce Continent qui nous Soit veritablement attachée Et qu'elle persiste dans les sentiments qu'elle a Eue de tout le temps pour le françois dont elle conserve le pavillon Et nous donne tout les jours des marques de son attachement par l'azile Et le rëfuge que nos voyageurs y trouvent Si lon peut S'en rapporter a plusieurs qui En sont desendu ce printemps et qui n'ont par Envie d'y retourner par les reprimandes

[*Translation*]

lower down opposite the Tennessee River. By means of these two forts we would have no more to fear from English establishments on the Ohio River while our forts would cover the Illinois country and the Mississippi from the incursions of the Cherokee, Flatheads, and other enemies.

M. de la Jonquière appears also to have the design of engaging the Shawnee settled about thirty leagues below Great Miami River to return with their brothers to Sonnioto, their old home, and to draw thither those from the Alibamu, most of whom have already returned to the Ohio River. I will willingly assist on my side, being persuaded that that tribe will be better there than anywhere else, although it seems the only one of the region which is thoroughly attached to us, and which persists in the sentiments it has had at all times for the French whose flag it keeps, giving us every day proofs of its devotion by the asylum and refuge our *voyageurs* find with it, if one can rely on the accounts of several who have come down this spring, and who have no wish to return both from the reprimands that

que je leur ay faite et par les risques qu'ils ont Courrû en montant et descendant la belle Rivierre de la part des cherakis et autres Ennemys. jl jl conviendra a l'Egard de les chaouanons d'observer aux partis que vous Envoyez frapper Sur les Rebelles de ce Continent, de bien se garder à faire diverses jnsultes à cete nation qui veut bien vivre avec Nous, et leur recommander de s'attacher principalement a tuer et piller les Traiteurs Anglois comme etant le moyen le plus Efficace pour punir les Rebelles et les contraindre de retourner a leurs Nations

J'ay representé au Ministre l'avantage quil y devoit aux jllinois d'y avoir une Compagnie de volontaires a cheval dans les Circonstances presentes et luy ay observé pour cet Effet d'Envoyer promptement les fusils de traite, Et les pistollés Et les Munitions de guerre Necessaire a vostre deffance Et aux Expeditions de Mr de la jonquierre Enfin je luy ay fait sur la Situation des jllinois toutes les observations qu'elles Exige.

Vous recevres par ma lettre Commune au Mr Michel les ordres que vous demandes tant pour les dépensés du fort pro-

[Translation]

I have given them and from the risks they run ascending and descending the Ohio River from the Cherokee and other enemies. With respect to the Shawnee, it will be proper to observe to the parties that you send out to attack the rebels of the region, to take care not to insult that nation which wishes to live on good terms with us; and to direct them to devote themselves principally to killing and pillaging the English traders as the most efficient method of punishing the rebels and forcing them to return to their tribes.

I have further represented to the minister the advantage that would ensue to the Illinois to have a company of mounted volunteers in the present circumstances; and to that end have suggested a prompt dispatch of trade muskets, pistols, and the munitions of war necessary for your defense and for the expeditions of M. de la Jonquière. Finally I have made to him on the subject of the Illinois country all the observations that are called for.

You will receive by my joint letter with M. Michel the orders you asked both as to the expenses of the proposed fort at



jetté aux Kaskakias que pour les réparations jndispensables aux Batimens du fort de Chartres.

Je comprend bien que celuy dont est question Seroit bien place a la prairie du Rocher pour les raisons que vous m'en detaillez mais jl seroit trop Eloigné de la ville des Kaskakias qui fait le principal Etablissemen de ce paÿs lá Et qui sera toujours le plus Considerable, ce sont bien les Considerations que j'ay faites lorsque j'ay pris le partis de le determiner à lendroit ou jl devoit Se construire Sous le Gouvernenance de Mr de Bienville; Mais j'ay reflechi depuis que dans cette position ce fort Seroit comdé par les côtes audelá de la petite Riviere des Kaskakias outre quil Se trouve entre son Amplacement Et celuy de cette ville, une Éspece de Ravine jointe a un bac fond qui jnonde Si fortement dans les accelerations d'Eaüe Soit par les pluyes ou la fonte du neiges, qu'elle y couperoit dans cet temps la toute Communication ce qui feroit un grand obstacle à l'utilité de ce fort.

Mr olivier qui ma fait Ces observations pretend que joignant

[*Translation*]

Kaskaskia and as to the indispensable repairs to the buildings at Fort de Chartres.

I well understand that the fort in question would be well situated at Prairie du Rocher for the reasons which you detail to me, but it would be too far from the city of Kaskaskia, which is the chief settlement of that country, and which will always be the most important. These are the considerations that I had in view when I decided on the site where the fort was to have been built under the governorship of M. de Bienville. But I have since reflected that in that position the fort would be commanded by the heights above the little river of Kaskaskia, besides which there would be between its location and the city a sort of ravine with a little brook which rises so high in floods, whether caused by the rain or the melting snow, that in that season it would cut off all communication, which would be a great obstacle to the usefulness of the fort.

M. Olivier, who made me these observations, claims that joining the barrier that surrounds Kaskaskia on the high road

la Barriere de l'anceinte du Kaskias Sur le grand chemain de cete ville pour aller au village Sauvage de ce Nom, les terres y sont plus Elevées Et les côtes Eloignées tout de la partie d'y etre commandé, je penserois que ce pourroit estre lá la veritable Situation ou ce fort conviendroît Et l'endroit ou jl pourroit estre le plus de deffense En Cas d attaque Je sens bien ausy qu'à Depense Egale Sil ny avoit pas d'inconveniens à placer ce fort Sur les côtes audela de la petite Rivierre vis a vis la maison des R. peres Jesuites jl seroit Encores dans une position plus avantageuse a la quelle jl conviendroît de donner la prefferance Si la Rivierre n'en coupoit pas ausy la communication et sera a vous Monsieur d'examiner les choses de plus pres vous Este sur les lieux avec l'ingenieur et a portée de prendre a cet Egard le party la plus convenable Et la plus certaine pour la deffense de ce fort Et la Seureté du paÿs. je suis persuadé que vous Scaurez la dessus vous conciller avec le Sr Saucier et avoir pour luy les Egards quil conviendront.

Vous ne me faites point part de celuy que vous devez prendre à l'Egard des deux peauguicheas Et les deux jllinois que

[*Translation*]

going from the city to the Indian village of the same name, the land is higher and the hills too far off from the side to command it. I think that might be the real situation where the fort should be, and the place where it would be the best defense in case of attack. I also feel that with a corresponding expense if there were no inconvenience in placing the fort on the hills by the little river facing the house of the Jesuit fathers, it would still be in a more advantageous position to which the preference should be given, if the river did not cut the communication there also.

It will be for you, Monsieur, to examine things close at hand. You are on the spot with the engineer and in a position to take on this matter the most expedient course and the surest for the defense of the fort and the safety of the country. I am persuaded that you will know how on this to come to an agreement with the Sieur Saucier, having the proper regard for him.

You do not indicate what you are to do with respect to the two Piankashaw and the two Illinois whom you carefully hold in

vous tenes Soigneusement aux fort je pense bien que vous n'en prendrez qu' avec reflection et que vous vous comporterez á leur Egard Suivant les dispositions ou vous trouverez les Nations aux quelles jls appartiennent, Si vous prenez celuy de faire grace a les Coupables comme vous ne pourrez guêres vous en dispenser jl conviendra de la leur bien faire valloir Et de ne mettre ces prisonnier En liberté qu' apres des actes d'hostilitées Sur nos Ennemis de la part des Conjurés pour satisfaction de leur attentat.

Je ne puis qu'approuver Mr celuy qui vous avois pris d accorder aux desirs des peorias l officier quil vous ont demandé, le Sr de Villiers auroit été en Etat de les Mieux gouverneur qu'un nouveau mais Etant Munis de vos jnstruction Sur la Conduite que l'on doit tenir a l'Egard de cette Nation Et les menagemens quil convient davoir pour elle, je suis persuadé que le Sr Adam y remplira vos jntentions Et vous ne pouriez mieux faire que d' Ecrire au Sr Marin pour quil arrete les courses que les Renards

[*Translation*]

the fort. I feel sure that you will act only with reflection and that you will act respecting them according to the disposition in which you find the tribes to which they belong. If you take the course of pardoning the guilty as you can hardly avoid doing, it will be well to make them appreciative of it, and not to release these prisoners until after acts of hostility against our enemies on the part of the conspirators in satisfaction for their attempt against us.

I cannot but approve, Monsieur, that you have taken it on yourself to accord to the Peoria the officer they asked of you. The Sieur de Villiers was in a position to govern them better than a new man, but furnished with your instructions as to the conduct to be followed toward that tribe and the complacences that must be had for them, I am persuaded the Sieur Adam will fulfil your intentions there. You can do no better than write to the Sieur Marin to stop the raids the Foxes and the Sioux were

et Les Scioux devoient y faire le printemps, J en Ecris ausy a Mr de la Jonquiere.

Je suis charmé que vous ayes laissé au Sr de porneuf le Commendement des Missouris jl est en Etat de maintenir ces Nations dans nos jnterests et de les faire agir dans les Circonstances presentes, je suis persuadé que les officiers Et le Sr de Gruis travailleront Serieusement a se liquider Envers les personnes qui leur ont fait des Avances par les Soins que vous voudrez y donner vous me ferez plaisir d obliger le Sr despin lorsque vous en trouverez loccasion.

Quant au poste des peauguichias il est tres prudent comme vous le pensez, d y augmenter la garnison Et d y Envoyer un officier de plus dans les circonstances ou nous sommes avec les Sauvages.

jl Sera Egallement utile de placer aux Kaokias une petite Garnison avec un officier comme vous l'avez progetté.

jl n y a point de difficulté Mr de faire payer tous les ans

[Translation]

to make this spring. I am writing on the subject to M. de la Jonquière also.

I am delighted that you have left the Sieur de Portneuf in command of the Missouri. He is in a position to keep these tribes in our interest and to make them function under the present circumstances. I am persuaded that as a result of the pains you will take to that end the officers and the Sieur de Gruis will work earnestly to liquidate their indebtedness to the persons who have made them advances. You will do me a favor by obliging the Sieur Despins when you find occasion.

As to Vincennes, it was prudent as you thought to increase the garrison and send another officer in the circumstances in which we are with the Indians. It will be equally useful to place a small garrison in Cahokia with an officer, as you planned.

There will be no difficulty, Monsieur, in having paid every year the gratification of one hundred pistoles to the commandant

au Comdt des Missouris la gratification de cent pistolles par les voyageurs qui vont en traite chez les nations cela est plus simple et Sujet a moins d'inconveniens que de retenir a l'officier un Endroit Exclusif pour luy tenir lieu de cete gratification, Mr de la jonquiere me marque même avoir pour cet effet donné des ordres à Mr Benoist.

Je trouveray Egallement bon que vous favorisies autant que vous le pourrez le Commerce des jllinois avec le detroit Et les Autres postes du Canada et que vous Continueres d entretenir une Correspondance Exacte avec les officiers qui y Commandent a fin que vous puissies estre Amplement jmformes de tout ce qui se passera d'interessant parmy les Nations Sauvages Et vous entendre la dessus avec Eux.

Je vous marqueray par le Convoy le partis qu'il Convien dra de prendre touchant les Compagnies, les officiers et les Cadet de votre garnison qui doivent Circuler annuellement avec Celles de la nelle orleans; j'attend la dessus des ordres plus positives par le vaisseau du Roy qui paroist ne devoir point arriver devant la fin de may prochain.

[Translation]

of the Missouri by the *voyageurs* who go to trade with those tribes. This is simpler and subject to less inconvenience than retaining for the officer a place for his exclusive trade in lieu of this gratification. M. de la Jonquière informs me that he had even given M. Benoist orders to that effect.

I find it equally good that you favor as far as you can the trade of the Illinois with Detroit and the other posts of Canada and that you continue to keep up a close correspondence with the officers who command them that you may be fully informed of all that is interesting among the Indian tribes and reach an understanding with them.

I will indicate to you by the convoy the course which it is proper to take respecting the companies, the officers and cadets of your garrison who should rotate annually with those of New Orleans. I await on that more exact orders by the king's ship, which it appears will not arrive before the end of May next.

Je viens Encores de demander a la cour l approvisionnement de la Colonie pour les mois d octobre annuellement afin d'estre en Etat de faire partir dans ceux de janvier et de fevrier au plus tard les Convoys pour chez vous qui est la veritable saison pour sy rendre promptement Et sans Courrir risque de maladies n y de l'Ennemis Et vous receverez par celuy de l'Estes prochain les Congés absolûs des onze soldats dont vous m'avez Envoyes les signalleemens.

Je ne puis que approuver ausy les ordres que vous aves donnés dans tous les postes aux voyageurs Et habitans de fournir les pieux Necessaires aux Enceintes des forts de chaque endroit ; Ces réparations Et ces depenses doivent se faire, à l'jnstard du Canada ou cet usage a Été observé dans tous les temps.

J'ay recu ausy le recensement des differens Etablissemens du paÿs des jllinois, le Nombre d'habitans n y est pas beaucoup augmenté non plus que celuy des Negres et Bestiaux, jl faut Esperer que du moyen des Congés que le nombre de troupes

[*Translation*]

I have just asked the court to send the supplies of the colony annually in the month of October, that I may be in a position to send off in the months of January and February at the latest the convoys for your command. That is the proper season to get them there promptly and without running risks of sickness or of enemies. You will receive by next summer's convoy the absolute discharges of the eleven soldiers whose descriptions you have sent me.

I can also only approve the orders you have given in all the posts to the *voyageurs* and inhabitants to furnish the pickets necessary for the enceintes of the forts in each place. These repairs and expenses should be handled as in Canada where that usage has been followed at all times.

I have also received the census of the various settlements of the Illinois country. The number of inhabitants has not much increased nor has that of the negroes or the cattle. It must be hoped that by the discharges which the present number of troops

actuelles nous permettra de donner tous les ans, vous les verres Saccroistre de beaucoup en peu d'années.

J'ay obmis Mr dans vos jnstructions d y jnserrer que dans le cas de mort d officiers, vous ayez agreable de m'En Envoyer Exactly les extraits mortuaires, Cest a dire la Note seulement du jours Et de l'Endroit ou jls auront été jnhumés.

Soyons tranquile Sur vostre avancement Comme sur la Necessité d'avoir aux jllinois un Estat major je Suis Seure que la proposition aura le succes que vous desires j en seray d autant plus flatte que la chose paroist vous faire plaisir et quil n'en resultera que plus d' avantage pour le bien du Service.

je me pretteray Egallement a procurer a Mr vostre fils une place de Gard Marine au port de Rochefort ou ailleur Comme à faire embarquer dans le Convoy les effets qui seront presentés par Mde Macarty qui se porte bien et que nous avons le plaisir de voir autant de foye qu'elle vient en ville, je m'jnteresse veritablement a ce qui vous regarde l'un Et l'autre aussy que

[Translation]

will permit us to accord every year, you will see the settlement increase much in a few years.

I neglected to insert in your instructions, Monsieur, that in the case of deceased officers you will be good enough to send me carefully the mortuary extract—that is to say only the day and place where they were buried.

Be at ease about your advancement, as well as on the need of having an *état major* at the Illinois. I am sure the proposal will have the success you desire. I shall be the more flattered that the thing seems to please you; and only the good of the service will result.

I will lend myself equally to procuring for Monsieur your son a place as *garde marin* at the port of Rochefort or elsewhere, as well as to have embarked in the convoy the goods which may be produced by Mme Macarty, who is well and whom we have the pleasure of seeing whenever she comes to the city. I interest myself deeply in what concerns you with both these persons, as



Mde de Vaudreuil qui vous remercie de l'honneur de Vostre souvenir Et vous fait mil Complimens.

Jay ordonné a tous les voyageurs qui montent aux jllinois Sous le Commandement du Sr de la Gautrais de Se charger des effets que Made macarty doit vous Envoyer par Cet occasion.

Je n'ay pu me dispenser de permettre a cet officier de faire le voyage pour receüiller aux jllinois ses fonds et y regler toutes les affaires quil peut y avoir, Sans prejudice aux Engagemens qu'il a Contracté avec le Sr Berthelemieux aux quels jl doit Satisfaire Entre vos mains Sans quoy je ne luy eusse point accordé cete permission Sur la quelle vous pourrez Mr vous regler pour le renvoyer a Sa Garnison. J'ay vû par vostre lettre Commune à Mr Michel et à moy Sur les Batimens Necessaires du fort de chartres pour le logement de deux Compagnies jl ne doit estre question Mr que de celui qui sera Necessaire à une Compagnie Seulement avec Ses officiers qui doit estre Suffisante pour la garde de Ce fort et pour sa deffanse En Cas d'attaque, mon jntention n'Estant pas de rendre Cete Garnison plus considerable.

[Translation]

does Mme de Vaudreuil, who thanks you for the honor of your remembrance and makes you a thousand compliments.

I have ordered all the *voyageurs* who go up to the Illinois under the command of the Sieur de la Gautrais to charge themselves with the goods that Mme Macarty is to send you by that occasion.

I cannot dispense with permitting that officer to make the voyage in order to receive his funds at the Illinois and to settle all his business there, without prejudice to the obligations he contracted to the Sieur Barthelemieux which he should settle through you. Otherwise I should not have given him this permission, on which, Monsieur, you can guide yourself in sending him back to his garrison. I note your joint letter to M. Michel and me on the buildings at Fort de Chartres necessary to lodge the two companies. There should be no question, Monsieur, save of what is necessary for one company only with its officers, which should be sufficient for the defense of the fort in case of attack, my intention being not to make that garrison more important.

VAUDREUIL TO CÉLORON, April 25, 1752

[H M LO 361]

A Mr de Celoron Major Comdt au Detroit

A LA NELLE ORLEANS ce 25, Avril 1752

J'ay recû Monsieur les deux lettres que vous m'aves fait l'honneur de m'Ecrire du 23 Avril Et 4. aoust dernier j'y ay vu avec plaisir que vous possedies Et Mde Celoron une parfaite sante je vous en souhaite la Continuation.

Je n'ay pas Eté moins flatté du detail que vous M'aves fait concernant les affaires des paÿs dans haut qui me paroissent bien dérangées Si lon peut s'en rapporter aux dispositions des Rebelles Sur la Rivierre a la Roche pour Nous et a celles des Nations d'ouabache qui ont fait L'automne dernier une entreprise Sur le paÿs des jllinois qui auroit eüe des Suites plus facheuses Si Les mesures qui m ont parû bien Concertées, n'eussent pas eté rompües, comme vous l'aurois sans doute appris

jl y a meme toute apparence que les Sauvages Domiciliées Etoient du Complot dont l'engine vient Surement du partie de la Demoiselle.

[*Translation*]

To M. de Céloron, major commandant at Detroit

NEW ORLEANS, April 25, 1752

I have received, Monsieur, the two letters you did me the honor to write me April 23, and August 4 last. I have noted with pleasure that you and Mme Céloron enjoy perfect health. I make you my best wishes that it may continue.

I have been not less flattered by the details you have given me concerning the affairs of the upcountry, which seem to me in great disorder, if one can judge from the disposition toward us of the rebels on Great Miami River and that of the Wabash tribes, who last fall undertook an enterprize against the Illinois country which might have had more annoying consequences if their measures, which seemed to me well concerted, had not been frustrated; this you have doubtless learned. There is even every appearance that the domiciled Indians were in the plot the motive force for which surely came from the party of La Demoiselle.

Il est facheux que Mr de la Jonquiere ait abandonné le dessein qu'il avoit formé de réduire par la force Ces Rebelles pour prendre le party de les faire arceller en avertant Contre Eux les Nations qui nous sont demeureés fidelles. En supposant qu'elles veuillent S y pretter, elles le feront Si foiblement que nous parviendrons Seulement á les Inquieter Sans apearance de les voir de long temps rentrer dans le devoir. Et En Supposant au Contraire qu'elles agissent Sincerement dans leurs demarches Sans avoir Egard aux degres de parante Et d'alliance qu'elles ont avec la pluspart de ces Rebelles qu'en resulterat il Encore, des divisions parmy les nations qui ne finiront pas sitot dont le Commerce souffrira dans tout les postes particulièrement au paÿs des Illinois qui deviendra le theatre de la Guerre et du ressentiment de ces Ennemis; qui en augmentera les troubles plus tot que de les appaiser et que porteront les Rebelles a tout entreprendre contre Nous pour se maintenir dans leur domaines et en assurer la possession aux Anglois.

[*Translation*]

It is annoying that M. de la Jonquière should have abandoned the plan he had formed of reducing these rebels by force, in order to take the course of having them harried by turning against them the tribes that have remained faithful to us. Supposing they might be willing to take part in it, they will do it so feebly that we shall succeed only in alarming them without any prospect of seeing them return to their duty for a long time to come. And supposing on the contrary that they should act sincerely in their movements without paying attention to the bonds of blood and marriage which they have with the greater part of these rebels, what would come of it save differences among the tribes which will not quickly be ended and from which trade will suffer in all the posts, especially those of the Illinois country, which will become the theater of the war, and of the resentment of our enemies? It will increase our troubles faster than appease them and will induce the rebels to try everything against us, to maintain themselves on their lands, and to assure the English the possession of them.

Voyla Mr ma facon de penser Sur Ces Démarches le fruit de l'inaction dans laquelle nous sommes demeurez jus qu'a present avec Ces Rebelles qui na servi qu'a en Augmenter le Nombre et a les rendre plus insolents et plus difficiles a réprimer.

Quoy que le party qu'a pris M. de la Jonquierre a cet Egard, Soit Susceptible de tous ces inconveniens je ne laisse pas que de marquer a Mr de Macarty de suivre en cela les ordres que vous et luy En avez receû, En attendant qu'il se determine a faire Sur Ces Rebelles l'entreprise a la quelle jl faudra tort ou tard en venir pour appaiser les troubles et Empecher les progres des Anglois sur Nos terres et sur nos Nations aux quelles nous en jposerons facilement Si elles avoient pour Exemple les Coups d'Ecclat quil nous Convienendroit de faire Sur les mutins Et du quel depend uniquement la tranquillité des pay's dans haut.

Je souhaite Mr qu'il prenne ce temperamment Comme jl est à Desirer au reste je n'epargne rien pour sy Engager, je suis bien ausy du sentiment de ne rien entreprendre Sur ces Rebelles

[*Translation*]

That, Monsieur, is my way of thinking on these occurrences, which are the fruit of the inaction in which we have remained up to now toward these rebels, which has served only to increase their number and to make them more insolent and more difficult to suppress.

Although the course M. de la Jonquière has taken in that respect entails all these inconveniences, I do not neglect instructing M. de Macarty to follow to that end the orders you and he have received, while we await his deciding to try against these rebels the course that will have to be taken sooner or later to appease these disorders and check the advance of the English on our lands, and their influence over the tribes. These last we should easily dominate, if they had as a lesson, the decisive attacks it behooves us to make on the rebels, and on which solely depend the peace of the upcountry.

I desire, Monsieur, that he take this course as is to be desired. Meanwhile I spare nothing to induce him to it. I am also decidedly of the opinion that nothing should be undertaken against the rebels but with forces capable and sufficient to assure

qu'avec des forces Suffisantes et capables de nous assurer du succes pourquoy j'Eusse trouvé plus Convenable de temporiser Encore a leur egard plustost que dans venir à des demarches qui ne peuvent tourner qu'à nostre desavantage.

En prenant donc le party qui Convient nous vienderions a Bout non Seulement de faire rentrer dans le devoir Ces Rebelles mais nous parvienderions a oster pour toujours aux Anglois le gout du Commerce avec Nos Nations que nous fixerions dans Nos interests Et par la nous demeurerions tranquiles dans la posession que nous avons de ces terres, que nous nous asseurerions de plus en plus par un fort au Bas de la Rivière a la Roche et un Autre au Bas du ouabache a 12 ou 15 lieux du Miscissipy, qui donneroient des Bornes aux Anglois Et leur oteroient tous moyens de nous inquieter par la suite de ce coté la.

Outre que les forts couvriroient le paÿs des jllinois et metteroient les flancs a làbris des incurtions des Cherakis, tete plates et autre Ennemis.

je souhaite que toutes ces Considerations puissent porter Mr delajonquierre à prendre le party qui Est le seul moyen de

[*Translation*]

us of success. For this reason I should have thought it more proper to temporize with them rather than take steps which can only turn out to our disadvantage.

By pursuing the proper course, therefore, we shall not merely attain the end of making the rebels return to their duty, but we shall also succeed in taking away forever the taste of the English for trading with our tribes, which we shall fix in our interests; thus we shall remain tranquil in our possession of our lands. This we can still further assure by a fort on the lower Great Miami River and another on the lower Wabash twelve or fifteen leagues from the Mississippi. These forts will halt the English and deprive them of all means of annoying us on that side in the future. Moreover these forts will shelter the Illinois country and protect our flanks from the raids of the Cherokee, Flatheads, and other enemies.

I hope that all these considerations may induce M. de la Jonquière to take the course which is the sole means of reëstab-

retablir la tranquillité dans les paÿs dans haut Et de nous les Conserver.

Mr de Macarty me Marque par une derniere occasion quil à fait partir un Convoy pour faire rendre aux Ou8atanons les Munitions de guerre et de bouche que Mr de la jonquierre luy a demandes pour Le Detroit et les Miamis j'Engage dailleurs cet officier a Entretenir avec vous une Correspondance la plus Etroite Sur tous les troubles a fin de pouvoir mutuellement Concourir a les appaiser Et Conciller de Concert de tout ce qui pourra la plus Contribuer au bien du Service.

Je suis bien Sensible Mr au desir que vous Auries de me voir commander dans ma patrie mes services et les promesses que lon m'en a faites me donnent lieu dy pretendre mais j attend la dessus la decision de mon sort par la pers vaisseaux, quoy quil en soit je Seray toujours charmé de me trouver a portee Mr de vous donner des marques de mes sentimens pour vous Et pour mesdames de beaucourt et Celoron que je vous prie dassurer de mon respect.

[*Translation*]

lishing quiet in the upcountry and of preserving it to us.

M. de Macarty informs me by his last opportunity that he has sent out a convoy to carry to Ouiatanon the munitions and rations that M. de la Jonquière has asked for Detroit and the Miamis. I further am directing that officer to maintain the closest correspondence with you on all difficulties in order that you may mutually concur in overcoming them and may take counsel together as to whatever may best contribute to the good of the service.

I am very sensible, Monsieur, of your desire to see me command in the land of my birth. My services and the promises made me, give me grounds to aspire to it. But on that I await the decision of my fate by the first ships. Whatever it may be, I shall always be charmed to be able, Monsieur, to give you proofs of my sentiments for you and for Mesdames de Beaucourt and Céloron, whom I pray you to assure of my respect.

Md de Vaudreuil s'est trouvée fort sensible a vostre Souvenir elle me charge de vous en remercier et de vous faire et a vos dames mil complimens de sa part.

Jay l honneur d etre avec un sincere attachemen Monsieur Vostre &.

VAUDREUIL TO ST. ANGE, April 28, 1752

[H M LO 362]

A LA NELLE ORLEANS ce 28 avril 1752.

pour Minute a Mr de St Ange Comdt au poste des peanguichias, Sur Ouabache.

J'ay reçu Monsieur, La Lettre que vous vous ête donnes la peine de M'Ecrire touchant les revolutions du païs des Jlinois, il est facheux que les démarches que L'on a faites du côtes du Canada sur les rebelles vous ayent occasionnez de la part de nos nations les actes d'hostillites qu'elles Se Sont portées a commettre sur votre poste et au Vermillon

[*Translation*]

Mme de Vaudreuil was very sensible of your remembrances. She charges me to thank you, and to pay on her behalf a thousand compliments to you and your ladies.

I have the honor to be with a sincere attachment, Monsieur, yours, etc.

NEW ORLEANS, April 28, 1752

Minute to M. de St. Ange, commandant at the Piankashaw post on the Wabash

I received, Monsieur, the letter you gave yourself the trouble of writing me with regard to the revolutions in the Illinois country. It is annoying that the measures that have been taken on the side of Canada against the rebels should have brought upon you, from our own tribes, the acts of hostility that they have been led to commit at your post and on the Vermilion.



Je ne puis qu'approuver les mesures que vous avez prises pour vous mettre et vos habitans a L'abris de plus grandes Jrruptions sur cette Rivière peut être que ces nations reconnoîtront leur fautes et Se prêteront a les reparer Je le Souhaite mais en attendant tenez vous toujours sur vos Gardes et ne Negligez rien pour vous mettre a couvert de leur ressentiment.

Je marque a Mr de Macarty de ne point mettre en Liberté les coupables prisonniers qu'au préalable Les Jlinois et les Peanguichias N'eussent réparés leur faute en allant commettre quelques actes d'hostillites sur ceux de nos Ennemis qui les ont jncités a en faire Sur nous

Et comme la Majeure partie de ces nations de vôtre Rivière me paroissent peu dans nos Intérêts N'epargnez rien, Monsieur, de vôtre côtes pour vous y faire quelques Partisans qui puissent Empêcher qu'elles ne Se declarent Entièrement pour L'Anglois

Jl paroît que les Kikapoux et Maskoutins ne sont pas mal Jntentionnes tachez de nous les concilier ou du Moins qu'ils restent neutres dans tous ces démêles

[*Translation*]

I cannot but approve the measures you have taken to put yourself and your inhabitants in safety from much greater inroads on that river. Perhaps the tribes will recognize their faults and set about making reparation. I desire it, but meanwhile keep on your guard and neglect nothing to shelter yourself from their resentment.

I direct M. de Macarty not to free the blameworthy prisoners until the Illinois and the Piankashaw shall have repaired their fault by going to commit acts of hostility on those of our enemies who have incited them to attack us.

And as the greater part of the tribes of your river appear to me but little in our interest, spare nothing, Monsieur, on your side to gain yourself some partisans who may prevent their declaring wholly for the English.

It appears that the Kickapoo and the Mascoutens are not ill-intentioned. Try to conciliate them or at least to keep them neutral in all these events.

Quand aux réparations de vôtre fort vous ne pouvez point dans ces circonstances vous dispensez d'y faire celles qui y sont nécessaires Mais avec toute L'economie possible et Le moins de depense que vous pourré

J'ay procuré le conges au Soldat nommes [*blank in MS.*] dit Orleans que vous trouverez cy Joint, quand a Mr Vôtre Neveu J'ay demandes une Enseigne en Second pour luy Lorsque Sa Lettre Sera arrivéé Je vous La feray parvenir. J'ay L'honneur d'être parfaitement Monsieur

Vôtre tres humble et tres obéissant Serviteur

A LA NOUVELLE ORLEANS Ce Avril 1752.

VAUDREUIL TO SAUCIER, April 28, 1752

[H M LO 363]

A LA NELLE ORLEANS le 28. avril 1752

a Mr Saucier jngenieur au paÿs des jllinois

J'ay reçu Monsieur la lettre que vous a pris la peine de m'ecrire touchant les dépenses du fort projectté aux Kaskakias qui outre passeroient celles que Javois jugé devoir faire pour la

[*Translation*]

As to the repairs of your fort you cannot in present circumstances dispense with having those made that are necessary, but with all possible economy, and as little expense as you can.

I have procured a leave for the soldier named [*blank in MS.*] called Orleans which you will find annexed. As to Monsieur your nephew, I have asked an ensigny *en second* for him. When his letter arrives I will see it is sent you. I have the honor to be perfectly, Monsieur,

Your very humble and obedient servant

NEW ORLEANS, April, 1752

NEW ORLEANS, April 28, 1752

To M. Saucier, engineer in the Illinois country

I received, Monsieur, the letter which you took the trouble to write me respecting the expense of the projected fort at Kaskaskia which much exceeds what I thought I ought to spend for

seureté de ce paÿs.

Vous verrez par ma lettre Commune avec Mr Michel nos jntention Sur lExecution du plan que vous m'En avez adressé que j'ay trouvé fort convenable mais trop dispendieux

Vous aurez donc agreable Monsieur de vous Conformer aux arrangemens que nous avons faits, pour en diminuer les dépenses

Et en accellerer l'ouvrage. Je ne vous fait point part des reflections que jay faites Sur la position de ce fort Mr de Macarty vous les communiquera Et s'entendra avec vous la dessus comme je luy l'y jnvite.

Made Saucier va vous trouver Comme vous le desirez elle vous porte du provisions par des arrangemens qu'elle a sut prendre En attendant une occasion plus favorable a vous en faire parvenir d'autres a la quelle je me pretteray volontiers, En supposant que vostre Commissionnaire ne Neglige rien pour cet effet.

Quant a tout ce que je pouray Mr faire pour vous Soyés persuadé de mes dispositions J'en saisiray avec plaisir les moyens de facon ou dautre.

[*Translation*]

the safety of that country.

You will see by the joint letter with M. Michel our intention as to the execution of this plan which you addressed to me, which I found very proper but too costly.

You will then be pleased, Monsieur, to conform to the changes which we have made in order to diminish the expense, and to hasten the work. I do not communicate to you the reflections I have made as to the position of this fort. M. de Macarty will communicate them to you and will discuss the matter with you as I direct him.

Mme Saucier will come to you as you wish. She is taking provisions for you by arrangements she has made while awaiting a more favorable occasion to send you others in which I will willingly help, always supposing your agent neglects nothing to that end.

As to all I can do for you, Monsieur, be assured of my willingness. I will with pleasure lay hold on the means in one fashion or another.

J'ay l honneur d etre tres parfaitement Mr vostre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur.

VAUDREUIL TO MACARTY, April 28, 1752

[H M LO 365]

A Mr de Macarty Major comd. au poste des jllinois Ce 28. avril 1752

J'ay recû Mr par Mr Benoist les lettres que vous M'aves fait l honneur de m'Ecrire du 18 et 27 mars dernier par les quelles j'ay vû tout ce qui s'est passé depuis vos precedentes parmy les Nations de vostre command qui paroissent avoir été asses tranquiles depuis leur mouvemens dont je ne scais pas trop quelle augure tirer, desquelles n'ont point encore fait de demarches qui ayant pu asses assurer de leur repentir ny de leur dispositions a se reconciller avec Nous par quelqu'actes d hostilitées de leur part Sur ceux qui En ont jncités a en faire contre nous. premier page

Quoy quil en soit je pense qu'il est de la prudence de ne point remettre leur prisonniers en liberté qu'au préalable elles n'ayent

[*Translation*]

I have the honor to be very perfectly, Monsieur, your very humble and very obedient servant.

To M. de Macarty, major commandant at the post of the Illinois, April 28, 1752

I received, Monsieur, by M. Benoist the letters you did me the honor to write me March 18 and 27 last by which I perceive all that has happened since your previous letters among the tribes of your command, who appear to have been moderately quiet since their former movements. I do not too well know what augury to draw from this, inasmuch as they have not yet taken steps which may sufficiently assure us of their repentance or of their willingness to reconcile themselves with us by acts of hostility on their part against those who incited them to attack us. First page

However it may be, I think it prudent not to set their prisoners free until they have given satisfaction for their attempt

Satisfait a leur attantat ou de moins qu'elles ayent fait quelques actions qui puissent leur en faire meriter le pardon et nous assurent un sincere retour de leur part.

Seconde page

Il convient Mr d jcy à ce qu'elles en viennent là de ne leur faire aucun present et de profiter de toutes les occasions pour les mortifier Et leur faire sentir leur faute, peut estre que cete conduite leur fera faire des reflections qui les Engageront a rentrer dans le devoir.

Vous avez pour cela les Kaokias, les peorias Et les osages qui vous ont assureés de leur fidelité, il est essentiel de menager Ces Sauvages Et de les bien traiter, par la vous les disposeres a vous servir utillement dans les circonstances presentes Sur tout a legard des Kaskakias, peanguichias, y compris ceux du Vermillon, Sils ne veullent point se departir des factiueesses que nous leur connoissons pour en repondre de plus favorables a nos jnterests; dans ce cas il vaut mieux les regarder comme Ennemis declarés agir en consequence et les traiter avec toutes les Rigueurs de la Guerre des que vous seres assureé des Kaokias,

3me page

[*Translation*]

or at least have done something to merit their pardon and assure us of their sincere repentance.

Second page

It is proper, Monsieur, henceforth until they are in this situation to make them no presents and to profit by all occasions to mortify them and make them perceive their fault. Perhaps this course will lead them to reflections which will engage them to return to their duty.

To that end you have the Cahokia, the Peoria, and the Osage, who have assured you of their fidelity. It is essential to humor these Indians and to treat them well. Thus you will dispose them to serve you usefully in present circumstances, especially with respect to the Kaskaskia and Piankashaw, including those of the Vermilion. If they will not depart from the seditious conduct of which we are aware, and answer more favorably to our interests, it would, in that case, be better to regard them as declared enemies and to act accordingly; and to treat them with all the rigors of war as soon as you shall be assured of the

Third page

peorias des Grands et petit osages ainsy que des Nations du Mis-  
souris qu'ont peut aussy fair agir.

je pense que C'est le seul partis que nous ayons à prendre  
Et le plus efficace que vous ayez Mr a suivre pour les faire  
rentrer dans le devoir Si absolument jls ne veulent pas Se mettre  
de bon gres a la raison, Nous etant bien Egal de les avoir pour  
Ennemis declarés ou pour Ennemis Cachés; vous vous conduires  
en Cela Suivant comme les choses tourneront c'est a dire selon  
les moyens que vous aurez a vous en assurer le succes.

J'ay Cru devoir Mr pour pour vous mettre mieux à portée  
d'en jmposer a vos Sauvages domiciliées vous Envoyer une ren-  
fort d' Environ 50 hommes de troupes y compris Les malades  
que vous avez Laissé dans les postes Le Surplus Estant de  
nelles troupes qui qui remplaceront les morts Et les deserteurs  
qu'il a Eüe en attendant les secours que je Compte vous En-  
voyer dans le courant de l'Este prochain

4eme page

Vous recevrez par les Batteau commande par le Sr de la

[*Translation*]

Cahokia, Peoria, Great and Little Osages, as well as the tribes  
of the Missouri who could also be induced to act.

I think this is the only course left for us to take, and the  
most efficacious, Monsieur, that you can follow to make them  
return to their duty, if they absolutely do not wish of their own  
accord to listen to reason; for it is all the same for us to have  
them as declared or secret enemies. You will in this act as things  
develop, that is to say according to the means you have to insure  
success.

I have thought best, Monsieur, in order to put you in a better  
position for laying down the law to your domiciled Indians, to  
send you a reinforcement of fifty soldiers, including the sick you  
have left in the posts, the remainder being recruits to replace  
those who have died, and the deserters; all this in expectation of  
the reinforcement I count on sending you in the course of next  
summer.

Fourth page

You will receive by the boat commanded by the Sieur de la

Gautrais avec le Sr Deroche<sup>1</sup> Enseigne détaché de cete Garnison vin, Eau de vie, taffiat, poudre, fusils Tulles, Et bonns Sautpetre couvertes chemises et autres assortimens asses compter pour attendre l'autre Convoy et vous mettre a portée de ne point manquer, vous y trouveres ausy les paillases sonts faites pour les soldats de votre Garnison.

Je renvoy par cet occasion nombre de voyageurs qui sont descendu de la belle Rivierre et autres, les premiers Meritoient punition mais j'ay Cru devoir leur faire grace Sur les promesses qu'ils m'ont faites de n'y plus retourner sans permission qui ne peut leur estre accordée dans les circonstances presantes. Vous devez toujours fait tres prudemment de punir ceux qui se sont rendue aux jllinois; il n y a que peu de jours apres l'Amirande les a descendû mais Jl pense que de Guire aura eté deffaite avec ses Engagés.

Jl est facheux Mr quil soit deserte 21. hommes de vostre Garnison Et encore plus Contraire au bien du Service de n'avoir

[Translation]

Gautrais with the Sieur de Roche,<sup>1</sup> ensign detached from this garrison, wine, brandy, tafia, powder, service muskets as well as good ones, saltpeter, blankets, shirts, and other assorted goods, enough to count on while awaiting the other convoy, and putting you in a position where you need want for nothing. You will also find the mattresses made for the soldiers of your garrison.

I am sending back by this occasion a number of *voyageurs* who came down from the Ohio and other rivers. The first named merit punishment, but I have thought best to pardon them on the promises they have made me not to go back without permission, which in present circumstances cannot be accorded them. You will also do very well to punish those who have gone to the Illinois. It is only a few days since La Mirande came down, but he thinks that Deguir and his *engagés* have been cut off.

It is annoying, Monsieur, that twenty-one men of your garrison should have deserted, and still more contrary to the good

<sup>1</sup> De Roche de Beaumont. Ensign in Louisiana, October 1, 1750. A N Colonies D2C4. After going up with this convoy of La Gautrais in 1752, he was allowed to remain at the Illinois. In 1753 he accompanied Des Mazellières' expedition to carry supplies to Marin. *Post*, 805, 862.



pu les faire arreter pour servir d Exemple a ceux qui pourroient avoir consenti de pareil desseins. mais j'ay a vous observer sur les demarches que vous avez fait pour cela que le Detachement que vous vous aves destinee a la poursuite de ces Deserteurs n'etoit pas suffisant jl devoit estre du moins de 50 hommes tant soldats qu' habitans sous le commendement de plusieurs officiers de troupes et de milice qui Sont sujetes a ces sortes de detachement puis que la seureté de leurs pays dépend de pouvoir y Conserver Nos Garnisons, Et je ne doute point que la foiblesse de ce Detachement n'ayt portés ces habitans à faire des reflections Sur les risques qu'il y avoit effectivement a Courrir Et quelle ait occasionné ches eux la mauvaise volonté que vous y avez trouvees

6me page

Je ne dois point vous laisser ignorer qu'il s'est rependû jcy, un Bruit quil y avoit eües à cet Egard une insubordination trop grande de la part de Ces habitans pour la croire avoir été pousés au point de vous obliger a faire prendre les Armes aux troupes Contre eux jay vû la dessus Mr le Compte que vous m'en avez rendu Et qui me suffit pour justifier en cela vostres Conduite—

[Translation]

of the service that you could not arrest them as an example to those who might have been consenting to similar designs. But I have to observe to you in the steps which you took in that connection that the detachment which you designed for the pursuit of these deserters was not sufficient. It should have been at least fifty men, both soldiers and inhabitants, and under the command of several army and militia officers, the latter being subject to such tours of duty since the safety of their country depends on our being able to preserve our garrisons. And I do not doubt that the weakness of that detachment contributed to make the inhabitants consider the risks which they had to run, which occasioned the ill will you found among them.

Sixth page

I should not leave you ignorant of a report which is spread about here, that the insubordination of the inhabitants was carried to a point at which you had to put the troops under arms against them. I have seen, Monsieur, the account which you have given me and which suffices to justify to me your conduct

Mais je suis bien aise de vous observer Encore pour Eviter toute insubordination de la part de ces habitans Et pour ne point vous trouver dans ce cas avec Eux, de n'en rien Exiger qu'avec beaucoup des reflections comme de les prendre par la voyes de Douceur Cependant toujours avec fermeté, vous en tirrerez par la un meilleur partis, qu'avec beaucoup de Riguour, Le Canadien est haut comme vous scavez mais jl est brave et entreprenant, jl ne sagit que de les prendre par les Sentimens d'honneur Et de raison pour en venir facilement a Bout; d'ailleurs les Circonstances presentes demandent avec eux plus de menagement que vous ne Seres obliger d'en avoir en toutes autres occasions, vous en estes prudent et sage regler vous sur ces principes et vous aurez lieu d'en estre content.

je vous ay marqué par ma precedente qu al'egard des arrangemens que vous proposies Sur l etat major qui conviendrait aux jllinois vous devries bien d'estre Satisfait comme je l'espere.

Quant a laide Majorité pour Mr de Neyon je la proposeray à sa satisfaction et a la vostre puisque vous vous y

[Translation]

in that respect. But I am very glad to observe to you also to avoid all insubordination on the part of the inhabitants and never to find yourself in such a situation with respect to them, that you should exact nothing of them save after much thought, approaching them with gentleness, though always with firmness. You will do better so, than by harshness. The Canadian is high-spirited, as you know; but he is brave and enterprising. All that is necessary is to take them on the side of honor and reason to bring them easily to your wishes. Moreover present circumstances require more management with them than you will have to use on any other occasion. You are prudent and wise; govern yourself by these principles, and you will have reason to be satisfied.

In my last letter I told you that as I hope you will be well pleased with respect to the arrangements which you proposed for the *état major* which it is proper to have at the Illinois.

As to the post of aid major for M. de Neyon, I will recommend it so as to satisfy him and you since you interest your-

interesse et que vous jugere que cet officier a tous les talens convenables pour remplir cete place.

Mr de St Ange me represente aussy la nêcessite de mettre son fort en estat de Deffense et dans une situation propre à loger la Garnison vous luy donneres ordre Mr de la faire avec le plus d'Economies qu'il sera possible et de faire fournir aux habitans<sup>1</sup> de cet endroit les pieux Necessaires a son Entourage.

à L'Egard du poste du Missouris C'est a l'officier qui y Comande a prendre des Arrangemens non seulement pour la refonte de cet fort mais pour sa transmigration a l endroit que vous jugeres devoir mieux Convenir pour L utilité du service Et la proximité des sauvages Le Roy ne doit Estre pour rien dans cet dépense comme il a été réglé des le principe de cet Etablissement, Ces sont les traiteurs de les Nations avec luy qui doivent Contribuer a la perfection de ce fort et a ses réparations annuelles.

9me page

j'ay recu les deux proces Criminels que vous m'aves adressé

[Translation]

self for him and judge that officer has all the necessary qualities to fill that post.

M. de St. Ange also represents to me the necessity of putting his fort in a state of defense and in a proper condition to house its garrison. You will, Monsieur, give him orders to do it with the utmost possible economy and to supply the inhabitants<sup>1</sup> of the place with the necessary pickets for the enceinte.

With respect to the Missouri post, it is for the officer who commands there to make arrangements not only for the rebuilding of the fort but also for its removal to the place which you shall think better adapted to the good of the service and the nearness of the Indians. The king should have no part in this expense as has been the rule for that post. It is the traders with the tribes, along with the commandant, who should contribute to the completion of the fort and to its annual repairs.

Ninth page

I have received the two criminal processes which you ad-

<sup>1</sup> The French is quite clear at this point, but doubtless the meaning is exactly the opposite, namely that the inhabitants were to supply the pickets.

et je vous renvoye cy joint les signallements des 21 deserteurs pour les inserrer à la minute de leur procedures.

Je louë fort la precaution que vous avez prise de faire Semer beaucoup de Bled d'inde et de froment a fin de vous mettre en estat de fournir aux postes du Canada leurs besoins et aux Entreprises qui pourroient se faire sur la belle Riviere c'est a dire sur les Rebelles qui sont dans le Continent ou les Chaouanons pourroient estre dun grand secours Si l'on peut s'en rapporter aux assurances qu'ils en ont donnees vous feres fort bien de vous assurer de leur dispositions avec Menagement lorsque vous en auras occasion.

10me page

Quant aux Alignemen de la ville des Kaskakias vous Suiverez En cela mes jntentions et celles de Mr Michel du lettre Commune, de memes que les observations que nous avons faites sur la place du fort projeté aux quelles vous aurez agreable de vous Conformer avec le Sr Saucier a qui je vous prie de Communiquer mes reflections sur la position de ce fort. Et vous Entendre la dessus avec cet jngeieur.

[*Translation*]

dressed to me, and I return you herewith the descriptions of the twenty-one deserters to be inserted in the minute of proceedings.

I much approve your precaution in having much corn and wheat sowed in order to furnish the posts of Canada what they need, as well as for the expeditions which may be made on the Ohio River, that is, upon the rebels in those parts. The Shawnee, if one can rely on the assurances they give you, may be of great service. You will do very well to make sure of their disposition in a tactful way when you have the opportunity.

Tenth page

As to laying out the city of Kaskaskia, you will follow in that my intentions and those of M. Michel in our joint letter, as well as the observations that we have made as to the site of the proposed fort. You will be good enough to conform to them along with the Sieur Saucier, to whom I beg you to communicate my ideas on the site of the fort, as well as to come to an understanding with that engineer.

Je ne puis qu' approuver les Secours que vous avez donnees aux postes du Canada a la demande de Mrs de la jonquierre et Bigot je vous jncitte à continuer dans le cas ou les postes se trouveront dans le besoin quoy qu'en puisse marquer de contraire Mr Michel a Mr Buchet C'est le meme Roy qu'eux et nous servons; Mais vous auriez pû vous dispensé d'Envoyer à Mr de la jonquierre les Memoires quil vous á demandé jl y avoit trop peu de temps meme que vous Etois en ce poste pour ne pas differrer à le satisfaire la dessus, ou du moins prendre asses de Connoissance pour les faire fidellement parceque les Suites des détails tirrent souvent a Consequence pour les faire avec trop de précision outre qu'ils demandent une grande exactitude et beaucoup de justesse c'est que le vostre peut se trouver contradictoire a celui que je dois luy Envoyer ce quil m a demandé.

Quant aux Compagnies de vôstre Garrison qui doivent circuler tous les ans avec celles de la Nelle orleans vous serez libre Mr de retinir les soldats les plus propres aux progres de ce paÿs

[*Translation*]

I can only approve the assistance you have given the posts of Canada at the request of MM. de la Jonquière and Bigot. I urge you to continue to do so in case the posts are in need of it, although M. Michel indicates the contrary to M. Buchet. We serve the same king. But you could have dispensed with sending to M. de la Jonquière the memoirs which he requested of you. You have been too short a time in that post not to put off satisfying him on that head. At least you could gain enough information to state matters exactly, because the conclusions drawn from details are often of too much consequence not to have the details as exact as possible. Besides the fact that such memoirs call for great exactitude and truth, what you offer him may prove contradictory to what I may send him in reply to his request.

As to the companies of your garrison which should rotate every year with those at New Orleans, you will be at liberty, Monsieur, to retain the soldiers who are fittest for the development of the country, such as miners, carpenters, masons, laborers,

11me page

là comme Mineurs, charpentiers, massons, laboureurs, Muniers et autres que vous feres passer dans les Rôles et Estats de Revüe comme détachés de leur Compagnies de même les officiers anciens de vos differens postes qui pour raison de service ou de bien estre vous demanderont a y rester, vous aurez agreable de leur permettre et vous les Employerez aussy Comme détachés de leur compagnies ainsy que les Cadêts.

En observant de Renvoyer ceux qui n'auront pas de raison a se dispencer de rejoindre a leur Garnison comme le Sr Girardaut charges des affaires du Sr la Gautrais qui vat pour les finir entierement.

12me page

a l Egards des des Congés que le Roy accorde tous les ans par chaque Compagnie Le Motif de ces graces n'est point pour les jllinois, Cependant lorsque vous aves quelque's Sujets propres aux progres de ce pay's la qui auront le dessein de S'y Etablir et d'y former quelques Etablissements Solides vous pourrez Mr Me les proposer et je feray honneur a vos demandes. vous trouverez cy joint les Congés absolu les soldats qui

[Translation]

Eleventh page

millers and others. You will carry them on the muster rolls and registers as detached from their companies. The same applies to the older officers of your various posts who may for reasons of their service or welfare ask to remain there. You will please permit them to do so, and you will use them as detached from their companies, as well as the cadets. You will in this regard take care to send back those who have no reason to avoid re-joining their garrisons like the Sieur Girardeau who is charged with the business of the Sieur la Gautrais; the latter is going up to settle it completely.

Twelfth page

With respect to the leaves which the king allows every year in each company, these favors are not designed for the Illinois. However when you have some persons calculated to aid the progress of the country who plan to settle there and form permanent settlements you may, Monsieur, propose them to me, and I will honor your requests.

You will find herewith the full discharges of the soldiers

vous avez demande y compris un autre pour philibert dit d'orleans de la Garnison des peanquichias que je vous prie d'Envoyer a Mr de St ange par la premiere occasion.

Vous trouverez aussi cy joint les Etats des 4. Compagnies que nous avons Complétés au moyen du renfort que vous parviendrez sous le Commandement du Sr de la Gautrais.

Vous aurez agreable de renvoyer tous les anciens soldats qui ne ne sont point attachés a Ces Compagnies dont le Nombre Est de 69 fusiliers. Si Se trouve aussi parmi Eux des ouvriers utiles à transporter vous pourrez les garder comme Etant detachés pour vostre Garnison Sans qu'il soit besoin de le incorporer dans aucunes des Compagnies des jllinois afin que par la suite ils puissent rejoindre leur celles auxquelles ils sont attachés.

Mr de nolan en a Effectivement demandé la permission de se marier comme je ne suis point a porté de juger tout à fait de l'établissement que cet officier se propose, ce sera a vous Monsieur d'en Examiner les avantages Et le luy permettre Si vous juges que ce Mariage puisse avoir lieu.

[*Translation*]

for whom you have requested them, together with another for Philibert, called Orleans, of the Vincennes garrison, which I beg you to send to M. de St. Ange by the first occasion.

You will find here also the rolls of the four companies which we have filled up from the reinforcement that will come to you under the command of the Sieur de la Gautrais.

You will be good enough to send back all the old soldiers who are not attached to the companies, sixty-nine muskets in number. If any among them are useful workmen you can carry them as detached to your garrison without having to incorporate them in any of the companies at the Illinois so that in the end they may rejoin those to which they are attached.

M. de Nolan has in effect requested my permission to marry. As I am in no position to judge of the establishment that officer proposes to maintain, it will be for you, Monsieur, to examine the possible advantages and give him permission if you judge that this marriage should be allowed.



Vous aurez agreable de Vous conformer ausy a ce que jay l'honneur de vous marquer par ma precedente au sujet du Sr de la Gautrais ainsy qu'à la permission que je luy ay donné de faire ce voyage Et je vous recommande de Nouveau les interets de Mr Olivier avec Mrs de Gruis Et porneufs dont les Engagemens Subsistent depuis trop longtemps. Vous trouverez cy joint des Lettres à l'adresse de Mr de la Jonquière avec plusieurs autres pour le Canada comme les premieres Sont de Consequence a faire rendre promptement En Canada vous ne perdrez point de temps Mr a les y faire parvenir, Mais vous observerez de les faire passer Seurement Crainte qu'elles ne tombent entre les mains des anglois qui profiteroient de nos reflections, Ce qui seroit bien facheux.

finis

[*Translation*]

You will be good enough to conform also to what I have the honor to indicate to you in my former letter on the subject of the Sieur de la Gautrais, as well as to the permission I have given him to make this voyage. And I once more recommend to you the interests of M. Olivier with respect to MM. de Gruis and Portneuf, whose obligations have been running too long a time. You will find herewith letters addressed to M. de la Jonquière with several others for Canada. As it is important that the first named should arrive promptly in Canada, you will lose no time, Monsieur, in sending them on. But you will take care to send them by a safe conveyance lest they should fall into the hands of the English, who might profit from our reflections—which would be very unfortunate.

End

ROUILLÉ TO DUQUESNE, May 15, 1752

[A N Colonies B95:204]

Dupta a M. le Mis Duquesne

A MARLY le 15. may 1752.

M.

Dans l'instruction que le Roy m'a ordné de vous expedier sur les divers objets de l'admon de vostre gment vous verrés qu'il est question des mouvements assez considerables parmy les sauvages des païs d'enhaut; Et par mes reponses aux lettres que M. le Mis de Lajonquiere m'a ecrites a ce sujet vous connoitrés quelles sont les jntentions de S. M. sur ce qui s'est passé. Pour vous mettre de plus en plus en etat de satisfaire a ce qu'elle attend de vous sur cette matiere, l'une des plus interessantes que vous ayiez a traiter en arrivant en Canada, je suis bien aisé de vous expliquer plus particulierement dans cette lettre, qui doit etre pour vous seul, les principes sur les quels S. M. desire que vous vous conduisiés.

Toutes les nouvelles nous annoncent que les soins que les Anglois se donnent et les depenses qu'ils font pour gagner les

[*Translation*]

Duplicate To M. le Marquis Duquesne

MARLY, May 15, 1752

MONSIEUR:

In the instruction which the king has ordered me to send you as to the various objects of the administration of your government, you will see that there the question is raised as to the very considerable movements among the Indians of the upcountry; and by my answers to the letters which M. le Marquis de la Jonquière has written me on that subject, you will know what His Majesty's intentions are on what has taken place. To put you more and more in a condition to answer to what he expects of you in that matter, one of the most interesting which you will have to deal with on your arrival in Canada, I am very glad to explain to you more particularly in this letter which is for you alone the principles on which His Majesty desires that you conduct yourself.

All reports agree that the care which the English take and

sauvages, ne sont pas sans succes aupres de plusieurs Nations

Nous funies informés l'année dre des progres qu'ils avoient deja faits chez les sauvages des environs de la Riviere d'ohio, autrement dite la Belle riviere, ou depuis la paix jls ont entrepris des etablissements. M de Lajonquiere avoit rendu compte d'un projet qu'il avoit formé tant pour chasser les anglois de cette riviere que pour châtier les Sauvages qui s'étoient laissé gagner. Ce projet etoit de faire marcher plusieurs detachements de françois et des Sauvages allies, les quels devoient se reünir a un rendezvous qui leur etoit indiqué pour agir ensuite relativement a l'object de cet armement. Quoi qu'il y eut eu quelques observâons a faire sur le detail des dispositions de M. de La jonquiere a cet egard, cependant coe le fonds du projet etoit bon, et que d'ailleurs jl devoit etre executé avant que ce geur eut pû recevoir ces observâons, S. M. jugea a propos de donner son approbation a ce qu'il avoit fait. Mais nous avons appris par ses propres letres que toutes les operations qui ont esté faites en

[*Translation*]

the expenses which they incur to win over the Indians have not been without success among several tribes.

Last year we were informed of the progress they had already made among the Indians of the neighborhood of the Ohio River, otherwise called the Beautiful River, where since the peace they have undertaken to settle. M. de la Jonquière had given an account of a plan which he had formed both to drive the English from that river and to punish the Indians who had let themselves be won over. This project was to march several detachments of French and allied Indians who were to unite at a rendezvous indicated to them and thereafter to act in concert for the object of this expedition. Although several observations might have been made on the details of M. de la Jonquière's arrangements in that respect, since nevertheless the basis of the project was good, and since moreover it should have been carried out before the governor could receive these observations, His Majesty judged it proper to give his approval to what had been done. But we have observed from the governor's own letters that all the resulting operations have reduced themselves to the carrying away

consequce se sont reduites a l'enlevement de quelques traitteurs anglois avec leurs marsed et au meurtre de deux sauvages de la nation des Miamis

L'enlevement des Traitteurs anglois, dont les marsed ont esté confisquées et mesme pillées par nos sauvages, ne peut produire

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qu'un bon effet, en degoutant les les autres Traitteurs par la crainte d'essuyer le mesme sort. Mais le meurtre des deux Miamis peut avoir des suites fascheuses; Et jl m'est revenu en effet qu'il avoit deja causé beaucoup de fermentation parmy les nations rebelles.

M. De Lajonquiere pretend qui si son expedition n'a pas eu le succes qu'il en attendoit, ce n'est que parce que M. Celoron major commandant au Detroit, ou devoit etre le centre de toutes les operâons, a mal executé les ordres et les instructions qu'il lui avoit donnés.

Il sera bon que vous veriffiés, autant qu'il sera possible, ce qui s'est passé a cet egard, et que vous m'en rendiés compte. Mais jl seroit inutile d'entrer jcy dans l'examen des fautes qui

[*Translation*]

of some English traders with their goods and to the murders of two Indians of the Miami tribe.

The carrying off of the English traders whose goods have been confiscated and even pillaged by our Indians can only have a good effect by discouraging the other traders with the fear of meeting the same fate. But the murders of the two Miami may have annoying results; and in fact it has come to me that it had already caused much ferment among the rebel tribes. M. de la Jonquière claims that if his expedition has not had the success which he expected from it, it is only because M. Céloron, major commandant at Detroit, which should have been the center of all the operations, has ill executed the orders and instructions given him.

It will be well for you to verify as far as possible what has happened in this regard and for you to give me an account of it. But it would be useless to enter here into an examination of the mistakes which may have been made. It is necessary to start

peuvent avoir esté commises. Il faut partir du point ou l'on est, et etablir quelques points capitaux pour juger des operations qu'il peut y avoir a entreprendre

Les Anglois peuvent pretendre que par la traitté d'Utrecht nous sommes obligés de souffrir le comce des sauvages avec Eux. Mais il est certain que rien ne peut nous obliger a souffrir ce comce Sur nos terres

Aussi par toutes les alliances, ou especes de traittes ou de paroles que nous avons eu avec les sauvages éloignés, nous n'avons jamais expressement exigé qu'ils renonçassent a aller traiter chez les Anglois: nous les y avons seulement exortés; Et jamais nous ne nous sommes opposés de force a cette traite

La riviere d'ohio et les rivières qui y tombent appartiennent incontestablement a la france. La decouverte en a esté faite par M. de Lassalle: Nous y avons eu toujours depuis des postes de traite; Et nostre possession est d'autant plus constante, que c'est là la communication la plus frequentée de Canada a la Louïsiannie. Ce n'est que depuis peu d'années que les Anglois ont entrepris d'y faire la traite: Et aujourd'huy jls veulent nous en exclurre.

[*Translation*]

from where we are and to agree on certain main considerations by which to appraise all the operations which are to be undertaken.

The English may claim that by the Treaty of Utrecht we are obliged to allow the Indians to trade with them. But it is certain that nothing requires us to allow that trade on our lands.

Accordingly by all the alliances or treaties or councils that we have had with the distant Indians, we have never expressly required them to give up going to trade with the English; we have only exhorted them to that end; and we have never opposed that trade by force.

The river Ohio and the rivers which fall into it unquestionably belong to France. It was discovered by M. de la Salle; since then we have always had trading posts there, and our possession of it has been all the more continuous since it is the most used communication between Canada and Louisiana. It is only for a few years past that the English have undertaken to trade there; and today they wish to exclude us from it.

Ce n'est pourtant pas qu'ils ayent pretendu jusqu'a present que ces rivières leur appartiennent. Leur pretention est que les Iroquois en sont les maîtres, et qu'estant Souverains de ces Sauvages ils peuvent en exercer les droits. Mais il est constant que Les Iroquois n'en ont aucun, et que d'ailleurs cette pretendüe Souveraineté des Anglois sur eux est une chimere: Et j'aurai occasion de vous en expliquer les raisons dans une autre lettre.

Il est cependant de la plus grande importance d'arrêter les  
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progres des pretentions et des entreprises des Anglois de ce costé là. S'ils y réussissent, ils nous couperoient la communication des deux Colonies de Canada et de la Louïsianne: Et il est aisé de juger des inconvenients qui ne manqueroient pas d'en resulter contre l'une et l'autre, sans compter les avantages qu'ils se procureroient tout d'un coup dans leur traite au prejudice de la nostre.

Le Roy se propose bien de faire porter des plaintes a la Cour d'Angre sur toutes ces innovations, et de demander qu'elle donne des ordres pour les faire cesser. Mais quelqu'envie que

[*Translation*]

However, up to now they have not claimed that these rivers belong to them. Their claim is that the Iroquois are lords over them and that being sovereign of those Indians, they can exercise these rights. But it is certain that the Iroquois have no claim there and that moreover this pretended sovereignty of the English over them is a myth; and I shall have occasion to explain the reasons of this to you in another letter.

However, it is of the greatest importance to check the progress of the claims and enterprises of the English on that side. Were they to succeed there, they would cut the communication of the two colonies of Canada and Louisiana; and it is easy to judge all the inconveniences which would not fail to result for both colonies without counting the advantages which the English at a single stroke would gain for their trade at the expense of ours.

The king decidedly intends to have complaints made at the Court of England about all these innovations and to demand that that court give orders to put an end to them. But whatever desire

puisse avoir cette Cour de repondre aux dispõons de S. M. pour le maintien de la paix, ces plaintes ne pourront pas avoir un Succes, du moins bien prompt; car d'un costé jl est assez difficile d'avoir de certaines preuves des faits les plus graves, et d'un autre les ordres qu'on donne sur ces sortes de matieres peuvent estre fort aisement eludés

Il est donc necessaire d'agir sur les lieux; Et jl ne doit estre question que des moyens qui peuvent estre les plus convenables pour le faire avec avantage

Nous ignorons ceux que M. de Lajonquiere aura employés cette année. Vous en serés instruit a vostre arrivéé a Quebec; Mais quels qu'ils soient, et quel qu'en ait esté le Succés, S'il vous reste encore quelque chose a faire, coe jl n'y a que trop d'apparence, vous devés avoir principalement pour objet d'éviter, autant qu'il sera possible une guerre sauvage a ce sujet.

Les guerres de cette espece sont toujours, ainsi que S. M vous l'observe elle mesme dans vostre instruction, extremement couteuses; Et jl est fort rare qu'on en retire quelque avantage

[*Translation*]

that court may have to answer His Majesty's wishes for the maintenance of peace, his complaints can have no success, at least in the near future; for on one side it is difficult enough to have certain proof of the most serious facts, and on the other the orders given on matters of this kind may be very easily evaded.

It is then necessary to act on the spot; and there should be no question save as to the means most proper to do it with advantage.

We do not know what means M. de la Jonquière may have employed this year. You will learn of them on your arrival at Quebec. But whatever they are and whatever may have been their success if anything remains for you to do, as there is but too much appearance that there will be, you must have it as your principal object to avoid as far as possible an Indian war on this affair.

Wars of that kind are always, as His Majesty observes to you yourself in his instructions, extremely expensive; and very



réel pour le service. Vous devés mesme estre prevenu que le plus souvent elles n'ont esté causées que par des interêts particuliers, et qui dans toutes les occasions vous devés estre en garde contre les insinüations qui pourront vous estre faites, et les pieges qu'on pourra mesme vous tendre pour vous y entraîner

Ainsi sans entre prendre, coe il paroît que c'estoit l'idée de M. de Lajonquiere, de faire retirer de la riviere d'Ohio les sauvages qu'on regarde depuis quelque temps coe rebelles ou suspects, et sans vouloir mesme detruire la liberté de leur traite, jl faut vous fixer a deux objets principaux

1 a faire tous les efforts possibles pour chasser les Anglois de nos terres dans ces cantons là, et les empescher d'y venir faire la traite, en saisissant leurs mases et detruisant leurs postes.

2 a faire entendre en mesme temps aux sauvages que ce n'est point a eux qu'on en veut, qu'ils auront la liberté d'aller tant qu'ils voudront faire la traite chez les anglois, mais qu'on ne souffrira point qu'ils les reçoivent sur nos terres

[*Translation*]

rarely is any real advantage for the service gained from them. You should even be forewarned that most frequently they are caused only by private interests and that on all occasions you should be on guard against the hints that may be given you and the snares which may be laid to entrap you into them.

Accordingly without undertaking, as apparently was the idea of M. de la Jonquière, to force the withdrawal from the Ohio River of the Indians who for some time have been regarded as rebels or suspects, and without even wishing to destroy their freedom of trade, it is necessary for you to settle on two principal objects.

Firstly, to make all possible efforts to drive the English from our lands in those regions and to prevent them from coming there to trade by seizing their goods and destroying their posts. Secondly, at the same time to make the Indians understand that we have no designs on them, and that they shall have the liberty of going when they wish to trade with the English, but that we will not allow them to receive the English on our lands.

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Si vous parvenés a ces deux objets vous assurerez la tranquillité de nos possessions dans ces Quartiers là ; Et en agissant ainsi jl est certain que pourvû qu'on y entretienne des magasins bien munis de mases et que l'on empesche nos Traitteurs de faire la loy aux sauvages, nostre Traitte y reprendra bientost la superiorité sur celle des Anglois ; car on sait que les Sauvages n'aiment point a aller la faire dans leurs villes ou dans leurs forts.

Telles sont les intentions du Roy sur la conduite que vous avés a tenir dans les mouvements dont les païs d'enhaut sont agités. Jl me reste a vous parler encore d'un article qui y est relatif, et qui a esté traité dans un Conseil Solemnel que M. de Lajonquiere a tenu au mois de juillet der avec Les Nontagues des Cinq Nations jroquoises en presence des chefs des Jroquois domiciliés, des Abenakis de St françois et des Outaoüois de Missilimakinak. Les Nontagues ont avancé dans leur parole que les terres de la riviere d'ohio leur appartenoient. M. de Lajonquiere leur a repondu d'une maniere a favoriser leur pretention, en leur

[*Translation*]

If you attain these two objects you will be sure of the tranquillity of our possessions in this country. And in thus acting, it is certain that provided you keep up warehouses well filled with merchandise and prevent our traders from imposing on the Indians, our trade will soon regain superiority over that of the English ; for it is known that the Indians do not like to go to trade in their towns or in their forts.

Such are the intentions of the king as to the conduct which you have to follow in the movements which agitate the up-country. It remains for me to speak to you on the related article which was treated in a solemn council which M. de la Jonquière held in the month of July last with the Onondaga of the Five Iroquois Nations in the presence of the chiefs of the domiciled Iroquois, of the Abnaki of St. Francis, and the Ottawa of Mackinac. The Onondaga set forth in their speech that the lands of the river Ohio belonged to them. M. de la Jonquière answered them in such a way as to admit their claim, making them under-

faisant entendre que les françois ne s'établiront point sur ces terres sans leur permission. L'observaon que je vous ai déjà faite sur la pretention des Anglois doit vous faire juger que cette reponse de M. de Lajonquiere n'a point esté approuvée. Le Roy desire en effet que vous profitiés de toutes les occasions pour detruire l'impression qu'elle peut avoir fait et prevenir les consequences qu'on en pourroit tirer, en des abusant les Iroquois a cet egard. Ils n'ont, coe je vous l'ai déjà dit, aucun droit sur la riviere d'ohio. Nous l'avions decouverte, avant qu'ils la frequentassent; Et nous l'avons mesme frequentée dans le temps qu'ils n'y avoit d'autres sauvages que les Chaoüanons avec les quels jls estoient en guerre et qui ont toujours esté nos amis.

Je suis parf. M. obeïsst

MACARTY TO ROUILLÉ, June 1, 1752

[A N Colonies C13A 36:309]

MONSEIGNEUR

Je Eû L'honneur de Rendre Compte à Vôte Grandeur de La Rumeur des sauvages nos domicilliés Et des nations qui habitent

[*Translation*]

stand that the French would not settle upon those lands without their permission. The observations I have already made to you on the claim of the English should make you judge that this reply of M. de la Jonquière has been in no wise approved. The king in effect desires that you profit by all occasions to destroy the impression it may have made and prevent all the consequences that may result from it by disabusing the minds of the Iroquois in that respect. They have as I have already indicated to you no right on the Ohio River. We discovered it before they frequented it; and we have even frequented it when there were no other Indians there than the Shawnee, with whom they were at war and who have always been our friends.

I am perfectly, Monsieur, . . . obedient—

MONSEIGNEUR:

I had the honor to give an account to Your Greatness of the rumor among our domiciled Indians and the tribes that inhabit

La Belle Rivierre Et Le ouâbache occasionnée par deux Chevelures qu'y ont Eté faite L'automne dernier par Un partis du Canadas sur Le partis Rebelles Ce qu'y à soulevée nos domicillié allies par Le sang Jay marqué a vôte grandeur Les differents Coups que les Ennemis onts fait sur nos Rivierres; dans nos postes montant à dix huit personnes quils nous onts tué;

avec peine nos domicilliée se sonts Rangee á Leurs villages Entre La Crainte Et Lesperance faisant des Resolutions de nous abandonner. La necessité de nous Les menager ma fait prendre La voyé de La douceur n'estant pas asses fort pour Les Teraser Craignons d'en faire comme d'un nid d'abeilles qu'y Estant Repandûs de tous Cottées serois plus à mesme de faire des Coups surs nos Voÿageurs, quoy que avec apparence ils onts Eú part  
309v

à L'affaire du huit decembre Dernier ayants arresté deux de Leurs gens prisonniers Ils onts travaillé à m'en dissuader disans que ces gens La n'estoient avec nos Ennemis que pour aller En guerre aux chicachas;

[Translation]

the Ohio River and the Wabash occasioned by two scalps which were taken last fall from the rebels by a party from Canada. This has aroused our domiciled Indians who are allied by blood to them. I have indicated to Your Greatness the different attacks which the enemy have made on our rivers and in our posts amounting to eighteen people whom they have killed.

With difficulty our domiciled Indians have settled themselves in their villages between fear and hope, making resolutions to abandon us. The necessity of our managing them tactfully made me take the method of gentleness since I was not strong enough to domineer over them, fearing they would be like a hive of bees which, spreading in all directions, would be more likely to make attacks on our *voyageurs*. Although to all appearance they had a share in the affair of December 8 as two of their people were taken prisoners, they have worked to persuade me otherwise, saying that these people were with our enemies only for the purpose of making war on the Chickasaw. During the winter they

Ils meons Ramenée L'hivert plusieurs voyageurs En différentes fois Crainte qu'ils ne Leurs arrivassent accidents Et qu'on ne Leurs Imputasent ils onts travaillé a faire Rentrer Les Rebelles a Leurs devoirs; Ils m'onts donné maintes marques de leurs fidelité a quoy je ay Repondû En Leurs Renettans Leurs prisonniers Equeiques petits presents yl y á un mois;

Leurs faisant sentir La nécessité quils avoients à nous Conserver j'apprend qu'une partye des Chefs de Ces Nations Rebelles s'acheminent a la paix du Cotté du Canadas; Ils doivent venir ycy Mr de Lignerÿ quy Commande aux ouyastanons me marque avoir Receüé plusieurs paroles des chefs du vermillon qu'ils doit Envoyer à monsieur de La Jonquiere;

Ce general me marque La disette de vivres En Ce paÿs m'a donne des ordres de faire fournir des vivres Les postes du Canadas jusqu'au Detroit En Lard, farinnes, Bled d'inde, graise, tabac. J'ay fait partir un Convois Le mois de mars pour aller porter Les provisions de Cette année au dit poste; yl Est de Retour ycy depuis quelques jours ayans Remis Les vivres aux

[Translation]

brought back to me several *voyageurs* at different times lest some accident might befall them and lest it should be imputed to them. They have worked to make the rebels return to their duty. They have given me many marks of their fidelity to which I have answered by freeing their prisoners and by some little presents a month ago, letting them feel their need of retaining us. I learn that a party of the chiefs of these rebel nations is moving toward peace on the side of Canada; they should come here. M. de Ligneris, who commands at Ouiatanon, tells me that he had received several speeches from the chiefs of the Vermilion which he was to send to M. de la Jonquière.

That general informs me of the lack of provisions in that country and has given me orders to have provisions furnished to the posts of Canada as far as Detroit in pork, flour, corn, grease, and tobacco. I sent off a convoy in the month of March to go and carry this year's provisions to that post. It returned here a few days ago, having carried the provisions to the troops of

troupes du Canadas, Lon me marque Estre Bien pres d'arriver a Leurs destination; jé n'ay pû Leurs donner tout L'augmentation de vivres quon me demandoit faute de monde Et de voitures

La dizette me fait augurer L'impossibilité ou sera monsieur  
 310  
 de La Jonquiere D'envoyer cette année un parties de françois Capables de Reprimer les Rebelles;

Jay fait forcer de semences, Les Recoltes onts Belle apparence Et j'espere Estre En Etat au mois d'aouts d'avoir des vivres abondâment je fait Le detail de tout Ce quy C'est passé jcy a messieurs de la Jonquiere Et de Vaudreuil afin quils prennent Les arrangemens qu'ils Croyons Estres Les plus necessaires pour La paix ou la guerre Le Convois quy portoit les vivres, a fait Rencontre de Laimable Sergent, Et doué fusillier, du party des vingt un deserteurs du vingt huit fevrier, Rapportèrent quêtant allée quatre a la chasse ils furent Degrade par Les autres donc un nommé La Lime fût noyé Et augustin perdu ayant Laissé Les autres depuis trente six jours mourois Dynanition, ont Les fits metre aux

[*Translation*]

Canada. I am told that they should very soon arrive at their destination. I have not been able to accord them all the increase of provisions that was asked for want of men and of transportation. This shortage makes me augur the impossibility of M. de la Jonquière's sending this year a party of French capable of repressing the rebels.

I have caused the sowings to be increased. The crops look well, and I hope in the month of August to have abundant provisions. I am reporting the details of what has happened here to Messieurs de la Jonquière and de Vaudreuil in order that they may take the arrangements that they believe most necessary for peace or war. The convoy which carried the provisions met L'Aimable, the sergeant, and Doué, a private from the party of twenty-one deserters of February 28. They reported that four of them having gone on a hunt, they were left by the others; one of whom, named La Lime, was drowned and Augustin lost; they left the others thirty-six days earlier, and dying of hunger. They were put in irons and turned over to the guard at Vincennes.

fers Et consigné a La garde du poste De Vincennes ; ils deserters de rechef avec Le Caporal de garde nommé Linga, Et moreau Soldat En faction ; Il paroits que quelques Soldats ou habitans Leurs ont pretté La main tant pour Lamunition qu'une voiture armée, Deux habitants Les ayants vû descendre vis a vis La Rivierre Blanche à douze Lieües du poste, ils pense qu'ils ont pris par La Belle Rivierre ; ou Le Nommé deguir chasseurs Et voyageurs nous apprend qu'étant Rencontré par Les Dix Sept Deserters Ils Luy Couper sa pirogué prirent Une partié de sa chasse, L'obligeant d'entrer dans La leurs, de Les Conduire aux anglois : voyants La discorde qu'y Regnoit Entre Eux, pres à se fusiller à chaque moment. Le menaçan de pareille sort. une nuit pleuvieuse Etant pres de la chute de la Belle Rivierre Les autres s'étants Retirés du Bord, de L'eau, il saisié le moment de se gliser dans La Voiture avec son fils Les degradá Et traversans immediatement

310v

La Rivierre a peine fûts Il un peût Eloigné quils Entendis tarrer plusieurs Coups de fusils Il Croit quils sentre tuois, En Leur porta Leurs Butin, Les Laissá avec deux Livres de poudre

[Translation]

Thence they deserted again with a corporal of the guard, named Linga, and Moreau, a private on guard. Apparently some soldiers or inhabitants gave them aid, both munitions and an armed boat, two inhabitants having seen them descending opposite the White River twelve leagues from the post. They think they have taken the route of the Ohio River where the person named Deguir, a hunter and *voyageur*, informs us that he encountered the seventeen deserters; they cut his pirogue, took a part of his kill, and obliged him to enter their pirogue and to lead them to the English. Seeing the discord which reigned among them, they being ready to shoot each other every minute and threatening him with a like fate, on a rainy night, being near the Falls of the Ohio River and the others having left the edge of the water, he seized the opportunity to slip into the boat with his son, left them and immediately crossing the river had hardly got a little way when he heard several gunshots fired. He believed that they were killing each other. He had carried away their booty and left them



La moitié sans armes ayants deux Cents Lieües a faire pour trouver un azille ont n'a tout Lieu de Croire que ces malheureux perirons dans Les Bois ;

La Circonstance ou nous nous sommes trouvé de cette petite guerre Le peut de monde jointe a se que nous Croyons qu'ils avoient pris Le Bas de la Colonnée ou j'avois Envoyé une voiture avertir. que des voyageurs descendans du haut n'avoient Rien Rencontré Ce quy Empescha Le detachement de poursuivre plus Loing ayant une nuit de derive davanse, Sans cela il ne s'en seroit pas echapé un ;

Jé Eû L'honneur d'envoyer a Votre Grandeur Le procès Criminel par Contumace de ces vingt un deserteurs, Je Joints ycy Celuy Des deux derniers ;

Jé Conserve Le Chef Des peanguichias prisonnier avec un autre aux fers que nous avons arrêté dans L'affaire du huit Decembre dernier C'est Ce quy nous a occasionné Jusqu'aujourd-huÿ La tranquillité,

Ce chef avoit toujours Ete attaché aux françois, Comme jé Eû L'honneur de vous marquer, La difference du prix Des

[*Translation*]

with two pounds of powder, half of them without arms, having two hundred leagues to go to find shelter. Accordingly there is every reason to believe that these wretches will perish in the forests. The circumstances in which we have found ourselves in this little war, and the few men that we have, joined to the fact that we believed that they had gone to the lower part of the colony whither I had sent a boat to give warning, and the fact that some *voyageurs* coming down from the upper river saw no one, prevented the detachment from pursuing them farther as they had a night's start; otherwise not one would have escaped. I had the honor to send Your Greatness the criminal proceedings in default against these twenty-one deserters. I join herewith proceedings against the two last.

I keep the Piankashaw chief prisoner in irons with another Indian whom we arrested in the affair of the eighth of December last. It is this which has given us tranquillity up to now. This chief had always been attached to the French as I had the honor

Marchandises Entre L'anglois Et nous onts fait Ces troubles.  
Le meilleur Remede qu'on peût y porter seroit de faire Un  
Etablissement du Cotté de La chute de la Belle Rivierre y donner  
Les marchandises au prix de l'anglois ;

Cela meteroit nos Rivierres Et nos postes Eloigné a couverts  
Cette Contagion ne passeroit pas dans La Rivierre du misoury  
311

doù L'on attiré Beaucoup De pelleteries Cette année Vingt cinq  
Canots sont partis chargé de Castors Et chevreuille pour Michel  
makina, Une partie Du chevreuille doit descendre a la nouvelle  
orleans. L'on tirreroit Beaucoup plus de pelleteries sy Lon  
s'attachoit aux groses que Le transport En Canada Rend difficile  
Et le deffaut de marchandises de trette dans cette Colonnée, on ne  
trette point Encorre avec une partié Des nations. Eloigné du haut  
de cette Rivierre dont ont ne Connois point La source, quelques  
protestations que nos domicilliée me fassent. ils me seront tou-  
jours suspects jusqu'a Ce qu'ils ayent fait quelques Coups sur nos  
Ennemis avec quy ils sont trop Lié par Le sang Il seroit tres

[*Translation*]

to tell you. The difference in the price of merchandise between  
the English and us has caused these troubles. The best remedy  
that could be applied would be to make a settlement at the Falls  
of the Ohio River and there supply them with merchandise at the  
same price as the English. This would put our rivers and our  
distant posts under shelter. Thus this contagion would not spread  
to the Missouri River, from which much peltry was drawn this  
year. Twenty-five canoes have left loaded with beaver and deer-  
skins for Mackinac. Part of the deerskins are to be sent down to  
New Orleans. Much more peltry would be obtained here if in-  
terest was taken in coarse peltry; the transportation of it into  
Canada is difficult from its bulk, and trade goods are scarce in that  
colony. We still do not trade with a part of the tribes which are  
far off on the upper part of that river the source of which is  
not known.

Whatever protestations our domiciled Indians may make to  
me, I shall always be suspicious of them until they have made  
some attacks on our enemies with whom they are too closely

difficile de Leurs faire faire La guerre Les uns Contre Les autres  
 quoy que L'interets seul Les menne, Ce n'est quavec des petits  
 presents quon peût se Les attacher Leurs faisans sentir Linterets  
 quils onts de nous Conserver sans quoy ils perderoients Ces petits  
 presents Et tant dautres Biens faits qu'ils Recoivent Du françois ;

j'ay Envoyé un petit memoire à monsieur de la Jonquiere  
 qu'il ma demandé, De L'etat present Des choses d'un Etablis-  
 sement Indispensable de faire dans La Belle Rivierre: Un coup  
 d'oeüil sur une Coste Exact, Convaincroÿ de mes propositions,  
 plus que Jé ne pourois Dire ; jé Craindois D'Entrer avec Vôte  
 grandeur Dans Des Matieres dont Elle ne m'a point chargé, jé  
 Laisse à ces Messieurs que jinstruis des moindres particularites a  
 Le faire ; Jé Eté faire quelques tournées avec Mr Le Commissaire  
 Et Mr Lingenieur, nous avons Vû Les plus Belles prairies quy se  
 puissent arrosée de Rivierres: De Lacs De Bois ; Le plus Beau  
 Coup d'oëüil qu'on puissent voir, nous sommes En Etat de  
 recevoir tous Les habitans qu'on voudroit nous donner ; Les

[*Translation*]

allied by blood. It would be very difficult to induce them to make war against each other even though interest alone induced them to it. It is only with little presents that they can be attached to us by letting them feel the interest which they have in keeping us ; otherwise they would lose these little presents and many other benefits which they receive from the French.

I have sent a little memoir to M. de la Jonquière which he asked of me concerning the present condition of things and regarding a settlement which it is absolutely essential to make on the Ohio River. A glance at an exact map will convince one of the truth of my proposals more than I could with words. I should be afraid of entering with Your Greatness into matters with which you have not charged me. I left that to these gentlemen to do, whom I have informed down to the smallest particulars.

I have made some trips with M. the commissary and M. the engineer. We have seen the finest prairies imaginable watered with rivers ; lakes, woods, the most beautiful landscape one could see. We are in a condition here to receive all the inhabitants they care to give us. Cattle, provisions, land for sowing are not want-

Bestiaux, Les vivres, Les semences, ne manque point En Leurs  
faisants seulement quelques avances pour avoir une charüé;  
311v

deux Cents habitans de Cette sorte dans une an fourniroient plus  
de Vivres quils n'en seroit necessaire au Bas de la Colonné Et La  
fortifiroints;

jay Eü L'honneur De Represente a Votre Grandeur  
Leloignement ou Le poste des Illinois me metoit d'un Bien que je  
Eu de la peine a former; De ma nombreuse famille; Le plus  
Encien au service Du Roy depuis vingt un an dans cette colonie  
de Lieutenance de Roy dela nouvelle orleans vacante par la mort  
de Mr De Noyant, me feroit Esperer que Votre Grandeur aura  
Bien voulü avoir Egard à ma situation mes services, En mac-  
cordants Cette place ou du moins Le mesme grade Icÿ En atten-  
dans quelle Eüts Loccasion de me Rapprocher; Et La facillite de  
pouvoir my soutenir ycy En maccordans quatre tonneaux de  
frette dans Les vaisseaux De Roÿ quy viennent à notre Colonné  
pour suplée aux Depenses qu'on Est obligé De faire dans ce  
poste doü tout Est Eloigné, grace quÿ a Eté accordé à mes prede-

[Translation]

ing if only some advances were made to them for plows. Two  
hundred inhabitants of this sort in a year would furnish more  
provisions than would be necessary for the lower colony and  
would protect it.

I had the honor to represent to Your Greatness how far the  
remoteness of the Illinois post kept me from an estate which I  
have taken pains to form for my numerous family. I am senior  
in the king's service, and have been twenty-one years in this  
colony. The lieutenancy of the king at New Orleans vacant by  
the death of M. de Noyan makes me hope that Your Greatness  
will be good enough to have regard to my situation and my  
services by allowing me that place, or at least the same rank here  
while awaiting an opportunity to move me closer to New Orleans.  
I hope also to be allowed assistance in maintaining myself here by  
being allowed four tons of freight in the king's vessels which come  
to our colony to supply the expenditures that one is obliged to  
make in this post where everything is far off. This favor has

cesseurs Ce poste Est Le plus Embarrassans de la Colonné, Un nombre De Voyageurs de toutes parts, La diciplinne des troupes, Le Bien public, Le gouvernement des sauvages quy Est la partié La plus Essentielle Et La plus Etendüé Un seul homme ne peut suffirent sy vôtre grandeur y formoit un Etat major Complet Le major seroit chargé du detaille des troupes, toutes ces particularites ne Laisent pas d'Estre Embarassants Et difficile a Bien Remplir pour une seul personne quy veux faire son devoir En tout. j'y ait donné Et y Donneray tous mes soins autant quil sera En moy ayants a Coœurs De vous prouver mon attachement Et

mon Zelle au service De sa Majesté<sup>312</sup> Et y meritter ces graces ; j'espere, que Vôtre Grandeur voudra Bien avoir Egard à ma Representation: Jay L'honneur DEstre avec un tres profond Respect ; Monseigneur

Vôtre tres humble Et tres obeissant Serviteur

MACARTY MACTIGNY

[Translation]

been accorded to my predecessors. This post is the most embarrassing in the colony; the numbers of *voyageurs* from all parts; the discipline of the troops; looking after the public welfare; the government of the Indians—which is the most essential and the most laborious part—one man only cannot suffice for it all. If Your Greatness would form here a complete *état major*, the major would be charged with details concerning the troops. These particulars are necessarily embarrassing and difficult to look after properly for one person only who wishes to do his duty in everything. I have given and will give all my pains to it so far as in me lies, having at heart to prove to you my attachment and my zeal to the service of His Majesty and to merit his favors. I hope that Your Greatness will be good enough to have regard to my representations.

I have the honor to be with very profound respect, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

MACARTY MACTIGUE

ROUILLÉ TO DUQUESNE AND BIGOT, July 9, 1752

[A N Colonies B95:245]

Dupta A Mrs Duquesne et Bigot

A COMPE le 9 Juillet 1752.

MRS

Les lettres que me sont venues par le Batteau le St Maudet m'ont annoncé des nouvelles peu satisfaisantes sur ce qui se passe du costé de la Belle Riviere. Je m'y étois en quelque sorte attendu sur celles que j'avois reçues par les drs vx venus l'année dre de Canada. Par l'examen qui avoit été fait des arrangemens pris par M. le Mis de La Jonquiere pour arrester tous ces mouvemts et retablir la tranquillité de ce costé là, ils n'avoient pas paru convenables, quoiqu'ils fussent fondés sur un sisteme generallement receu dans la Colonie; Et c'est par cette raison que le Roy a jugé à propos de prescrire un sisteme tout different à M. le Mis Duquesne.

En general il faut eviter toutes les guerres sauvages autant qu'il est possible sans compromettre la dignité du nom du Roy.

[*Translation*]

Duplicate MM. Duquesne and Bigot

COMPIÈGNE, July 9, 1752

MESSIEURS:

The letters which have reached me by the ship *St. Maudet* have given me the quite unsatisfactory news of what is happening in the direction of the Ohio River. I was in some degree prepared for it by the letters which I had received by the last ships from Canada of last year. On examining what has come of the measures taken by M. le Marquis de la Jonquière to check all these movements and reestablish tranquillity in that region, they have not appeared suitable although they were based on the policy generally accepted in the colony; and it is for this reason that the king has judged it proper to prescribe an altogether different policy to M. le Marquis Duquesne.

Generally it is necessary to avoid all Indian wars as far as is possible without compromising the dignity of the king's name.

C'est sur ce principe qu'au lieu de s'attacher, comme avoit fait M. de la Jonquiere et qu'a fait depuis M. de Longueuil, à assujettir les nations revolteés, il faut commencer par expulser les traitteurs anglois de la Belle Riviere; Et c'est aussi ce qui a été expressement prescrit à M. Duquesne. Il convient mesme de n'employer autant qu'on pourra que des françois à cette expedition; car outre qu'il seroit difficile dans les conjonctures presentes de faire fre serieusement la guerre à des sauvages par d'autres sauvages, il est bon de leur faire voir qu'on peut se passer de leurs secours.

Un des grands obstacles qu'on allegués les années dres pour remettre d'un temps à l'autre l'exécution de tous les projets, a été le defaut de canots. Je ne saurois trop recommander à M. Bigot d'en avoir toujours une certaine provision; Et cela est mesme d'autant plus necessaire que ceux qui serviront a l'expedition de la Belle Riviere seront tous perdus, s'il est vray, comme 245v  
cela m'est revenu, qu'on ne pourra pas les en rapporter.

Au surplus je comprends que cette expedition occasionnera de

[*Translation*]

It is on this principle that instead of devoting one's self as M. de la Jonquière had done and as M. de Longueuil has since done to subjugating the revolted tribes, one must begin by expelling the English traders from the Ohio River. And this is what has been expressly prescribed to M. Duquesne. It is even proper so far as possible to employ only French on this expedition; for in addition to the fact that it will be difficult in the present situation to have war made in earnest on Indians by other Indians, it is good to let them see that we can get on without their help.

One of the great obstacles alleged in former years to put off from time to time the execution of all these projects was the lack of canoes. I cannot too much recommend it to M. Bigot to have always a supply on hand; and this is all the more necessary since those which will be used on the expedition to the Ohio River will all be lost if it is true as has been reported to me that they cannot be brought back. Moreover I understand that this expedition will cause expense; but I hope that you will both be



la depense; mais j'espere que vous serez egalement attentif l'un et l'autre à en diminuer l'objet autant qu'il sera possible.

Le S. Abbé Piquet<sup>1</sup> Missionnaire du poste de la Presentation a formé le projet de faire aller en guerre un detachement assez considerable de sauvages contre la Nation du Chien. Cette entreprise, telle qu'elle m'a été rendue, paroît assez chimerique. Ce sera à M. le Mis Duquesne à en juger; Et le Roy s'est remis à sa prudence sur cela.

Il m'est revenu que M. de Longueuil a suspendu dans l'interieur de la Colonie les changements de garnisons qui avoient été prescrits à M. de la Jonquiere; mais je ne doute point que M. Duquesne ne les fasse exactement executer.

J'ay été informé aussi que M. de Longueuil a pris le party de retirer de la frontiere de l'Acadie presque tous les miliciens, et de les remplacer par des troupes reglées. Il est fort à craindre

[Translation]

attentive to diminishing it as much as possible.

The Sieur Abbé Picquet,<sup>1</sup> missionary at the post of La Presentation, has formed the project of sending a quite large detachment of Indians to make war on the tribe of the Dog. This plan as it has been reported to me appears sufficiently chimerical. It will be for M. le Marquis Duquesne to judge of it; and the king on that confides in his prudence. It has also come to me that M. de Longueuil has suspended for the interior of the colony the rotation of garrisons which had been prescribed to M. de la Jonquiere; but I do not at all doubt that M. Duquesne will have it carried out with exactitude.

I have also been informed that M. de Longueuil has taken the course of withdrawing from the frontier of Acadia nearly all the militia, replacing them by regular troops. It is much to be

<sup>1</sup>Abbé François Picquet, Sulpician. Born December 6, 1708; came to Canada in 1734, spending five years at Montreal and ten at the Christian Indian village of the Lake of the Two Mountains. In 1749 he began at his own expense the development of a Christian Iroquois village at La Presentation near the present Ogdensburg, New York. He drew many converts from the Six Nations. After the fall of New France he returned to France. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 69:295; *Documentary History of the State of New-York* (1849 ed.), 1:428-439.

que cela n'occasionne des desertions, et peut etre mesme d'autres desordres. Il convient sans doute de menager les habitants dans tous les mouvements qu'il peut y avoir à faire; mais il faut que ces menagements puissent se concilier avec les besoins du service; Et c'est sur ce principe que M. Duquesne doit agir à cet egard.

Je suis parft Mrs

ROUILLÉ TO DUQUESNE, July 9, 1752

[A N Colonies B95:246]

Dupta A M. le Mis Duquesne

A COMPIEGNE le 9. Juillet 1752.

MR

Je viens d'apprendre la mort de M. le Mis de la Jonquiere; Et je reçois en mesme temps des lettres de M. le Baron de Longueuil qui contiennent des details peu satisfaisants par raport aux Sauvages des païs d'en haut. Il paroît en effet que la fermentation a augmenté du costé des Miamis; Et qu'il y a eü quelques françois tûés tant par ces sauvages que par les Pean-guichias et les Tetes plates. Vous savez que sur les dernieres

[Translation]

feared that this may cause desertions and perhaps other disorders. Doubtless it is advisable to humor the inhabitants in all movements that have to be made; but it is necessary that such accommodations comport with the needs of the service, and it is on this principle that M. Duquesne should act in this respect.

I am perfectly, Messieurs—

Duplicate To M. le Marquis Duquesne

COMPIÈGNE, July 9, 1752

MONSIEUR:

I have just learned of the death of M. de la Jonquière; and I received at the same time the letters of M. le Baron de Longueuil which contain quite unsatisfactory details regarding the Indians of the upcountry. It appears in effect that the unrest has increased on the side of the Miami; and that some French have been killed both by these Indians and by the Piankashaw and the Flatheads. You know that from the last letters which I had re-

lettres que j'avois reçues de M. de la Jonquiere je m'étois attendu à quelque evenement de cette espece; Et les ordres qui vous ont été donnés sur cette matiere y sont relatifs.

On auroit prevenu les embarras où l'on se trouve si, des l'année 1750, ou du moins en 1751, ou peut etre meme cette année cy, on eut envoyé à la Belle Riviere des forces suffisantes pour en expulser les traitteurs anglois. M. de la Jonquiere avoit malheureusement adopté un systeme tout different. C'est à reduire les sauvages rebelles qu'il paroissoit uniquement s'attacher. M. le Baron de Longueuil est dans les mesmes principes; Et c'est en consequence qu'il a formi le projet de fre partir au mois d'aoust prochain M. le Cher de Longueuil son frere avec 400. hommes pour le Detroit d'ou il ira hiverner dans les postes les plus voisins des nations rebelles; et de lui envoyer le printemps prochain 500. hommes pour le mettre en état d'agir avec toutes ces forces, suivant les circonstances, contre ces nations.

Comme ce projet est opposé aux ordres qui vous ont été donnés sur la conduite que vous avez à tenir, je compte qu'à

[*Translation*]

ceived from M. de la Jonquière I had expected some event of this kind; and the orders which have been given you on this matter have been so conceived.

Our present embarrassment would have been avoided if in the year 1750 or at least in 1751 or perhaps even in the present year sufficient forces had been sent to the Ohio River to expel the English traders. M. de la Jonquière had unfortunately adopted an entirely different policy. It was to reducing the rebel Indians that he appeared solely to devote himself. M. le Baron de Longueuil is acting on the same principles; and consequently he has formed the plan of sending off in August next M. le Chevalier de Longueuil, his brother, with four hundred men to Detroit, whence he will go to winter in the posts nearest to the rebel tribes; and of sending him next spring five hundred men to enable him to act with all these forces against these tribes as circumstances may direct.

As this plan is contrary to the orders which have been given you as to the conduct which you have to follow, I count that on

votre arrivée à Québec vous en aurez arresté l'exécution, et que vous aurez en mesme temps fait vos dispositions pour commencer par chasser les traitteurs anglois de la Belle Riviere. C'est là en effet l'objet capital dans cette affaire. Les nations revolteés pour-

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ront se soumettre d'elles mesmes quand elles seront privées des secours et qu'elles ne seront plus exciteés par les jnstigations qu'elles reçoivent par la Belle Riviere; Ou si elles persistent à nous faire la guerre, ce sera avec beaucoup moins d'avantage, que si on laissoit aux traitteurs anglois la facilité de les fournir de toutes choses.

Vous etes desja prevenu que vous trouverez bien des gens en Canada qui chercheront à vous inspirer le sisteme qui a regné dans les derniers arrangemens de M. de la Jonquiere. Mrs de Longueuil seront de ce nombre. Leur affiliation aux Iroquois les porte naturellement à des menagements souvent mal entendus pour ces sauvages. C'est par cette raison qu'ils ont été disposés a convertir en une guerre sauvage l'affaire de la Belle Riviere qui devoit se passer entre les troupes du Roy et les traitteurs anglois,

[*Translation*]

your arrival at Québec you will have stopped its execution and that you will have at the same time made your arrangements to begin by driving the English traders from the Ohio River. That in effect is the capital object in this business. The revolted tribes will submit of themselves when they are deprived of help and when they are no longer stirred up by the instigations which they receive by the Ohio River. Or if they persist in making war on us it will be with much less advantage than if the English traders were left the opportunity of supplying them with everything.

You are already forewarned that you will find many people in Canada who will try to suggest to you the policy which reigned in the last arrangements made by M. de la Jonquière. MM. de Longueuil will be among them. Their affiliation with the Iroquois naturally disposes them to manipulations which are often inexpedient for these Indians. It is for this reason that they have been disposed to turn into an Indian war the affair of the Ohio River, which should be confined to the king's troops and the Eng-

qui seroient trouvés sur les terres de France: Elle ne devoit intéresser les sauvages qu'autant qu'ils auroient soutenu ces traiteurs par la force; Et c'est ce qui n'arrivera pas lors qu'on agira avec des forces suffisantes. D'ailleurs en cas de résistance ce ne seroit qu'avec les Iroquois qu'on courroit risque de se brouiller; Et cela nous conserveroit les autres nations qui les haïssent.

Il ne me reste que deux observations à faire à cet égard: L'une qu'il convient de n'employer autant qu'il sera possible que des François dans l'expédition de la Belle Rivière, et que ce seroit s'abuser que d'entreprendre dans les circonstances actuelles de faire sérieusement la guerre aux sauvages par d'autres sauvages; Et l'autre qu'il seroit très important que cette expédition pût être couverte de quelque autre prétexte apparent afin de surprendre les traiteurs Anglois avec leurs marchandises; ce qui seroit plus propre à les dégoûter de ce commerce que toutes les autres mesures qu'on pourroit prendre.

Je suis parft M. Ob t

[Translation]

lish traders who may be found on the lands of France. It is not necessary to involve these Indians except in so far as they would have sustained these traders by force; and that will not happen if you act with sufficient force. Moreover in case of resistance it would only be with the Iroquois that you would run the risk of being embroiled and that would secure us the other tribes who hate them.

I have only two more observations to make on this matter; one that it is proper so far as possible to employ only French in the expedition to the Ohio River and that it would be only to delude one's self to undertake in the actual circumstances to have war seriously made on Indians by other Indians. The other is that it would be very important that this expedition should be cloaked by some other ostensible pretext in order to surprise the English traders with their goods. That would better serve to disgust them with this trade than any other measures that could be taken.

I am perfectly, Monsieur, . . . obedient—

LONGUEUIL TO ROUILLÉ, August 18, 1752

[A N Colonies C11A 98:350]

MONSEIGNEUR

.....  
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La Scituation de nos affaires du Côté du Detroit devenoit  
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tous les Jours plus facheuse, et par Surcroit de malheur j'étois dans la dure nécessité de renoncer faute de vivres au projet que j'avois formé pour venger la mort de nos françois et ramener nos Rebelles. Tous les Commandants me confirmoient leur conspiration Contre les françois, et Je ne pouvois y porter remede. heureusement qu'un party d'Environ 250. Sauvages de Misilimakina à attaqué le fort de la Demoiselle, qui est decedé, en à detruit Environ 26. et que les autres ont demandé Grace. on pretend que les Chefs de ce party doivent dessendre à Montreal. M. le General leur parlera, et j'Espere qu'il retablira la tran-

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quilité dans les paix les plus menacés. Je la desire très Sincèrement en bon Citoyen, et en bon Serviteur du Roy.

[Translation]

MONSEIGNEUR:

.....  
The situation of our affairs on the side of Detroit became every day more annoying, and by a multiplication of evils I was under the hard necessity of giving up for want of provisions the project which I had formed to avenge the death of our French and to bring back our rebels. All the commandants confirmed to me the conspiracy against the French, and I could apply no remedy to it. Happily a party of about 250 Indians of Mackinac has attacked the fort of La Demoiselle, who is dead, and killed about twenty-six, and the others have asked pardon. It is asserted that the chiefs of this party are to come down to Montreal. M. the general will talk with them and I hope he will reëstablish tranquillity in the most threatened regions. I desire it very sincerely as a good citizen and as a good servant of the king.

Je suis avec un très profond Respect Monseigneur  
Votre tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur

LONGUEÜIL

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Jajoute monseigneur que dans le nombre des Sauvages  
qui ont esté tûe, il y avoit six anglois commercens dont tous leur  
magasin ont esté pillé par nos Sauvages qui En tue deux, la  
nouvelles ne nous est pas Encor bien détaillé

[*Translation*]

I am with very profound respect, Monseigneur,  
Your very humble and very obedient servant,

LONGUEUIL

I add, Monseigneur, that in the number of Indians killed  
there were six English traders whose storehouse has been pil-  
laged by our Indians, who killed two of them. Our news is not  
yet detailed.



## CHAPTER VIII

### AFFAIRS IN THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY,

SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER, 1752

MACARTY TO VAUDREUIL, September 2, 1752<sup>1</sup>

[H M LO 376]

AUX KASKAKIAS Le 2 7bre 1752

Reprodu ce 25.Xbre 1752

MONSIEUR

Depuis Le deux de Juin que J'ay Eus L'honneur de vous informer Du coup arrivee La veille aux mekchy Et kaos qui avoient Semmée Ensemble dans Laprehensions d'estre frappee des renars En represailles des Sept quils avoient Tuée L'anneé dernierre ce partis Estoit composee de Renards, Sioux, Sakis, poutoutatamis, pians, Et fols avoines, tuerent ou prirent Soixente Et dix personnes tant hommes, femmes, qu'enfants Brulerent dix ou douse cabannes Exposerent des membres des morts de tous cotees J.

[*Translation*]

KASKASKIA, September 2, 1752

Answered December 25, 1752

MONSIEUR:

It was the second of June when I had the honor to inform you of the attack made the night before on the Michigamea and Cahokia who had sowed their fields together in the fear of being attacked by the Foxes in reprisal for the seven they had killed last year. The attacking party, composed of Foxes, Sioux, Sauk, Potawatomi, Winnebago, and Menominee, killed or captured seventy people, men, women, and children, burned ten or twelve cabins, and scattered about the limbs of the dead.

<sup>1</sup> This was apparently dictated and then corrected by Macarty or by someone with a little sense of spelling.

J'appris de Mr adanville<sup>1</sup> qu'ils L'avoient rejoins après Le Coup á trois Lieux des cahos Le forcerent De metre á terre Pour fumer Et Leurs Donner du pains, Jls Estoient une Soixente aine de canots Et Beaucoup de monde par terre, Jls Les Estimoit á quatre ou cinq cent Jl Leurs demanda d'ou Jls Venoient Jls luy Raconterent Le coup arrivée La Veille qu'ils L'avoient Biens vus mais qu'ils n'avoient pas Voulus Se faire Decourir ny me venir parler de crainte que Leurs coup ne menqua ou que Je Les Empêcha De frapper; Jls avoient Trente chevelures, Jls En avoient Bruler trois ou quatre Et menoient des prisonniers quils Estoient contens Et venger du coup Des gens quils ávoient perdus. Jls disent á des voyageurs de ce Biens garder qu'il y auroit des Sioux En parties cet Estée au Sujet de Leurs grands chefs quils ont perdus á cet affaire Les Ennemis ont perdus quatres hommes, Jls disent ávoir rencontre En venent Les douze canots de voyageurs qui Estoient partis pour michelimaquinat qun Leurs

[Translation]

I learned from M. Adamville<sup>1</sup> that they had met him after the attack three leagues from Cahokia. They forced him to land in order to smoke and to give them bread. They were some sixty canoes and many people on land. He estimated them at four hundred or five hundred. He asked them whence they came. They told him of the attack of the night before; they had seen him, but they had not wished to disclose themselves or come to speak to me for fear their attack would fail, or I would prevent them from striking. They had thirty scalps, they had burned three or four persons, and were taking the prisoners with them; they said they were satisfied and had by the blow avenged the people they had lost. They told the *voyageurs* to be on their guard as there were Sioux war parties out this summer to revenge the great chiefs whom they lost in the former affair. The attacking party lost four men. They say they met on their way the twelve canoes of the *voyageurs* who had left for Mackinac, who

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, xlviii. The list of officers does not include an "Adanville" or "Adamville." Earlier references in the documents are to "Adam."

avoient donnee une Letre á Remetre quils L'avoient donnee á un franais Efectivement Jay L'ay Reus Le Cinq;

Le trois du mesme mois ont maveris qu'il y avoit deux canots Decorse Entre Le fort de chartre Et icy ont y trouva une tente quelque peau Et arrias de voiage parmy Lesquels ont trouvat une Letre de mr delajonquierre du trois Juillet mil Sept cent cinquante qui Recommendoit Le nommee peuhipaotte chefs á Medaills des Sakis aux franais

Le m me Jour trois arkansas arriverent des osages furent arret s Par Les illinois Jls les prenoient pour des Renards, Mr monchervaux Les fit relacher Jls Rapportent avoir Est e aux ozages avec Le nomm e dulongpre e qui abandonna En chasse Son Bourgeois du cot s des nachitoches ayant Rencontree Les Cadaux Et fut avec Eux au ark ou Jl restat un mois a chasser pour Mr dulinot, Et dans une chasse Jl rencontra trois arkansas Et Les Engagea d'aller aux ozages dela Jl furent En guerre avec cette nations aux panis ou Jls ont Estee Sans Riens faire Jls ont Lais e dulongpre e apr s avoir chasser pour quelleque Tems du

[Translation]

had given them a letter to forward which they had given to a Frenchman. Actually I received it the fifth.

The third of the same month I was told that there were two bark canoes between here and Fort de Chartres. A tent with some skins and traveling equipment was found, among it a letter of M. de la Jonqu re of July 3, 1750, which recommended the Indian called Peuhipaotte, medal chief of the Sauk, to the French.

The same day three Quapaw arrived from the Osage. They were stopped by the Illinois, who took them for Foxes. M. Montchervaux had them released. They reported that they had been to the Osage with the man called Dulongpre e, who had left his master while hunting in the direction of Natchitoches, having met the Caddo; he had stayed with them at the Arkansas, where he remained a month to hunt for M. de Lino. On a hunt he met three Quapaw and induced them to go to the Osage. Thence they went to war with that tribe against the Pawnee, where they remained without doing anything. They left Dulongpre e after

chevereuille pour Luy qu'il a traiter pour du drap á des voyageurs aux ozages Et Sont redessendus icy avec Le nommée Roulier ont Leurs á donnee une partis du ce qui ces trouvée dans les canots Sakis Et Les aye Envoyee Joindres Mr Ledoux qui Estoit au Bas de la rivierre Luy Escrivant qu'il me menquoit Le nommée Le Grand, Le Soir ont avertis qu'il menquoit Le nommee glisette quon crois avoir vollee une piraugue au Roy au petit portages, Lun de La compagnie de Mr Monchervau Et Lautre de La Compagnie de La mazellierres ; J'envoyay un detachement apres Jusque dans L'ouabaches. J'apprens de Mr Le doux qu'ils Les a dans Son convois Je Joins icy Le proces par Contumace qui Est fait dans Son temps ;

Le Sept du mêmes mois Sur Les nouvelles d'un gros partis de Renards qui avoient rencontree celui qui avoit frapper icy qui dessendoient L'un Et L'autre par Eau Et par terre pour achever de detruire Les illinois tous Les hommes, femmes, Et Enfants des trois Villages arriverent de grand matins ayant marchee toute La nuist avec une pluye continuel, Sur La confirmations d'un

[Translation]

having hunted deer for some time for him which he has traded for cloth with the *voyageurs* at the Osage ; and they have come down here again with the man called Roulier. A part of what was found in the Sauk canoes was given them, and they were sent to join M. le Doux, who was at the mouth of the river. I wrote him that the man called Le Grand was missing, and in the evening I wrote him that a man called Glisette was missing, who was thought to have stolen one of the king's pirogues at the little portage. One was of the company of M. Montchervaux, and the other of that of Des Mazellieres. I sent a detachment after them to the Wabash. I hear of M. le Doux that he has them in his convoy. I annex the proceedings in default which were taken.

The seventh of the same month there was a report that a large party of Foxes had joined the party which had attacked here, and that both of them were coming down by land and water to finish the destruction of the Illinois. All the men, women, and children of the three Illinois villages reached here early in the morning, having walked all night in a continual rain, all on the

nommee Roulier venant des cahos qui disoit avoir Vuë, conter, Et parler a quatre vingt quatorze hommes, Et Le redit á moy mesme; La terreurs de Ses illinois Estoit Si grande que Je ne put Les Envoyay Reconnoistre, Jy Envoyay des français qui ne decouvrirent aucunes vestiges Et Jay puny mesme Le francais qui men avoit Jnposer, Jls ont restee Jusqu'au le onze Sans oser passer Les maisons des français quoy quon Les assurat quils ny avoient point d Ennemis; Jls Sen Sont aller Le onze Et Le douze Et Ensenallant au Vilage des mekchy qui Est prest l'establisement Jls urent Encore une forte alerte J'aurois Souhaiter que ce fut Estée Les renards, J'envoyay Mr de portneuf Et plusieurs autres personnes Pour voir Si L'on En trouveroit pas quelquun afin dengager Les chefs á me Venir parler;

Le traise du même mois il nous desertat quatre Soldats De La compagnie De Regiot, huit Esclaves Rouges quatres hommes Et quatres femmes Jenvoyay trois parties après, Mr de la mazellierre dans L'ouabaches Jusque Dans La Rivierre des charaquis

[*Translation*]

assurances of the man called Roulier coming from Cahokia, who said he had seen, counted, and spoken with ninety-four men, and who repeated his story to me. The terror of the Illinois was so great that I could not send them to reconnoiter. I sent French who found no traces, and I punished the Frenchman who had deceived me. The Illinois remained there until the eleventh, not daring to go beyond the houses of the French, although they were assured that there were no enemies to fear. They went away the eleventh, and on the twelfth, while going to the village of the Michigamea, which is near The Settlement, they had another sharp alarm. I could have wished that it was the Foxes; and I sent M. de Portneuf and several other persons to try to find them in order that the chiefs might be induced to come and speak with me.

The thirteenth of the same month four of our soldiers deserted from the company of De Reggio, with eight red slaves, four men and four women. I sent three parties after them, M. des Mazellières on the Wabash as far as the Tennessee River, M.

Mr Dusuau Dans Le missipy dont un cadet Et un metif devoient aller aux arkansas Les illinois devant revenir des Echores á prudhomme, Les Sauvages devoient Batre Les petite rivierre du cotees des ozages; Sept Esclaves rouges ont Estee pris du cotees des fourches de la Rivierre Blanche Et Rammenés;

J ay ápris par une Sauvagesse de la fatigue que Les quatres Soldats ávoient Estee Dans La rivierre a margot<sup>1</sup> qu'ils avoient montee cet rivierre une vingtaine de Jour Sans ávoir trouvee une vestiges que des cabannes d hivernements Sans vivre ny munitions prirent Le partis de Redecendre La Rivierre Jl y ávoit deux Jours que Les Soldats avoient abandonner La Sauvagesses L'orsquelle fut rencontree Sur Le fleuve par Mr Delagautrais á qui Elle dis que Ses Soldats dévoient aller aux Espagnols Et quil falloit quil ussent depasser Le convois Lá nuit parcequ'on avoit reconnus aucunes vestiges:

Je Reçus du traize du même mois une Letre de Mr De St

[*Translation*]

Dusseau on the Mississippi, of whose party a cadet and a half-breed were to go to the Arkansas; and the Illinois were to return from the Ecores à Prudhomme. The Indians were to search the Little River in the direction of the Osage. Seven red slaves were captured near the forks of the White River and brought back.

I learned from an Indian woman of La Fatigue that the four soldiers had been on the river à Margot,<sup>1</sup> that they had ascended that river for a score of days without having found a trace, except of the wintering cabins, without food or munitions, and had decided to go down the river again. The soldiers had left the Indian woman two days before, when she was encountered on the river by M. de la Gautrais, to whom she said that the soldiers intended to go to the Spaniards and that they must have passed the convoy in the night because no traces of them had been seen.

The thirteenth of the same month I received a letter from M.

<sup>1</sup> Wolf River, which has its mouth at Memphis, Tennessee. The Rivière Blanche referred to may be the White River to the east of the Arkansas. It is not clear whether the Indians went up the Maramec in the direction of the Osage villages or followed the river of that name flowing into the Missouri.

ange qui me marquoit que Les pianguichas ne faisoient Encore aucunes de marches pour Sa cheminer á La paix, Les chefs rebelles Se Sentoient trop coupable Et craignoient De Paroistre icy pour Leurs Satisfactions que Leurs façons D'agir dénotoit néanmoins n'avoir pas trouvee azille ny grand Secours du cotees de La Rivierre á La Roche Sedont JI nest pas Sur ; deux Sauvages illinois porteurs de la Letre mondis que Les Rebelles avoient Envoyee En deputations chez Les Anglais pour Les Engager á Venir Leurs portoit Des marchandises Et que ces deputés netoient pas de Retour. Le vingt quatre Juin JI Est arrivee icy deux chefs amedails Des quicapouë Et mascoutins nommee Sappingouate, Le fils De ouachionne qui mont assures après Leurs compliments D'affections que Le Loup n'etoit point des mauvaises affaires que ce n'estoit que La Jalousie des autres chefs pianguichias Sur L attachement pour Les français qu'il ávoit Engager dans L affaire du huit decembre pour Ly comprendre que comme il Estoit quicapoue Et Sa merre mascoutins Les deux nations me Le demendoient En grace Je Leurs dis La dessus ce

[*Translation*]

de St. Ange, who informed me that the Piankashaw were as yet making no advances to peace. The rebel chiefs felt themselves to be too blameworthy and feared to appear here to give satisfaction. Their way of acting indicated that they had found neither an asylum nor much help in the direction of Great Miami River ; of this however he is not sure. Two Illinois Indians who carried the letter told me that the rebels had sent a deputation to the English to induce them to come and bring them goods, and that this deputation had not returned.

June 24 two medal chiefs of the Kickapoo and Mascoutens, called Sappingouate, the son of Ouachione, arrived here, and after their compliments of affection assured me that Le Loup was not concerned in the ill affairs. It was only the jealousy of the other Piankashaw chiefs of his affection for the French which had involved him in the affair of December 8. They gave me to understand that since he was a Kickapoo and his mother Mascouten the two tribes asked me to pardon him.



que Je pensois Mr de Lignery me faisant Sentir par deux letres La necessitee dobliger ces deux nations qui Estoient Les Seuls Sur qui Jl put conter, Le Biens que Jay Entendus dire Et reconus Des actions du Loup fit que Je Leurs remis a Leurs Demendes L'ayant quelque Temps auparavant fait Sortir des ferts, Son frerre cadet Etoit avec Ses chefs un des quatres qui mont apportés cet hiver Les Letres de Mr de La Jonquierre Je Leurs fis un petit present il me remercierent de ceque Je Leurs rimetois Le Loup qu'ils non J'ammais Estee dans Les Sentiments d'abandonner Les français mais qu'ils auroient Eus Biens de la peine á mordre Sur Leurs Viandes Jls resterent icy quelques Jours. Le Loup massurat de nouveau qu'il n'avoit Jammais Consenties á trahir Le français quils n'e S'avoient riens du coup fait Le huit Decembre qu'il Estoit Et qu'il Seroit toujours reconnoissant Envers Le français qu'il contoit demeurer avec Les quicapouë Sa nations comme La plus afidee Et ne Reveroit plus Les pian-guichias que pour Leurs reprocher Leurs perfidie Mr de Lignery

[*Translation*]

On that I told them what I thought, M. de Ligneris having made me perceive by two letters the need of obliging these two tribes, the only ones on which he could count. I said that the good I had heard and seen as to the actions of Le Loup induced me to yield to their demands; some time before I had released him from his irons. His younger brother was with his chiefs, one of the four who had that winter brought me the letters of M. de la Jonquière. I made them a small present. They thanked me for restoring them Le Loup, saying that they had never in any case intended to abandon the French, but that they would have had much difficulty in eating their meat.

They remained here some days. Le Loup again assured me that he had never agreed to betray the French, that he knew nothing of the blow struck the eighth of December, that he was and always would be grateful to the French. He counted on dwelling with the Kickapoo, his tribe, as the most faithful and would never again see the Piankashaw, save to reproach them with their perfidy.

me marque que cela á fait un fort Bon Effet :

Les pianguichias ont fait Leurs possibles pour attirer Les quikapouë Et mascoutins de leurs parties qu'une Partis des ouyatanons Estoient avec Eux dans La Rivierre Blanche que ces nations avoient Reçus un collier des misamis ce printems pour se Lier Ensemble.

Jl me marque aussy qun Sauvages venant de la Rivierre Blanche á apris La deffaitte Et prise de quelques francais par Les Loups Jl Juge que Sont nos Deserteurs du vingt huit feuvrier ce qui a Estee Veriffiee quelque Tems après Les Loups ayants decouverts audessus de la chute de La Belle rivierre des pistes donnerent ápres ces deserteurs En tuerent dix Et prirent Le Reste prisonniers Mr de port neuf partis Le quatres Juillet Je Luy Recommendoit de menager Les nations du missoury de les Engager á faire quelques parties Sur Les mis Sans passer icy de même que Les ozages S'il Les Rencontroit de me Renvoyer quelque traitteurs qui Estoient Sans conges De ce cotee La de faire retablir Le fort par Les voyageurs puisque les cans Estoient

[*Translation*]

M. de Ligneris informs me that this has had a very good effect. The Piankashaw have done all they could do to draw the Kickapoo and Mascoutens from their course; a part of the Wea had been with them at White River. These tribes had received a wampum belt from the Miami this spring to join together. M. de Ligneris also informs me that Indians coming from White River learned of the defeat and capture of some French by the Delaware. He judges that they were our deserters of February 28, which was verified some time after; the Delaware having discovered tracks above the Falls of the Ohio River, gave chase to these deserters, killed ten, and took the rest prisoners.

M. de Portneuf left July 4. I recommended to him to be tactful with the Missouri tribes and to induce them and the Osage to send some war parties against the Miami without passing here. If he encountered some traders who were in that region without licenses, I directed him to send them back to me and to have the fort reestablished by the *voyageurs*, inasmuch as the Kansa were

venus a Leurs Enciennes Demeures Et nous donner des nouvelles de ce qui Setoit passee à Locasions des deux Sauvages tuee

Je Reçus une Letre du caporal des missoury qui me marque que depuis Le depart du Mr de port neuf JI y á Eus une femme Blessee prest Le fort Et une Vache de tuee que Les missoury viennent voller des chevaux, deux ont Estee tuee; qu'il y avoit Eus un coup De Vent qui avoit Jettee Toutes cheminees Et Endomager Les Batiments;

Mr adanville me marque que Les pius de fort qui y Estoit Etoit tout de labre qu'il Serat obbligee a Le faire refaire cet autonne qu'il avoit Éstee Biens Reçus des peoriat Et avoient tous pris Les armes pour Le Recevoirs que Le L'endemain Jls furent tous chez Luy La plus Part pleurerent Leurs parents quils avoient perdus á La faire des mekchy.

La peau Blanche partisant des cahos Leurs persuadant que Les Sakis avoient Estee chee moy áprés Le coup Jls m'ont amener deux Esclaves Et que Je Les avoient áceptees que

[*Translation*]

returned to their old homes. I directed him also to give us reports of what had happened with respect to the two Indians who were killed.

I received a letter from the corporal at the Missouri who informs me that after the departure of M. de Portneuf a woman was wounded near the fort and a cow killed; the Missouri had come to steal horses and two of them had been killed; there had been a windstorm which had blown down all the chimneys and damaged the buildings.

M. Adamville informs me that the pickets of the fort there were all ruined and that he would be obliged to rebuild it that autumn. He had been well received by the Peoria, who had taken arms to do it. Next day they all came to his house. Most of them bewailed their relatives whom they had lost in the attack on the Michigamea.

La Peau Blanche, a partisan of the Cahokia, sought to persuade them that the Sauk had been to see me after the attack, that they had brought me two slaves, and that I had accepted

cetoit moy qui Les faisoit tuer que ce Seroit Bientost Leurs tour cet officier fit des reproches á La peau Blanche devant Lassemblee JI dit quil avoit crus Layant appris de harangouatat considere du Village des cas ce qui L'avoit Engager d aller au peoriast JI me marque aussy que Le chef a medails Des Soldats Le plus attachees aux franais Est mort que Les Sauteurs ont tuee Le Six de juin deux péoriast aune demy Lieux de Leurs Villages En Represailles d'un coup qu'ils avoient fait Sur Les Sauteurs Lennee dernière Jls ne parlent pas de Sen venger Jls vouloient frapper aux Sakis Mr adamville Les En a detourner y L yont Estee pleurees Leurs parans pris a La faire des Mekchy Le gros Bleds chefs y á Estee avec Sept consideree avec un pavilions Et une Letre de cet officier pour Signe d alliance aux premiers franais JI Est revenus quelque tems ápres ávec Le chat Blanc Et Son frerre chefs des Sakis De la Rivierre á la Roche Et quelque consideree qu'ils Leurs ont remis un hommes trois femmes Et un Enfants Les peoriast ont appelee cet officier á Leurs conseils Et áprés ávoir Renouveler

[*Translation*]

them; that it was I who had had them killed and that that would soon be the fate of them all. M. Adamville reproached La Peau Blanche before the assembly. That Indian said he had believed the story, having heard it from Harangouatat, a chief man of the Kaskaskia village, who had induced him to go to the Peoria. M. Adamville told me also that the medal chief of the warriors most attached to the French was dead; that on the sixth of June the Chippewa had killed two Peoria a half-league from their village in reprisal for an attack they had made on the Chippewa the year before. The Peoria did not speak of avenging themselves; they wished to attack the Sauk. M. Adamville dissuaded them from it, and they have sent to bewail their relatives who were taken in the attack on the Michigamea.

The chief Le Gros Bled was here with seven chief men and a flag, and a letter of that officer in sign of alliance with the French. He returned some time after with Le Chat Blanc and his brother, chief of the Sauk of Rock River and some chief men. They brought back a man, three women, and a child. The Peoria called that officer into their councils and after having renewed

Leurs alliances ont donnee quelques chevaux aux Sakis Jls devoient Envoyer cinq hommes Et unes paroles aux autres Sakis qui ont traiee prisonniers Jls devoient ce Joindre á Leurs chasse destee vers Le Rocher cequil non pas fait Les autres prisonniers Estoient disperseeés chees Les Renards, pians, fols avoines, Lés Sioux nayant vólus que des chevelures Les chefs Sakis ont Inviter par Le mekchy quils ont Renvoyee Chikagouë Et Rouinsas avenir chercher Les autres ; Jl me marque aussy que de Karie

á Reçus une Letre de M. de la corne par un chef peoriant qui Vient des poutoutouatamis Se Rallier de nouveau Laquelle marque Mr de La jonquierre mort Le dix Sept mars cequi Se trouve veriffiée par une Letre que Jay reçus Le vingt huit aoust du Mr Sélaurent que Les Sauvages du haut des Lacs Se dispoient á aller En guerre Sur La demoiselle Le onze Juin: Le Six de Juillet La Lande metif mest venus trouvee En me demandant Excuse de ce quil n'e mavoit pas dit La veritee de ce qui Setoit passee dans Son voyages Lorsque Je Le fis metre En prisons pour avoir Estee Sans congés dans La Belle rivierre Et com-

[*Translation*]

their alliance gave some horses to the Sauk. The Sauk in question were to send five men with a message to the other Sauk who have thirteen prisoners, and were to join them in their summer hunt toward Starved Rock which they have not done. The other prisoners were dispersed among the Foxes, Winnebago, and Menominee, the Sioux wishing only scalps. The Sauk chiefs, by the Michigamea prisoner they have sent back, have invited Chicagou and Rouensa to come and get the others.

M. Adamville also informs me that Descaris has received a letter from M. de la Corne by a Peoria chief who came from the Potawatomi to rejoin his tribe, with the news that M. de la Jonquière died March 17. This is verified by a letter which I received August 28 from M. Céloron which added that on June 11 the Indians of the upper lakes were disposed to go and made war on La Demoiselle.

July 6 Lalande, a half-breed, came to seek me, asking me to pardon him for not having told the truth as to what happened on his journeys, when I put him in prison for having been on the

mença nous partimes fuyards Lamirande Et moy Le dix huit  
 avril mil Sept cent cinquante nous fumes En chasse montant La  
 Belle Rivierre vers Le mois d'aoust ayant un milier de Suif Et  
 quelque peau nous Rencontrames huit Anglais qui avoient Sept a  
 huit Balleau de marchandises nous traitames nos Besoins Et nous  
 restames toutes Lennee á chasser dans cette Rivierre ou Les  
 Anglais nous fines trois cent cinquante peau de chevreuille que  
 nous avons traitee aux Anglais En mil Sept cent cinquante un  
 pour des marchandises de traite dont J'en ay aportés icy parties  
 Et L'autres L'amirandes Sen Est chargee comme de notre chasse  
 qu'il á dessendus á la nouvelle orleans ces marchandises con-  
 sistoient En draps Et indienne que nous avons troquee couverte  
 un aune d'indienne par peau de chevereuille Jls nous ont donnee  
 rendee vous pour cet Estee á La fins de Juillet ou aoust a fin que  
 nous puissions nous rendre Sur La fin De Septembre ou  
 octobre Le chefs Anglais Se nomme y avouy JI viennent de  
 filadelphy traiter Jusqu'a La chute de La Belle rivierre, nous  
 avons Rencontre des Anglais dont parties alloient á La rivierre  
 Blanche cette rivierre Sont Le même air devient que La Belle

[*Translation*]

Ohio River without a license, and began:

"We made our escape, La Mirande and I, April 18, 1750. We hunted ascending the Ohio River. Toward the month of August, when we had a thousand pounds of fat and some skins, we met eight English who had seven or eight bales of merchandise. We traded for what we needed and remained the whole year hunting on that river with the English. We got 350 deer-skins which we traded to the English in 1751 for trade goods. Part of them I brought here and La Mirande took charge of the rest and of the returns of our hunt, which he has taken down to New Orleans. These goods consist of cloth and calico which we traded secretly, a yard of calico for a deerskin. The English agreed to meet us there at the end of July or in August so that we might get back at the end of September or October. The English chief is named Yavouy. He comes from Philadelphia, trading as far as the Falls of the Ohio River. We met English parties on their way to White River." This river has the same



Rivierre Et Lon vat dans un Jour par terre de L'un á L'autre Dans Son haut ce qui donne a nos Rebelles aisances pour Leurs traiste.

Jl dit que de guire Et prisque ont chasser de Societte Et traiter avec Lenglais, Les irokois, Loups Et chavouanons, chasse pour Les Anglais Et vont Jusqu'au dessous de la chute Et dans la confiance que Je luy permeterois d aller En chasse Jl me priat de Les Laisser aller De ce cotee La ou Si Je voulois Luy faire avoir quelques Paquets Jl Seroit Sur De faire un grand coup: devient cet Ennee y a porter pour vingt a vingt cinq mil Livres de traite; Je Luis dis que Jetois Bien aise qu'il reconnut Sa faute jetois fachee de ne pouvoir pas Luy rendre ce Service, ny Le L'aisser aller de ce cotee La que Je Serois charmee d'apprendre ce qui Se passe que S'il vouloit y aller Sans peau Et me Rendre un Bon compte Je Le Reconcompenserois; mais Je fus obliger De L'envoyer porter une Letre á Mr de St ange. Le neuf Juilliet trois pianguichias Entrerent avec un pavilions Et une Letre de cet officier Sous pretexte de venir Savoir L'affaires des mekchy Et

[*Translation*]

course as the Ohio River, and one can go in a day from one to the other on its upper course, which gives our rebels facilities for their trade.

Lalande further said that Deguir and Prisque have hunted in partnership, and have traded with the English; the Iroquois, Delaware, and Shawnee hunt for the English and come below the Falls. In the hope that I would let him go and hunt, he begged me to let him go in that direction, where if I wished to let him have some packets of skins, he would be sure of a great bargain. Before that year he had carried goods for a trade of twenty to twenty-five thousand livres. I told him I was very glad he saw his fault; I was sorry I could not do him this service, or let him go in that direction. I would be glad to learn what was happening there; if he would undertake to go without peltry and bring me back a good account, I would reimburse him; but as it was, I was obliged to send him to carry a letter to M. de St. Ange.

July 9, three Piankashaw came in with a flag and a letter of that officer, under pretext of having come to learn of the affairs



cahos Le porteur S'appelle La petite Bichee Et ayant commencer á aller au vilages Sauvages Je me mefiois de quelque propos J'en avertis L'interprete qui mit Le nommee La puce a Sonder pourquoy Jls Estoient venus, La Biche Estant avec Luy Luy dit L'homme noire nous a dit de nous mefier de toy (cet homme noire Est un fuyar nos Domicilliés) JI repondit JI Est vray qu'autre fois J'etois atachee au francais nord mais aujourdhuy Je me Rebute La petite Biche Repondit puisque te voisla comme nous nous talons parler, nous avons Envoyer clhercher Les chefs de votre vilages par un chy' nous avons donnée rendée vous aux moulins des perres ou tu yras aussy Et Luy dit Enatandent JI y á Baucoup Denglais dans La rivierre Blanche qui ont portés deux canons Beaucoup de fusils, ont menee Trois cent civaux, Les Loups, La moitiee de chavouanons, Les gens de La demoiselle, une grande parties des ouyatanons, Et des notres y Sont Jls ont fait deux fort Les Englais ont donnee un grand colier De Deux pieds Et demy de Long Sur un de lárge, plusieurs petits pour distribuer aux nations, un homme de chacunes Ses nations ont

[*Translation*]

of the Cahokia and Michigamea. The bearer of the letter was called La Petite Biche; and as he began to visit the Indian vilages, I suspected he had some design. I warned the interpreter who put La Puce to work to fathom why they had come. La Biche being with him, said, "L'Homme Noire told us to beware of you." (This L'Homme Noire is a fugitive from our domiciled Indians.) He answered, "It is true I was formerly attached to the French, but today I reject them." La Petite Biche answered, "Since you are as we, we can talk. We have sent for the chiefs of your vilages by a Chickasaw. We have appointed them a meeting at the fathers' mills, where you may come also." He told him meanwhile, "There are many English on White River who have brought two cannons, and many guns. They brought three hundred horses. The Delaware, half the Shawnee, La Demoiselle's people, a great part of the Wea, and our people are there. They have built two forts. The English have given a large belt, two feet and a half long and one wide, and several small belts to distribute to the tribes." A man of each of these tribes had

Entree de nuits au postes de vincennes Leurs ont montree Le grand collier qu'ils ont raportés Leurs Laiss Laissant des petits pour aller Inviter Les ilinois a Se retirer d'aupres des français que cetoient Eux qu'ils Les faisoient menger par Les nations mais qu'ils vouloient aussy menger Les francais a Leurs tours; Jls Invitoient aussy Les mekchy Et cahos pour nestre pas Jngrat De Leurs Bleds n'y de Leurs vilages qui ne Leurs diroient pas De Les abandonner pour toujours qu'en L'anglais y Serat vous y retourner ce que Les pians du poste de St ange voyoient De nuit Les Rebelles a Liscu de Mr de St ange qu'ils avoient Deux forts deux Jours du poste de Mr Lignerie qu'il y avoit Recommandoit d'examiner Les Environs de nos Lieux qu'il y avoit Beaucoup d'anglais assemblee Et prest de Six cent Sauvages que des outavois Et Sauteurs avoient frappee Sur Les mis du poste Les derniers Jours de Juin avoient Blessee Trois personnes dont un Est mort Et Je n'ay appris une parties des Ses choses qu'a pres qu'il furent partis Le onze Les deux chefs illinois Sont venus me voir qu'ils me dirent qu'ils Estoient venus avec Les français qui

[*Translation*]

entered Vincennes by night and was shown the large belt that had been brought, and given the small ones to go and invite the Illinois to withdraw from the neighborhood of the French. It was the French who caused them to be eaten by the tribes, but the tribes also wished to eat the French in their turn. They also invited the Michigamea and Cahokia not to be ungrateful for their corn or their villages which did not tell them to abandon them forever for the English would bring them back there. The Piankashaw of St. Ange's post saw the rebels at night, without the knowledge of M. de St. Ange. They had two forts two days away from the post of M. Ligneris; it was recommended to them to spy out the environs of our places; there were many English assembled and almost six hundred Indians. The Ottawa and Chippewa had struck the Miami of the post in the last days of June, and had wounded three people, one of whom was dead. And I did not learn a part of these things until after he had left.

The eleventh the two Illinois chiefs came to see me. They told me they were come with the French who brought letters from

portoient des Letres du convois qu'n de Leurs Sauvages. Les avoit Estee chercher pour parler devant moy a trois pians qu'ils n'e Les avoient pas Vus quils Estoient partis quils pensoient Biens puisquils n'avoient parler que cetoit pour Les attirer a Eux mais quils ne Leurs feroient plus demauvaises affaires avec Les français Je Leurs Dis que Je Sávois tout qu'il prissent garde que Je n'appris riens que par Eux de ce quon pouroit tramer Ils firent des protestations a Leurs ordinaires, La Jeunesse Et trois voyageurs arriverent Le même Jour avec des Letres de Mrs de La houssay<sup>1</sup> Et Lagautrais qui me prioit de Luy Envoyer du Secours En Vivres Et En homme Le plus Bas qui Je pourois ; Je fis partir Le quinze, Et ont Rencontrat Le convois á quelque Lieux des Echors á margot Le Vingt Six Juillet Lapuce mavertis que La petite Biche parlee mal qu'il avoit restee avec Eux

[Translation]

the convoy; one of their Indians had been in search of them to have them speak before me to three Piankashaw, but since these three Indians had left they had not seen them. They thought that since these Piankashaw had not spoken that their design was to draw the Illinois to them; but the two chiefs would have no more to do with ill affairs against the French.

I told them I knew all; that they should take care that I learned nothing save from them of what might be going on. As usual they made protestations.

La Jeunesse and three *voyageurs* arrived the same day with MM. de la Houssaye's<sup>1</sup> and la Gautrais's letters which begged me to send help in provisions and men as far down as I could. On the fifteenth I sent them off, and met the convoy some leagues from Ecores à Margot.

July 26 La Puce warned me that La Petite Biche spoke ill. He had remained with them until the twenty-fourth on the jour-

<sup>1</sup> There were two officers of this name who served for a time in Louisiana. One was a Chevalier of St. Louis who on October 1, 1750 was made captain in Louisiana. A N Colonies D2C4. The other was ensign *en second*, 1733; ensign *en pied*, 1734; lieutenant, October 1, 1740. In 1750 the latter was sent to serve in Canada, being made captain at Cape Breton Island on April 15, 1750. *Canadian Archives*, 1905, volume 1, part 6, p. 141; A N Colonies D2C4.

Jusqu'au vingt quatre dans La Route ou á Leurs Lieu de chasse ou Le frerre de papachigauoyat Est venus Et Beaucoup de Jeunes gens montant a dix Sept cabannes Et apres Beaucoup dexortations dit vous me gagnee, La Veille La Veille JL dit Jay parlee dit La Biche aux francais differement que Je ne puvois au chefs francais Et a Mr de St ange dans Le dessins que Javois devenir vous chercher Sitôt mon arrivee nos gens n'atendent que mon retour pour frapper Sur Le poste de Vincennes qu'il avoit conté qu'il n'étoient que Trente Soldats Et quills Seuls Estoient quatre Vingt dix Jl partis La nuit avec Sept cabannes cequi me fit Envoyer Sur Le champ deux courrier En Jnformer Mr de St ange qui devoient aller nuit Et Jour en donner des nouvelles de ce que Se passe dans ces cartiers

Le même Jour vingt Six Jl Est arrivee un prisonnier mekchy des peoriast qui avoit tombee Entre Les mains des Sakis Le chef nommee chat Blanc Luy ayant donnee La Vie Et aux femmes dont Jay deja parler qui Sont Encore Six femmes Des cahos Et mekchy qu'il doive Rendre a pepachegouyee Et a chikagoue Le

[*Translation*]

ney or on their hunting grounds, where the brother of Papachigauoyat came with many young men to the number of seventeen cabins and after many exhortations said, "You have convinced me. Tonight, tonight."

He said, "'I have spoken' said La Biche, 'differently to the French, than I might have spoken to the French chiefs and to M. de St. Ange in the design I had formed of coming to seek you immediately on my arrival. Our people only await my return to attack the post of Vincennes.'" He had related that there were but thirty soldiers, and that they alone were ninety men. He left at night with seven cabins which made me send two couriers at once to travel day and night to inform M. de St. Ange of what is happening in these parts.

That same day, the twenty-sixth, there came a Michigamea prisoner from the Peoria who had fallen into the hands of the Sauk. The chief known as Le Chat Blanc had granted their lives to him and to the women of whom I already spoke, there being still six women of the Cahokia and Michigamea whom he is to

chat Blanc Les invites á les venir chercher Et a dit En Secret au prisonniers que cetoit Les francois qui Estoient cause de ce coup Lequel mekchy ajoute que Mr marins Est arrivee de michilimaquinat ou il avoit Estee des Le petit printens Et qu'ils Les a fort querelles du coup qu'ils ont faits Sur Les illinois ils Les á menacés que Sil ne Ramenoient Liberte des prisonniers de Rupture JI raporte que Les Renards ont Brules trois de Leurs gens En route qun parties de Renards S'etoit Separees Surtout La Bande du Boigens de ceux qui ont fait ce coup que Les Sakis devoient Sapprocher du Rocher Sitôt quils auroient a force de present Eus retirer des mains des Renards le Reste des Esclaves :

J'envoyay L'interprete Le vingt huit a L'endroit de chasse ou Estoient Les chefs pour Leurs apprendres Le Retour de ce prisonnier faisant Dire que Le commendent des peoriat avoit Escris par Le gros Bleds aux français qui Se trouveroient aux Sakis de les Engager a rendre ce prisonniers Jls ont Estee fort contens Et ont confirmee á L'interprete Lévasion des Sept

[Translation]

give back to Pepachegouyee and Chicagou. Le Chat Blanc asked them to come and seek their prisoners, and secretly told the prisoners that it was the French who were the cause of the attack. The Michigamea adds that M. Marin has arrived from Mackinac, where he had been since early spring, and that he found much fault with them for the attack that they made on the Illinois. He threatened them that if they did not set the prisoners at liberty that he would break with them. The Michigamea also reports that the Foxes burned three of their people on the march; that a part of the Foxes have separated, in particular the band of Boigens, from those who made the attack; that the Sauk were to come near Starved Rock as soon as they had, by means of presents, got the rest of the slaves from the hands of the Foxes.

The twenty-eighth I sent the interpreter to the hunting ground where the chiefs were to inform them of the return of this prisoner, having them told that the commandant of the Peoria had written by Le Gros Bled to the French among the Sauk to induce that tribe to return the prisoners. They were very well content and confirmed to the interpreter the departure of the

cabannes qui avoient Estee aux misamis qui parloient mal L'inter-  
prette Leurs a vus un Jnquietude Sur Le monde qui nous montoit  
par nos convois Les chefs Envoyerent chercher ceux qui S'etoient  
Eloignees pour Retourner a Leurs villages.

Le même Jour Vingt huit<sup>1</sup> arrivee De Son Lieu de chasse Et  
vis avec plaisir Le Retour du mekchy qui Luy conta Son aventure  
Il me pria de n'e pas L'abandonner Et deluy faire avoir Ses  
prisonniers Je Luy promis de faire ce que Je pourois

La nuit du deux au trois d'aoust Le prisonnier pianguichias  
qui nous Restoit Ses Sauvees Les ferts aux pieds Et au maint  
Par La negligence du caporal Et de la Sentinel de garde qui Le  
Laisserent coucher D'heors á cause des grandes chaleurs, ont  
trouvat Les deux anneaux des pieds Le Lendemains auprés d'un  
pieux qu'il avoit cassee ont presume que quelqu uns Luy avoit  
aidee ont Le chercha Jnutilment, deux illinois assurent avoir  
Rencontree quatre hommes quy fuyèrent dont un n'avoit pas La  
chevelure faite

Le neuf au dix Les illinois revinrent a leurs villages Les chefs

[Translation]

seven cabins that had been with the Miami and that spoke ill.  
The interpreter could see they were rendered uneasy by the troops  
who came up by our convoys. The chiefs sent to those who had  
withdrawn to return to their villages. The same day, the twenty-  
eighth,<sup>1</sup> arrived from his hunting ground and saw with pleasure  
the return of the Michigamea prisoner, who told him his adventures.  
He begged me not to abandon him, and to get him his  
prisoners again. I promised him I would do what I could.

The night of August 2-3, the Piankashaw prisoner who re-  
mained to us, escaped with irons on his feet and hands by the  
negligence of the corporal and the sentinel of the guard who let  
him sleep outside on account of the great heat. The two leg irons  
were found next day near a picket he had broken. It is presumed  
some persons helped him. We sought him without success. Two  
Illinois assure us that they met four men in flight, one of whom  
did not have his scalp lock dressed.

The ninth and tenth the Illinois returned to their villages.

<sup>1</sup> A name has been omitted from the French.



a medails me Sont venus remercier de ce que Javois Ecris aux Sakis pour ravoir Leurs prisonniers qu'il me demenderent mon Sentiment Si je Voulois quils allassent aux Sakis pour Ravoir Leurs prisonniers quils me demenderent mon Sentiment Si je voulois qu'ils a'L'assent aux Sakis Les chercher qu'ils feroient ce que Je voudrois Jls m'avoient promis de ne plus conter de maavaises paroles quils Les avoient rejettee que quelques cabannes avoient Estee rejoindre Les foux, que pour Eux ils Estoient dans Les Sentiments de mourir avec nous Je Les Encourage a Se tenir dans Le Bon chemains que J'ecrivais pour Eux La nuit du dix Les couriers que J'avois Envoyee á Mr de St ange arriverent avec une Letre qui mapris qu'ne partis des Discours de la petite Biche Etoient faut que Le quinze du mois de Juillet Le chat Blanc Estant á La chasse audessus du poste fit Rencontre de quatre jeunes gens pianguichias Rebelles qui Luy remirent une parole de la Part du gros bled Son oncle pour L'engager á Les presentée De Sa part a Mr de St ange Elle consistoit En capot galonnee Et une coquille Blanc Luy disant que Le Gros Bled Luy demendoit grace pour Luy Et Sa Bande

[Translation]

The medal chiefs came to thank me for writing to the Sauk to return their prisoners. They asked my opinion, whether I wished them to go to the Sauk in search of the prisoners; they would do as I wished. They had promised me no longer to relate the evil messages; they had rejected them. Some cabins had gone to rejoin the madmen; for their part they were resolved to die with us. I encourage them to keep themselves in the paths of uprightness; I would write on their behalf.

The night of the tenth the couriers I had sent to M. de St. Ange arrived with a letter which informed me that part of what La Petite Biche had said was false; that July 15 Le Chat Blanc, being on a hunt above the post, met four young men of the rebel Piankashaw, who gave him a message from Le Gros Bled, his uncle, to be given on behalf of Le Gros Bled to M. de St. Ange. It consisted of a laced capot and a white shell, telling him that Le Gros Bled asked pardon for himself and his band. He wished



qu'il vouloit S'approcher des francais que depuis Le printems JI avoit arrestee plusieurs parties qui vouloient frapper Sur Le francais quil cetoit depouillee de tous ce qu'il L'avoit pour reussir qu'il Estoit fachee de tout ce qui cetoit passee cet officier Refusat La paroles Et dit au chat que ce nestoit pas á des Jeunes gens a porter une telle parolles mais auchefs qu'ils devoient venir icy Si veritablement Jls Estoient Repentans des mauvaises manoeuvres Et Trahisons, qu'ils nous avoient faite Jls Devoient travailler a Reparer Leurs faute quils avoient Estee trop Longtems a Reconnoitre Leurs faute refusat devoir Les Junes gens; Sur La Situations de leurs nations Les Jeunes gens dirent au chat qu'ils Estoient á deux petites Journés du poste de Mr de Lignery que La plus grande parties De Leurs gens vouloient Biens Se Raprocher des francais que Les autres ne vouloient pas Entendre parler quils avoient Eus Beaucoup demiserre par Le manque de vivre quelques Anglais Leurs portoient des marchandises mais très peut Jls Leurs ont fait Esperer de Leurs En fournir abondamment Et qu'il ne menqueroient de Riens dans peut qune grande

[*Translation*]

to draw near the French. Since the spring he had stopped several parties that wished to attack the French; in doing this he had stripped himself of all his possessions. He was very sorry for all that had happened.

That officer refused his message and told Le Chat that it was not for young men to carry such a message, but for chiefs. They should come here, if they were indeed repentant for the evil devices and treacheries they had inflicted on us. They should labor to atone for their fault. They had been too long in recognizing it. He refused to see the young men.

As to the location of their tribe the young men told Le Chat they were two short days' journeys from the post of M. de Ligneris; they said that the majority of their people wished to come to an understanding with the French. The others would not hear of it. They had suffered much for want of food. Some English brought them goods, but very little. The English had led them to hope that they would furnish them abundantly and that in

partie des ouyatanons Estoient avec Eux Sur La rivierre Blanche Ses quatres pians dirent aussy que quelques Jours avant Leurs departs JI Estoit venus Des Couriers de La Rivierre a la Roche pour Leurs demender Du Seccours Leurs vilages ayant Estee ataquee par un gros parties de differentes nations que Vingt des Leurs Et autant des ouyatanons Estoient partis quils avoient parmy Eux quelque Loups :

Mr de St ange me marque que Les pians qui Sont á Son poste Sont toujours dans La crainte que nous ne cherchions Locasions de Les detruire cequi a fait decanper deux cabannes qui ont Joint Les Rebelles avec ces porteurs de parolles Et qu'il ne fait aucuns fond Sur ceux qui Luy Reste quoyqu'ils Luy proteste Beaucoup d'attachement La Petite Biche n'avoit pas Encore parus aux postes avec Les familles illinoise qui L'on Suivit ce qui La fait croire qu'ils auront Estee Joindre Les Rebelles :

Le quinze aoust Jay reçus une Letre de Mr adamville par quatre voyageurs qui ont L'aisser Le convois de michilimaquinat á chikagouë ne pouvant passer faute deau, deux Seuls Canots

[Translation]

a little while they would want for nothing. A great part of the Wea were with them on White River.

These four Piankashaw also said that some days before their departure, messengers had come from Great Miami River to ask help of them, their villages having been attacked by a large party of various tribes; twenty of their people and as many Wea had set off with some Delaware among them.

M. de St. Ange informs me that the Piankashaw who are at his post are always in fear lest we take occasion to destroy them, which has induced two cabins to decamp with the messengers and join the rebels, and that he puts no reliance whatever on those who remain, although they protest much attachment. La Petite Biche had not yet appeared at the post with the Illinois families which followed him, which made him believe that they have joined the rebels.

August 15 I received a letter from M. Adamville by four *voyageurs* who left the Mackinac convoy at Chicago, not being able to pass for want of water. Two canoes only made the

ont fait Les portages, Le Reste avoient tres peut de vivres á peine de L'eau pour Boire cet officier me marque que Les peoriat ont Restee trés peut de tems En chasse Les Sakis Les ayant avertis que Les Sauteurs Venoient Sur Eux au nombre d cinq cent cequi Les fait mourir De faim Joint au peut D'esperence quils ont d'avoir du mahy par La grande Secheresse Les chefs L'on pre-venos quils Se Retireroient dans Son fort Si Lennemis venoit Jl me marque qu'ils n'est pas En Estat de Sopposer Le fort Estant tout pourie Et dans Limpossibilitee de Le faire Reparer aux voyageurs faute de voisture Le Bois Etant trés Eloignees Jl n'e peut Les y obliger, Estant Jmpossible de faire porter Les pieux a deux hommes par Les mauvais chemains, on pouroit Le donnerá faire par adjudication a quelquns Et Le faire payer aux voyageurs (Je Luy ay marquee Ladessus qu'il Sarengat avec Les voyageurs) Jl Est assaly Souvent par Les diferentes demendes des peoriat de poudres, Bales, Et autres ;

Mr mercier me marque qu'n Sauvages nomme panna Luy Raporte avoir ápris par un peoria que les mis avoient Estee frap-

[*Translation*]

portage. The others had very little food, scarcely water to drink. That officer informs me that the Peoria stayed on their hunt only a very short time, the Sauk having warned them that the Chipewewa were coming upon them five hundred in number ; this leaves them dying of hunger ; moreover as a result of the great drought they have little hope for the corn.

The chiefs gave him notice that they would take refuge in his fort if the enemy came. He tells me he is not in a situation to defend it, the fort being all decayed ; for want of transport it is impossible to get it repaired by the *voyageurs*, the woods being a long way off. He cannot compel them, as it is impossible to have the pickets carried by two men over bad paths. The fort could be turned over to some one and the *voyageurs* made to pay him. (I wrote him to arrange with the *voyageurs*.) He is continually besieged by the Peoria with requests for powder, bullets, and other things.

M. Mercier informs me that an Indian named Pana reported to him that he had learned by a Peoria that the Miami had

per par un partis d'outavois Et Sauteurs qu'ils ont tuee une trentaine parmy Lesquels il y avoit quelques Anglais que Les ouyatanons avoient abandonnés Les Anglais pour Retournee aupres des français que Les pianguichias Sont resolu a nous faire La guerre que Les Sakis avoient menquee a La paroles qu'ils ont donnee au peoriat de Se trouver á la chasse destee pour remettre Leurs prisonier que nombre de poutoutouatamis Et mascoutins vont chee Les peoriats chanter Le calumet<sup>1</sup> pour tacher de S'avoir deux Leurs Sentiments Sur Le coup fait aux mekchy par Les Renards Sakis, Jls craignent que Les peoriat frappe Sur Eux En represailles.

Le vingt trois Les chefs des grands ozages Son venus me temoigner Leurs Joye me faire part qu'ils avoient Estee attaquee par Les Létannes Et plusieurs autres nations Espagnols quils avoient perdus vingt hommes Et tuee trante aux Ennemis cequi Les avoit obliger á Se Raprocher d icy á Sept Jours demarche Jls ont pleurees Leurs miseres Et mont priees de Leurs Envoyer

[Translation]

been attacked by a party of Ottawa and Chippewa. The attackers had killed some thirty among whom were some English; the Wea had abandoned the English to go back to the French; the Piankashaw were resolved to make war on us; the Sauk had not kept their word given to the Peoria to meet them at the hunting grounds and give back their prisoners; a number of Potawatomi and Mascoutens are going to the Peoria to sing the calumet<sup>1</sup> in order to try and learn their sentiments as to the attack made on the Michigamea by the Foxes and Sauk; they fear the Peoria will in reprisal make attacks on them.

The twenty-third the chiefs of the Great Osage came to express to me their joy and to inform me that they had been attacked by the Ietan and several other Spanish tribes; they had lost twenty men and killed thirty of the enemy which had obliged them to come within seven days' journey of this place. They bewailed their miseries and begged me to send them Frenchmen. Next day

<sup>1</sup> This was a ceremonial intended to pay respect to prominent chiefs. For a description of it, see T. C. Pease and R. C. Werner, *The French Foundations, 1680-1693* (I.H.C., 23), 389.

des français ; Le Lendemain Je Leurs fis un présent d'habit, fusil, Et assortiment, Les assurant que Je Les voyois avec plaisir que Jetois touchée de Leurs malheurs que Je Leurs Enverrois des français qu'ils Les contassent, qu'ils devoient avoir appris par un parties des Leurs qui Etoient venus icy que nous avions Estee frappee par Les misamis parmies Lesquels ont avoit Trouvee mesme deux illinois a qui Jay fait grace quon me faisoit Entendre tous Les Jours que Les mis devoient venir me La demender Jay Eus patience Jusqu'a ce Jourdhuy que S'ils tardoient d'avantage Je pourois mimpatier Et puisqu'il nous Etoient attachee Je contoie quils nous Endonneroient des marques que Le casteste avoit   Deja Estee Levee chee Eux Jls Repondirent quils Le feroient que quand Se ne Seroit que par une chevelure Et promirent de Revenir Bientot, Je Leurs reprochay d'avoir Estee fait coup au nachitoch Et aux cadodakiouoi Enfans comme Eux Jls Repondirent que ces derniers apres Les avoir Donnee á manger Les tuerent, qu'ils S'en Etoient vengee Et ny retourneroit plus

[*Translation*]

I made them a present of coat, gun, and assorted goods, assuring them that I saw them with pleasure, that I was touched by their misfortunes, that I would send them Frenchmen on whom they could count. I further told them that they must have learned from a party of their people who had come here that we had been attacked by the Miami among whom had even been found two Illinois whom I had pardoned ; that I was daily given to understand that the Miami were coming to ask mercy of me ; I had had patience to that day, but if they delayed further I might become impatient ; since my hearers were attached to us I counted on their giving me proofs of it. The tomahawk had already been raised among them.

They replied that they would do it, were it only for a single scalp, and promised to return soon. I reproached them with having made an attack on the Natchitoch and on the Kadodachado, children of the French like themselves. They answered that the last named, after giving them to eat, had killed them ; they had taken their revenge and would not return if the tribe in question remained quiet.

S'il Restoient tranquile Jls furent chanter Le calumet Le même Jours aux cas Et mekchy á qui Jls Donnerent Beaucoup de chevaux Et pelteris, Jay áppris qu'en partant Jls avoient Eux Brouillerie avec Les mekchy pour des femmes, Les illinois ont vously Engager Les ozages á Saprocher de nous á Les Souteniris contre Leurs Ennemis, Les ozages Leurs ont donnee La dessus pour parolles un cheval, Jls paroít que Les illinois cherche á Se Renouveler Leurs alliances avec Les nations Estant toujours En crainte de quelque Surprise de nostre part: Le vingt huit aoust Est arrivee L'houtarde, et Varinna, cannissa consideree des ouyatanons ayant Les médails des chefs Et des Letres de Mr Sélaumont Du traize Juillet qui me marque qun partis De deux cent Soixente Sauteurs Et outavois ont frapper Sur Le village de la rivierre á La Roche dans Lequel coup Jls ont tuee Trente deux hommes tant Anglais que Sauvages Et pillies Les Butins des premiers Et Enmeme Six prisonniers, que Les Sauvages assurent avoir tuee deux pianguichias, un ouyatanons, un L'oup, Jls ont Tuee deux hommes irokois Et deux chavouanons, quils ne cir-

[*Translation*]

They were that same day to sing the calumet with the Kaskaskia and the Michigamea, to whom they gave much in horses and peltry. I learned that on leaving they had had a quarrel with the Michigamea over the women. The Illinois have wished to induce the Osage to come closer to us in order to sustain them against their enemies. On that request the Osage have given them a horse for a message. It appears that the Illinois are trying to renew their alliances with the tribes, being always in fear of some surprise from us.

August 28 arrived L'Houtarde and Varinna, Cannissa, a considered person among the Wea, with chief's medals and letters from M. Céloron of July 13. He wrote me that a party of 260 Chippewa and Ottawa attacked the village of Great Miami River by which blow they killed thirty-two men, both English and Indian, pillaged the possessions of the former, and carried off six prisoners. The Indians were positive they had killed two Piankashaw, one Wea, and a Delaware. They have killed two Iroquois and two Shawnee. They are not detailed in their

constencie pas La chose Le parties      nestant pas arrivee Jls ont perdus quatre Sauteurs Et deux outavois.

Mr Le commendent general qui Est Sans doute Mr De Longueville marquant á M. Sélaumont que Sur La fin de Lestee Jl ferat partir Mr Son frere avec quatre cent canadiens pour hiverner aux misamis á fin de donner La chasse aux nations Rebelles Jl ajoute que Le Printems prochains Jl ferat partir Six Cent hommes par La belle Rivierre pour Se Joindre á Mr Son frere ; Jl marque que Mr Lintendent a Resilliee Le marche De delisle Et cest demonreal quon ferat Les fournitures pour Les ouyatanons Et mis a mis Jl monte pour cet Effet trente cinq canots charger de Vivre qui doivent remonter á myagarat Et y faire deux voyages par L'arrivee De Mr Landrif Jl á apris La mort De Mr Dela Jonquierre mort Le dix Sept mars après trente Six mois d'un Renouvellment de Ses Blessure, cest Mr Le marquis duquênne de Muneville qui Vient En Sa place ; ce Mr qui Mecris du onze Juin m'aceuse La Receptions Des miennes Et

[*Translation*]

account as the party has not yet arrived. They lost four Chippewa and two Ottawa.

M. the commandant general, who doubtless is M. de Longueuil, informed M. Céloron that at the end of the summer he would send off Monsieur his brother with four hundred Canadians to winter at the Miamis in order to pursue the rebel tribes. He adds that next spring he will send off six hundred men by the Ohio River to join Monsieur his brother. He indicates that Monsieur the intendant has quashed the bargain with Delisle ; and that it is from Montreal that the supplies for Ouyatanon and Miamis will be provided. To that end he is sending up thirty-five canoes loaded with provisions ; the canoes should go up to Niagara and make two trips. By the arrival of M. Landrif, M. Céloron has learned of the death of M. de la Jonquière, who died March 17 after his wound had reopened for thirty-six months. M. le Marquis Duquesne de Menneville comes in his stead. This gentleman, who writes me June 11, acknowledges the receipt of my letters and tells me that he had learned of



me marque avoir apris La mort De Mr de La Jonquierre occasionnees par Ses Blessures qui Se font Rouvertes qu'il craint Biens que cette mort n'enpêche quon ne fasse aucuns mouvements pour Reduire Les Rebelles que Les mauvaises affaires ne font qu'auguementer par Le peut d'attachement que Les nations ont pour nous que celle de michilimaquinat Semettent En mouvement mais qu'il nont approchee de quarente Lieux Soient par crainte ou menagement pour une nations qui Leurs Est alliés Le Village de La Rivierre a la Roche ; JI parle de La miserre ou Est Le canadat par La disette Des Vivres Et decelles de faire Sub-sister Les troupes, Sion Entreprenoit quelque choses ; JI ny Est parvenus aucuns ordres JI me marque que cest amoy a faire de mon mieux pour parvenir Les malheurs dont nous Sommes menacés Les nations connoissent La Situations de nos affaires En ce cherchent quatemporiser a Legar de nos Ennemis Sans Leurs faire Dumal quau commencement de may il Setoit presentee un parties pour aller Sur Les pianguichias ayant Estee Equiper pour cela Et Leurs avoit mende De ne pas frapper Sur aucuns de nos alliees qui Se trouveroit Sur Leurs Route Jls

[*Translation*]

the death of M. de la Jonquière, occasioned by the reopening of his wounds; he fears much that his death may prevent any movements being made to reduce the rebels; the ill affairs will only multiply as a result of the small attachment the tribes have for us; those of Mackinac began to move but did not come within forty leagues, whether from fear or from consideration for a tribe allied to them by marriage like that of Great Miami River village. He speaks of the suffering in Canada for want of provisions, and the difficulty of subsisting the troops if anything were undertaken. No orders have reached him; he tells me it is for me to do my best to stem the misfortunes with which we are threatened. The tribes know the situation of our affairs, seeking to temporize with our enemies without harming them. At the beginning of May a party appeared to go against the Piankashaw. After being equipped for that and told not to attack any of our allies they might meet on their way, they took

ont Estee faire quatre chevelures aux postes De Mr De Villiers deux hommes Et deux femmes La crainte que Mr Celoron ut que cet officier, ne fut Enbarassee ou Les francais après ce coup á fait qu'il a Envoya quarente hommes quelques outavois poutoutouatamis Et Sauteurs pour Raccomoder cet afaire obbligent Le chefs De guerre Et Les Jeunes gens a y porter Leurs corps pour Satisfactions á Leurs trahisons Mrs de courtemanche Et Celoron commendent ce détachement dont JI n'avoit point de nouvelles que dans ce temps La Toute Les nations Estoient Levee pour aller Sur La demoiselle ce contre temps á changer Ses dispositions, Les nations qui Sont aller avec Mr decourtemanche aux mis amis du portages Sont dans Le Dessins de faire une tentative pour Ramener Lademoiselle Et Ses partisans á demeurer aux vilages des quikapouë Et Seproposent de frapper S'il ne veulent y consentir Les trois ouyatanons porteurs de Ses Letres venoient dans Le dessins De me Reclamer Le prisonnier qui cest Sauvee Le deux du mois Selon que me marque Mr Le Borgne, Le perre, de ce prisonniers Estant ouyatanons Ses trois

[*Translation*]

four scalps at M. de Villiers' post, two men and two women. The fear M. Céloron was in lest that officer or the French be embarrassed by this attack, caused him to send forty men, some Ottawa, Potawatomi, and Chippewa to atone for that affair, obliging the war chiefs and young men to carry their bodies there to atone for their treachery. MM. de Courtemanche and Céloron commanded this detachment, of which there is no news. At that time all these tribes were aroused to attack La Demoiselle. This contretemps has changed their dispositions. The tribes that have gone with M. de Courtemanche to the Miami of the Portage intend to try to bring back La Demoiselle and his partisans to live in the Kickapoo villages, and intend to strike if he will not consent.

The three Wea who carried M. Céloron's letters came with the design of reclaiming from me the prisoner who escaped the second of the month, according to what M. le Borgne tells me, the father of this prisoner being a Wea. His three Illinois

Sauvages illinois raporte L'affaires du mis du portages Raccomodée a force des marchandises qu'effectivement Lá mauvaises Bandes avoient Deux fort Les pians Estant Separees jls Estoient cent quarente homme Les autres quatres vingt Et qu'il ny avoit que deux Anglais parmi Eux Sans canons ny artillerie Comme Le Rapportoit La petite Biche Jl Raporte que Les outavois après avoir frappee Sur Le Village á la Roche, ce Village Leva pavilions En disant quisqui nous frappe nous voyons Biens que cest Les français quil Vous font agir a quoy Repondirent Les outavois En Levant Le Leurs Jl y á Longtems qu'il Sont appres nous Jls nous ont gagnée Les outavois ayant pris quatres femmes mis á mis proposerent de Leurs Rendre pour des Anglais cequ'ils firent En donnant Sept Anglais dont un Estoit Blessee qu'ils tuerrent Et prirent Leurs Butin Ils promirent de ne plus revenir frapper Sur Les Sauteurs dirent Je ne Sais pas comme agirat nôtre perre nous avons perdus Beaucoup de monde cest Luy qui En Est L'auteur nous ne disons pas que nous ne Revienderons pas :

[*Translation*]

Indians report that the affair with the Miami of the Portage was settled by dint of goods; in effect the hostile bands have two forts, the Piankashaw having a separate one. They are 140 men, the others eighty, and there are but two English among them without cannon or artillery as La Petite Biche reported. He reports that after the Ottawa attacked the Great Miami River village, the village raised flags, saying, "Whoever attacks us, we clearly see it is the French who make you do it." To this the Ottawa answered raising their flag, "It is long since they have been among us, and they have won us." The Ottawa, having captured four Miami women, proposed to give them up in exchange for English. This the Miami did, giving up seven English, one of whom was wounded; these the Ottawa killed and pillaged. The Miami promised not to return and attack the Chippewa, saying, "I do not know how our father will act. We have lost many people, and he is the cause. We do not say that we will not return."

Le perre de guienne mécris hier que Les trois ouyatanons ont dit á plusieurs personnes Jllinoise que Les chefs de toute Les nations Estoient Jnvités á Se trouver Ensemble au printemps pour deliberer Des moyens de Se deffendre Et Se Venger De la tyrannie des francais qui Les animoient Savier Les uns contre Les autres pour Les detruire ont Envoyas pour cet Effet des deputés de Leurs vilages á michelimaquinat Jls non point nommee Le Lieux de Lassemblee Je Renvoyay chercher Les ouyatanons qui Estoient deja parties nierent avoir Rapportees La choses que S'ils avoient Sur quelque choses Jls L'auroient dit á Mr de Lignerie qui me L'auroit marquée Leurs chefs Estant á Saint-josephe pour de Bonnes affaires que L'ors qu'il Les Sauroient Jl men feroient part Jay fait partir par un Exprest Les Letres que vous mavee Envoyee pour Le canada Le Vingt neuf du mois dernier Jnformant tous Les commandants des Raports qui mont Estee fais de differente cottés pour quon put verifié Les choses Et Sopposer aux Mauvais dessins qui pourois Se tramer En Secret J'ay pour plus grande Surtee fait Passer Les couriers par Les

[*Translation*]

Father de Guyenne wrote me yesterday that the three Wea have said to several Illinois that the chiefs of all the tribes were invited to meet together in the spring to deliberate on the means of defending themselves, and avenging themselves for the tyranny of the French who stirred them up against each other to their destruction. To that end they have sent deputies from their villages to Mackinac. They have not named the place of meeting. I sent back after the Wea who had already left. They denied having reported the things in question; if they had told anything, they would have told it to M. de Ligneris, who would have informed me, their chiefs being at St. Joseph for good ends; whenever they learned anything, they would inform me.

I sent off by an express the letters which you sent me for Canada the twenty-ninth of last month informing all the commandants of the reports made to me from different directions, that things might be verified and the ill designs, which might be working in secret, opposed. For greater security I had the

péoriast Et St Josephe d'ou ils iront au detroit Les Infirmes du peup de Secours qu'ils pouroient Recevoir de nous cet Ennee En Vivre Surtout En Bled d inde La Secheresse En ayant fait perdre La plus forte partie ce qui fait un Tort notable aux pais pour Les Lards Et nourriture des animaux Je ne prévois pas qu'on puisse faire grande Salaisons cet hiver Joint á La mortalitee Des cochons qu'on a Essuyer L'ennee derniere La Recolte de froment auroit Estee tres Belle Si La Rouillé ne Se fut mis dans une parties des Bleds; Les granges Sont plaines partout Et quelque Berge que L'on a fait né pouvant metre a couvert Le tout; par cet accident une partis des farines Seront noires cet Ennee Les grains ne Sont pas aussy plains que Les Ennés precedentes

vous voyes Monsieur par Le details des Differentes nations que Je vous fais Le peut De fond que L'ondoit faire Sur Eux J'aurois Estee á mêmme decrazer Les illinois Les tinent tout pour ainsy dire Enfermee pendant quatre Jours avec Leurs femmes Et Enfans quoy qu'on Leurs dite ne Se Rassurant point Sur Le

[*Translation*]

couriers go by the Peoria and by St. Joseph, whence they will go to Detroit; I sent warning as to the little assistance they can receive from us this year in provisions, especially corn, the drought having caused the loss of the greater part of it which is a great misfortune to the country for pork and for feeding animals. I do not foresee how much salt meat can be prepared this winter, especially in view of the mortality among the pigs which we suffered last year. The wheat harvest would have been very good if the rust had not got in part of the wheat. The barns are full everywhere and some stacks have been made as the whole could not be put under cover. As a result part of the flour will be black. This year the kernels are not as full as in previous years.

You see, Monsieur, by the details which I give you as to the various tribes, the small reliance that should be placed on them. I might even have been overwhelmed; the Illinois have kept themselves so to speak penned up during four days with their wives and children. Whatever they are told they are in no wise reassured as to the number of French who are coming up to us by

nombre de français qui nous monte par nos convois Et on Soup-  
sonne Encore quelques familles de Vouloir passer aux ozages Et  
peoriat une partir des cahos après Le coup du premier Juin, ont  
Estee á ces derniers; Les mauvaises Bandes ont Estee du côté  
des pianguichias, Et Je crois qu'il n'en reste peut qui ne Soient  
attachée aux francais par necessitee ou habitude Je m'atache a  
Recompenser Les Bons Et ne vouloir Escouter que Les chefs  
qui Sont venus plusieurs fois massurer de Leurs fidelitee Et que  
Si L'ennemis approchoit dicy ou faisoit aucuns coup ils Seroient  
Les premiers á frapper :

quand aux partis que Mr de La Jonquierre avoit pris de faire  
faire des chevelures par des nations Je penserois quils auroient  
Estee moins couteuse au Roy Sion Eut put Executer Ses ordres  
mais Les nations de ce cotee La Sont trop Liés par Le Sang  
Jusqu'a nos domicilliés pour attendre qu'ils frapperont Les Uns  
Sur Les autres Joint á La profusions Et Bonne qualitee des  
marchandis que Les Anglais Leurs donne pour ainsy dire Jls  
paroît que Les nations du missouris ont Biens De la peine á aller  
Si Loins ayant plusieurs rivières a traverser ne connoissent point

[*Translation*]

our convoys. It is still suspected that some families wish to go  
to the Osage and Peoria; part of the Cahokia after the attack  
of June 1 went to the latter. The hostile bands have gone in the  
direction of the Piankashaw and I think few are left who are not  
attached to the French by necessity and habit. I devote myself  
to rewarding the good, and will listen only to the chiefs who  
have come several times to assure me of their fidelity; and if  
the enemy approached this place or made any attack, they would  
be the first to strike.

As to the course M. de la Jonquière had taken to get the  
tribes to take scalps, I think they would have cost the king less  
if his orders could have been carried out. But the tribes on that  
side are too much allied by blood even to our domiciles for it to  
be expected that they should attack each other; moreover there is  
the profusion and good quality of the merchandise which the  
English give them, so to speak. It seems the Missouri tribes  
have much difficulty in going so far, having several rivers to

Le païs ils ont pris Le Casteste De Ce printens Et non riens fait Encore JI marque tous de la Bonne volonteé Sans Effets; Je ne dis pas pour cela qu'il ne Se Levee pas quelques parties mais ils ne Seront Jammais assee considerables pour detruire Les nations: celui que parois prendre Mr De Longueuille par Les quatre cent hommes qui doivent hiverner aux mis amis Et Six cent qui dessenderont par La belle Rivierre Le printemps prochains me parois Sufisant pour venir á bout De deux cent vingt hommes Selon que Le Raporte Les ouyatanons Jls Est vray qu'ils peuvent avoir Du Secours de Leurs alliees; Je conte que Les nations des Lacs qui ont deja frappee Et ceux qui Sont Jncertaine du partis qu'ils ont apprendre Les desiderons En nostre faveur nous pouvons fournir nostre contingent Se L'on Larengement qu'il prendrat Et Selon La force du Du convois qui nous monterat cet autonne Et Les dispositions de nos domicilliés qui Se force a nous donner des marques de Leurs áttachement:

Vous voyes Monsieur par Le Recit de la Lande que Les

[*Translation*]

cross, and not knowing the country. They took the tomahawk this spring and have as yet done nothing. They show all possible good will but without results. I do not mean by that that they have not raised some parties, but they will never be strong enough to destroy the hostile tribes.

That is the course M. de Longueuil appears to have taken. The four hundred men who are to winter at the Miamis, and six hundred who will descend by the Ohio River next spring appear to me sufficient to dispose of 220 men according to what the Wea report. It is true that they may have help from their allies. I count that the tribes of the lakes who have already struck, and those who are undecided as to which course they will take, will decide in our favor. We can furnish our contingent according to the arrangement taken and according to the strength of the convoys which will come up to us this autumn, and the disposition of our domiciled Indians who exert themselves to give us proofs of their attachment to us.

You see, Monsieur, by Lalande's story that the English not



Englais voudroient non Seulement attirer Les Sauvages mais aussy Les traiteurs par L'appas d'un gains Evidents; on Serat plus apporter de Savoir des nouvelles de ce qui Se passe Si Le fort projectee a Lieu comme vous Le proposerai dans L'ouabaches, Celuy du cotee droit En montant La rivierre Des charaquis n'e pouroit avoir Lieu que dans Le missipy á cause des inondations Les echores Estant a deux ou trois Lieux Du Bord Jl n'e ne Seroit pas moins Biens places vers Les Eschores de la mine de fers<sup>1</sup> tant pour Les Ennemis que pour Les convois qui vont Et viennent amoins de Le metre dans La Rivierre mesme des charaquis ou plus haut Selon Les voyageurs qui Connoissent Les terrains: dailleurs ce poste Eviteroit Biens des fraix aux Roy par Les vivres Et Secours que L'on Est obliger d'envoyer á tous Les convois c'est Eschores Sont á quarente Lieux dicy qui est a peut prest ou dordinaire L'on parte des Illinois au devant des convois ont Eviteroit aussy par la Les hivernement qui couté considerablement ont monteroit En tout temps á ce poste au Lieu

[*Translation*]

merely wish to draw the Indians but also the traders by the greed for clear profits. We would be in a better position to get news of what is going on if the projected fort was built as you propose on the Wabash. That on the right bank as you ascend the Tennessee River can only be built on the Mississippi on account of the floods, the bluffs being two or three leagues from the shore. Les Ecores of the iron mine<sup>1</sup> would be a situation both as respects the enemy and the convoys which go and come, at least equally advantageous with locating it on the Tennessee River itself or higher, according to the *voyageurs* who know the country. Moreover this post would save the king much expense for provisions and assistance which we are obliged to send to all the convoys. These bluffs are forty leagues from here which is almost the point to which you ordinarily send from the Illinois to meet the convoys. Thus you would also avoid wintering, which costs much. At all seasons you could ascend to the proposed

<sup>1</sup> Apparently Les Ecores of the iron mine are at the place known as the Iron Banks or the Yellow Banks, the site of Fort Jefferson in the Revolution.

qu'aujourd huy Je ne peut faire descendre Le Bateau faute d eau  
 Et l'hivert raport aux glasses ; Je me rappelle avoir vûs de Belles  
 Situations Et de Belles terres Jl Est vray qu'il y auroit plus  
 d'ouvrages que ysi á defricher mais ont Seroit plus prest de La  
 merd ont tireroit En Tout tems de grands avantages En tous  
 Les tems pour Le Service du Roy ce Seroit Encore une grande  
 Surtee Si Les chavouanons pouvoient Setablr au haut de la  
 rivierre á La Rocher avec quelques francais Comme Le proposoit  
 Mr de La Jonquierre mais ils ne faudroit pas Leurs Laisser  
 manquer de marchandises de Bonne Calitee Et En abondance Et  
 Bon coute c'est cequi nous feroit donner toujours La preference  
 Sur L Anglais Les Sauvages ne Se conduissent que par L'appas  
 du gains

J'auray attentions S'il vat des partis dans La Belle Belle  
 Rivierre de Reccommender de ne faire aucune Jnsulte á cet  
 nations Je tacheray d'en attirer quelques icy d'autant quil's Sont  
 Ennemis de nos Domicilliés Et que c'est un Echeq pour Eux :

L'armement d'une compagnie de cavalerie que vous aves  
 demendée pour ycy Est Escensiel dans Les Circonstances

[*Translation*]

post, whereas I cannot send down the flour bateau for want of  
 water at present ; and in winter on account of the ice. I remem-  
 ber having seen fine locations and good lands. It is true it would  
 be more work to clear them, but one would be closer to the sea,  
 and at all times great advantages would result for the king's serv-  
 ice. It would also be a great safeguard if the Shawnee could  
 settle on the upper Great Miami River with some French as M.  
 de la Jonquière proposed. But it would not do to let them lack  
 merchandise of a good quality and in abundance at a good price.  
 That will always give us the preference over the English, as the  
 Indians act only for desire of gain.

If parties go to the Ohio River, I will take care to direct  
 them to offer no affronts to that tribe. I will try to draw some  
 here, especially as they are enemies of our domiciled Indians and  
 will be a check on them.

The arms for a troop of cavalry which you asked for this  
 place are essential in present circumstances, both for rapidity of

presentes tant pour La Vitesse que pour Le port des vivres dans des marches forcés: vous avez Vûs Monsieur combien J'ay fait valoir Les deux prisonniers illinois que Jay Rendus à Leurs vilages ces deux hommes mon donnee des marques de leurs attachement ont marchee après Les deserteurs Et Les Esclaves que L'on a Ramenee: Je n'ay put Refuser Le Loups comme Je vous marque a átachement des quikapouë Et mascoutins, Le dernier C'est Sauvee par La négligence de la garde qui auroit Servis de grace aux ouyatanons ces remises non produit Jusqu'a present qun Bon Effet Le Loup Seroit revenus avec Ses derniers Si il nut Eut mal au pieds:

Vous me marquee Monsieur me donner des ordres dans vôtre Letres commune avec Mr michel tant pour Les reparations Du fort de chartre que pour Le projettee attenants Les Jesuites Et que Les deux coulees passeront a droite Et á gauche cequi Luy Servira de fosses, L'enpassement Joint á celui du nommee Lachenais il n'est pas commende du mousquet mais Bien du canons des deux que jay fais porter Sur Les cotes ont atirer au

[Translation]

movement and for carrying provisions in forced marches. You have seen, Monsieur, how much I made of the two Illinois prisoners that I returned to their villages. These two men have given me marks of their attachment; they went after the deserters and slaves that were brought back. Because of the fidelity of the Kickapoo and Mascoutens, I could not, as I told you, refuse them Le Loup's freedom. The remaining prisoner escaped by the negligence of the guard. He would have served as a favor to the Wea. These releases up to now have produced only a good effect. Le Loup would have come back with these chiefs last mentioned, if he had not had a malady in his feet.

You indicate, Monsieur, that you will in your joint letters with M. Michel give me orders for the repair of Fort de Chartres and for that proposed fort adjoining the Jesuits, and that the two gullies which pass to right and left will serve as moats. The site together with the lot of the man called Lachenais is not commanded by musket but is by cannon. The two I had carried to the heights have fired over the village; the balls went as far as

dessus du Village Les Boulets ont Estee aux Barrierres de la commune qui Sont a plus decent cinquente Toises du Village, il y á Effectivement un Belle Endroit dont Veut parler Mr ollivier á La Rivierre qui ne peut Estre commendee que par du canons de dix huit ou de Vingt quatre mais alors JI devienderoit Jnutils á L établissement par Son Eloignement, Lá hauteur Est Le Seul Endroit ou JI convienderoit Si L'on veut faire un fort qui ne Soit commendee D'aucuns Endroit Et qui commende tout Je n'y vois aucunes difficultés La rivierre quon passe La Moitte De l'enne a que Du moins ces deux Ennés Est un petit objet tot ou tard L'on y ferat un Bag ou un pont Si L'endrois vient considerables ils ne manquent pas de Voitures, La pierre, Le Bois, Et Lachaux Estant Sur Les Lieu, La Ville Se peut former Sur L'autre cottés comme Sur celuy cy d'ailleurs L'endroit nest pas Si considerables quon peut penser La meilleure pieces Est Leglise qui Est Jolie pour ce Lieu qui vient d'estre achevér decouvrir ; Sur La hauteur JI En coutera de charois au Roy pour Les EnBarquements autant qu'il En coute, Son Establiroit pouroit occassioner Celuy Des terres De L'autre cotés qui Sont Jncultes

[*Translation*]

the fences of the common which are more than 150 toises from the village. There is indeed a good location at the river to which M. Olivier refers which cannot be commanded save by eighteen or twenty-four pounders; but then it would be useless to the settlement from its remoteness. The height is the only place that will do if you wish to build a fort that will be commanded from no point and which will command all. I see no difficulty in it. The river, which you cross six months of the year, at least of these two last years, is a small affair. Sooner or later a ferry will be set up there or a bridge if the place becomes considerable. There is no lack of wagons, stone, wood, and lime on the spot. The city can develop on the other side as well as on this. Moreover the place is not so large as you would think. The best building is the church, which is a pretty one for the place, and which they have just finished roofing in. On the heights the expense to the king in wagons for loading the boats will be equal to that of the fort. Its establishment there may occasion the

celles de ce cotés Sont très fatigüe La plupart des habitans D icy prenant des terres du cotés de Ste genevieve nayant plus de terre a Semer ny á donner de ce cotés icy, ont pouroit Endonner quelques dans la communes Sans Jncommoder Les Bestiaux ont medit que Les Enciens habitans Si Estoient oposés du temps de mr de Bertet

Ste genevieve Vienderat plus considerables que cy ils Sont apresent vingt Sept habitans qui y ont des terres Lesquels habitans contiennent quatre ving treze arpans de face que ce Lieu á Raport a ses terres quilz Sont plus Etendus, plus fertiles, Et meilleurs; Monsieur J'ay Eus L'honneur de vous En Rendre compte Et d'une petite Rivierre qui coupe une parties Des Terres, Sa Situations Est Sur Le fleuve des côtes En Sont a une Lieux :

Le mousquet ne frappant pas des côtes au Lieu designés on pouroit metres Les Batimens dudit fort Encarree flanqués de deux ou de quatre Bastions, car pour ce qui Est de forteresse En regle Elle Seroit contre tous, de la placer autre part que Sur La hauteur Le fort désignees par Les premieres Instructions á Mr.

[*Translation*]

development of the uncultivated lands on the other side. The fields on this side are worn out; most of the inhabitants are taking up lands on the side of Ste. Genevieve, there being no more lands to sow or to assign on this side. Some could be assigned in the common without crowding the cattle. I am told the old inhabitants opposed it in the time of M. de Bertet.

Ste. Genevieve will become more considerable than this place. There are at present twenty-seven habitants who have lands and whose lands include ninety-three arpents frontage. This place reports of its lands that they are more extensive, more fertile, and better. Monsieur, I had the honor to give you an account of it and of a little river which cuts off a part of the land. It is located on the Mississippi, with the hills a league off. Musket shot would not carry from the hills to the place designated; you could put the buildings of the fort in a square flanked by two or four bastions; applying the rules for the location of fortresses, it would be against all rule to place it elsewhere than on the height. Such a fort as was designated in the first instructions

Saussier deconstruire un fort flanqués De quatre Bastions terrassés de dix pieds avec un Mur pour Soutenir Les Batiments en ápantir ne peut Estre fait autrement que Le premier plan que L'on a Envoyee Et pour y construire des greniers a pouvoir y Loger Des farines Jl conviendroít que Les comble fussent telles que Le derniers croquis qui Est Envoyee hors Jl Sagit de Savoir Si c'est pour Le canons ou pour un coup de mains Si c'est pour Le premiers L'on ne peut oter L'aíppesseur du Renpart Si ces pour Le derniers Les murs des Batiments Sont Sufisant quand ils Seront flanqués Et telles que Les greniers Sont proposee ont pouvát y loger des farines :

J'ay pris Le partis d'attendre Et de faire Ramasser Les matreaux necessaire pour Les maisons proíjetés Du fort Soit par La constructions En Entier ou flanqué Les maisons de Bastions, vous Seree a même D'ordonner ont ferat faire cet hiver Les Bois proportionnée au Lógement du derniers croquis que Mr Saussier vous Envois :

[*Translation*]

sent to M. Saucier to construct a fort flanked by four bastions terraced to ten feet with a wall to support the buildings against it could not be built otherwise than by the first plan which was sent back to you; and to build granaries where flour could be stored it would be necessary that the frames of the roofs should be such as in the last sketches which were sent. Further it is necessary to know whether the fort is to withstand cannon or merely a coup de main. If it is the first, the thickness of the rampart cannot be reduced; if the second, the walls of the buildings will suffice when provision is made for flanking fire; the proposed granaries in which flour could be stored would serve this end.

I have decided to wait and to collect the necessary materials for the proposed buildings of the fort whether they be fully constructed or merely houses flanked with bastions; you will also give your orders on that. This winter they will cut the timber necessary for the barracks according to the last sketches M. Saucier sends you.

Comme Ses ouvrages traineront par Le peût d'ouvriers que nous avons JI Est Essensiel pour La discipline Et Biens de La troupe De Les Loger Ensemble Je vais travailler á faire faire des Baraques pour Les Loger dans on autre a Les Bardaux pour placer au fort Si Le Roy n'en á pas Besoins pour autres choses L'orsque Le fort Serat fait Et Les feroit metre dans L'encinte qui á Estee fait cet hivers ou il Seront Renfermee La nuit

J'oublois de vous marquer La Condemnations d un nommée poulalier qui avoit Estee marquee En france pour volle, Et ayant Estee arrestee icy pour volle de fracture, Le conseil de guerre La condannee á Estre degradés des armes Et Renvoyee á La justice particulierre dont Je joint icy Le proces ont L'enverat a la Ville par La premierre occasions

Mr de la gautrais Et Mr Deroche Sont arrivee icy Le dix huit du mois derniers Jls ont amenee trente neuf hommes Effectif quatres des huit qu'ils devoient prendre Etant mort mort Et Sept quils ont Laissee de malade En route; ont a Estee obliger de Decharger Le Bateau pour Le faire monter La rivierre; Le

[*Translation*]

As these works drag because of the few workmen that we have, it is essential for the discipline and welfare of the troops to lodge them together. I am going to try to have a barracks built to lodge them, built with shingles to place at the fort if the king has no need of it for other things when the fort is made; I will have them put in the enceinte which has been made this winter where they will be shut in at night.

I forgot to inform you of the condemnation of the person called Poulalier, who had been branded in France for theft and whom, having been arrested here for burglary, the council of war condemned to be degraded as a soldier and turned over to private justice. I annex the process. He will be sent to the city by the first occasion.

M. de la Gautrais and M. de Roche arrived here the eighteenth of last month. They brought thirty-nine men effectives, four of the eight that they were to take being dead, and seven being left sick en route. They were obliged to unload the boat



vingt Six elle Estoit presque a Sec cequi ma determinée a Envoyer deux piraugue chargés d'Environs dix huit millier de farines Et deux millier de plomb avec La jeunesse ancien Sergent Et des Soldats que Mr La gautrais avoit pris En route pour Renplacer Ses malades :

Mr La houssay mecrivans n'avoir de farine que pour trois mois Et comme vous me marquee Devoir faire partir Le convois á La fins de Juillet J'l auroit Estee Enbarassee pour Les vivres ne prévoyant pas pouvoir faire partir Le Bateau que par une cruë D'eau qui ne vienderat peut Estre pas cette autonne comme Le fleuve apris Lannée dernierre Sans cruë D'eau et ce qui me fait apprehender de ne Le pouvoir faire partir cet hiver Le Bateau comme Je Le desirerois ; Si dis cy a Ce temps La J'l né vient point de cruë deau Je Ramasseray Les voitures pour á provisionner de vivres Les postes pour Jusquau printems J'l Est de toute necessitee qu'avec Les grands Bateau J'l montes de doubles piraugues au Roy Tant pour Soulager Les Bataux En montant En cas dechoumants que En dessendent, ces qui Epargneroit au Roy Lachat quon En fait qui ne Servent que pour Les

[Translation]

to get her up the river. The twenty-sixth the river was almost dry which induced me to send down two pirogues loaded with about eighteen thousand flour and two thousand lead with La Jeunesse, an old sergeant, and the soldiers whom M. la Gautrais had taken en route to replace his sick. M. la Houssaye wrote me that he had flour for only three months ; as you directed me to send off the convoy at the end of July, he would have been put to it for provisions, not foreseeing that I could have sent off the bateau only by a freshet which may not come this autumn ; as there was none in the river last year, I am afraid I may not be able to send the bateau off this winter as I could wish. If there is no freshet here, I will pick up conveyances to supply the posts with provisions until spring. It is very necessary that the double pirogues of the king should be sent up with the large bateaux to supplement the bateaux in case of wrecks in ascending as well as descending. This would spare the king's buying them as is done, to serve only in going down, and would facilitate our

descentes Et nous meteroit Dans Laisances de pouvoir Envoyer  
a deffaut de Batau Mr auroit put monter Ses Effets dans Les  
Voitures Du Roy comme dans Les Siennes Et que L'on Serat  
peut Estre obliger De Les achepter

quand aux alignements de ce pais on na jammais penser a  
derenger aucuns Batiments mais il Est Jmpossible de Le faire  
Sans ouvrir des Jardins ou Lon pouroit Labourer Je Vous  
Enverray Le plans ou Les alignements projettes Sont marqués Et  
vous verree par vous même combiens peut cela derenge Et qui Est  
dune grande consequence pour Les Suites Jay montrés á Mr  
Sausier Les Reflexions que vous faites Monsieur Sur Le fort  
cequi me donnee Lieu de faire tirer du canons Et Le mousquet  
pour connoistre Sa portees Et Je crois que vous me donner a  
vostres avis qu une a Lepargne Un dernier croquis

Jesperre que vous vouderee Biens me faire Savoir de Bon-  
heur par Les couriers des arks. afins que nous puissions faire  
charier Les materiaux L'hiver pour Les metre En oeuvres Le  
printens, quand á cequi Est du memoire que Jay Envoyay á Mr  
de La Jonquierre Je ne Luy ay Reins marquee que Je ne puisse

[*Translation*]

sending dispatches when we have no bateaux. Monsieur would  
be able to send up his effects in the king's transports as in his  
own, and one would perhaps be obliged to buy them.

As to laying out streets in this country, we never thought  
of disturbing any buildings, but it is impossible to do it without  
opening gardens that might be cultivated. I will send you the  
plans on which the alignments proposed are marked, and you  
may see for yourself how little is disturbed, which is of great  
consequence for the future. I have shown to M. Saucier the  
reflections you make on the fort, Monsieur, which have impelled  
me to have cannons and muskets fired to know how far they  
would carry; I believe you will agree with me that a final sketch  
has been saved.

I hope you are willing to let me know early by couriers from  
the Arkansas, so that we may have the materials hauled this  
winter to go to work with in the spring. As to the memoir I  
sent to M. de la Jonquière, I have told him nothing I could not

prouver JI ne consistens que Dans Le pranicipe du païs de Son progrès, de la nature des terres, du caractere Et des malheurs des indiens que Jay pris de Leurs missionnaires Les forces du païs ce quon y pouroit faire Le nombre des nations que nous connoisons Dans Le missouris Leurs fassons differente de penser et de faire La guerre Selon Les officiers Et voyageurs qui y ont Estee comme Jay Eus L'honneur De vous marquer cest La ou tous cetant ce mémoires, JI mest aises de vous faire Le memoires par Les notes telles que je Luy ay Envoyee

vous trouverais icy Joint aux vrais Letat des compagnies montant a cent Soixente Et Six hommes Efectif parmy Lesquels nous avons Beaucoup de jeunes gens hors detat De faire Le Service qui Sont au nombre de douze cadets ce qui me fait dans Le païs trois compagnies complete Le Reste Estant En Route, manque ou habitans Tous Les vieux Soldats qui reste Sont dans La compagnie De Mr monchervau; comme il me paroît par Les congés que vous mavees Envoyés Estre dispersés dans differentes compagnies je vous desire Le faire Savoir comme il faut Les

[*Translation*]

prove. It comprised only the principles of the country, its development, the nature of the soil, the character and misfortunes of the Indians as I have learned them from their missionaries, the strength of the country, what can be made of it, the number of tribes we know in the Missouri, their different ways of thinking and of making war according to the officers and *voyageurs* who have been there. As I had the honor to tell you, that was all the memoir was. It will be easy for me to make you a memoir from the notes for the one I sent him.

You will find annexed the true numbers of the companies amounting to 166 effectives, among whom we have many young people incapable of service who are twelve cadets in number. This leaves me in the country three full companies. The remainder are en route, missing, or habitants. All the old soldiers left are in the company of M. Montchervaux; as it seems to me that the *congés* you sent me are to be dispersed in various companies, I wish you to let me know how it is necessary to

placer faisant Estat comme compagnies; Il y a Baucoup de Ses vieux Soldats qui veuile rester icy Je joint icy Le Signalement de Six dont quatre ont fait recolte cet Ennee ils Esperent d'avoir Leurs congés nous n'avons point de filles icy pour marier tous ces habitans J'esperre que La cour y pourvoira Je Renveray Mr Les officiers qui Sont par congés Sitot qu'ils auront fait Leurs affaires Mr de Roche me demende au Rester Dans ce païs J'attenderay vos ordres a ce sujet

J ay L'honneur d estre avec un tres Respectueux attachement  
Monsieur

Votre très humbles Et tres obeissant Servitur

MACARTY MACTIGUE

[*Translation*]

list them, in making returns by companies. There are many of these old soldiers who would like to remain here. I annex the descriptions of six, four of whom have a harvest this year. They hope to have their *congés*. We have no girls here to marry all the habitants. I hope the court will provide them. I will send back Messieurs the officers on *congés* as soon as they have arranged their business. M. de Roche asks me to let him remain in this country. On that I will await your orders.

I have the honor to be with a very respectful attachment,  
Monsieur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

MACARTY MACTIGUE

MACARTY TO VAUDREUIL, September 6, 1752

[H M LO 378]

AUX CASKASIAS ce 6me 7bre 1752

Repd du 25. Xbre 1752.

MONSIEUR

j'ay permis a monsieur Duclos<sup>1</sup> de dessandre pour des affaires de famille jl emporte avec Luy quelques peu de farine pour Son Compte je L'ay prie de La remettre aux postes qui en aurois besoin qu'elle Luy seroit Payé ou Vendue a La ville je L'ay chargé du Prisonnier qui a este Condamne par Le Conseil de guerre ayant envoie avec Les farrines Le 28 du passé Les Soldats que Mr de La gautrai avoit pris en Route je luy ay donne pour Le renforcer trois hommes de cette garnison quil Laissera aux arkansas pour revenir avec Le Convoi, et prandra Ceux qui sont a ce lieu des natches ou plus bas pour se rendre a la ville Le plustot qu'il pourra.

[Translation]

KASKASKIA, September 6, 1752

Answered December 25, 1752

MONSIEUR:

I have allowed Monsieur du Clos<sup>1</sup> to go down on family business. He carries with him a little flour on his own account. I have asked him to turn it over to the posts which may need it, and have told him that he would be paid or reimbursed at the city. I have put him in charge of a prisoner who was condemned by the council of war. Having sent with the flour dispatched the twenty-eighth of last month the soldiers that M. de la Gautrais had picked up en route, I gave him as a reinforcement three men of the garrison whom he will leave at the Arkansas to return with the convoy; and he will take those who are at that place, from the Natchez, or lower down, so that he may arrive at the city as soon as possible.

<sup>1</sup> Probably Alexandre du Clos. *Ensign en second*, December 1, 1740; *ensign en pied*, February 1, 1754. A N Colonies D2C4.

Mr de La Gautray ayant donné Le Lard des soldats selon Les ordres de mr de La houssai en consommission a des voyageur qui avoient estes au devant du Convois Dans Le grand gouffre n'a peû Estre remplasse aux arkansas, Mr de La Costrai apris un chasseur avec qui jl a fait marché pour faire vivre La troupe et n'ayant pas eû de marchandise du magasin a demande qu'on Le paya dé meme que des Rames qu'on a fait en Routte Ce qui paroît tres juste mr Buchet n'a pas voulu Payër ayant ordre de Mr Michel de ne payer quoy que cetoit des frais du Convois ce qui mettra quelque officier a même de ne pouvoir trouver des Rammes En Routte qu'on propose quelqu'un qui en fasse fournir au Bessoin jl m'a prie de vous en ecrire je n'ay put fini son affaire jl est deu encore 2626<sup>4</sup> que jespere envoyer par La premiere occassion de meme de cequi est deû a mr ollivier jl a vandu en Routte au Sr charle ville Les effaits qu'il avoit, qui Luy a remis dix milles Livres qui ont este adressé a mr d'aberville jl dessendra par La premiere occassion Comme mr Girardo

[Translation]

Since M. de la Gautrais, in accord with M. de la Houssaye's orders, gave the soldiers' pork to ration the *voyageurs* who had been ahead of the convoy at Grand Gulf, and since it could not be replaced at the Arkansas, M. de la Gautrais took a hunter with him with whom he made a bargain for the support of the party; and as there were no goods in the storehouse, he has asked to be paid for this as well as for the oars which were made en route, all which seemed very just. M. Buchet did not wish to pay it, having orders from M. Michel not to pay it even though it was an expense of the convoy. This will put every officer in the situation of not being able to find oars en route, since it is proposed that whoever makes them shall supply them at need. M. de la Gautrais asks me to write you about it. I could not close up his affairs; there is still due 2,626 livres which I hope to send by the first occasion as well as what is due to M. Olivier. He has sold to the Sieur Charleville en route what goods he had, and that person has remitted him 10,000 livres which have been addressed to M. d'Auberville. He as well as M. Girardeau will go down by the first opportunity.

Mr de La Gauttrai m'a dit que vous Luy avies permis de garder Le nommé Regnie Caporal pour Les affaires je Le ferai dessande avec Luy Lorsqu'il Les aura finies

je suis bien sensible monsieur a toutes Les marque de bien-veliance que vous m'a donne d'avoir travaillé a me rapprocher de vous, milord clare a qui j'avois écrit de vouloir bien seconder vos bontis me marque du 31 aoust que La Cour n'avoit pas reçu encore vos propossitions que La plasse de la noulle orleans n'estoit pas encore nommé qu'on estoit toujours bien dispossé a me rendre Service qu'a L'egard de mon frere jl avoit esté aresté que ce seroit des officier reformée qui rempliroit Les noulles Compagnies ma femme me marque avec des termes de Reconnoissance toute toute Les graces qu'elle a vous rendre et a made de Vaudreüil des attentions que vous voules bien avoir pour elle, comme pour L'embarquement de mes provisions sans Les quelles il ne seroit pas possible de vivre ysi ou je fait Les chose de mon mieux nous avons goutte des trois bariques Le jours de Sct Louis ayant ramasse tout Le monde pour Celebrer La feste du Roy et La

[*Translation*]

M. de la Gautrais told me you had allowed him to keep the corporal known as Regnie, for his business affairs. I will have him go down with M. de la Gautrais when he has finished with them.

I am very sensible, Monsieur, of all the marks of good will you have given me in working to bring me nearer to you. My Lord Clare, to whom I wrote asking him to second your kindnesses, wrote me August 31 that the court had not yet received your proposals: that the nomination for the place at New Orleans was not yet made, but that he was always disposed to do me service; as to my brother, it had been ruled that half-pay officers were to be placed in the new companies. My wife tells me with much gratitude all the thanks she owes you and Mme de Vaudreuil for the attentions you have been good enough to pay her, as well as for the embarkation of my provisions without which it would not be possible to live here. I do as well as I can. On St. Louis' day we tasted the three barrels, as I had summoned everybody to celebrate the king's feast day, and to drink the health



Sante de notre bienfacteur et Le mien en particulier puis que vos bontes s'étendent sur Le fils pour Lequel vous avez bien voulu demander une plasse de garde marine j'en serois bien embarrassé si on me La refusoit dans L'eloignement ou je suis j'écris a un de mes freres qui a un benefice en poitou de faire un voyage a paris le sortir du College et de vellier a son education et a ce quil soit plassé, j'espere ce service de Luy, je recomande a ma femme d'envoyer des fond en forme mr michel me marque quil Luy donnera Ce quelle voudra de Lettres d'échange Les fond ne Luy doivent pas manquer mr de Neyon fait les fonction d'aide major et s'en aquitera je crois ayant beaucoup de bonne volonté jl vous remersi d'avoir accorde La demande et moy en mon particulier d'avoir bien voulu avoir attention a La mienne

Mr Reggio se resignie volontier aux volentes de mr fleuriau jl m'a demandé a dessandre par Le premier Convois selon Les ordres que vous me donnerez jl dessendra seul ou avec la com-

[*Translation*]

of our benefactor who in especial is mine.

Since your kindnesses extend to my son, for whom you have been kind enough to ask a place as *garde marin*, I would be much embarrassed if it were denied me, being so far off as I am. I have written to one of my brothers who holds a benefice in Poitou to make a journey to Paris to take him out of college and to watch over his education and over placing him; and I hope he will do me this service. I am writing my wife to send him money. M. Michel tells me he will give her as much as she wishes in letters of exchange, so funds should not fail him.

M. de Neyon serves as aid major and will I believe acquit himself well, having much good will. He thanks you for according his request, and I on my own account do the same for your kindness in paying attention to mine.

M. Reggio willingly resigns himself to M. Fleauriau's wishes. He has asked me to let him go down by the first convoy. Accordingly as you shall direct me, he will go down either alone or with his company.

pagnie je vous fait Les Report au Long de ce que j'ay appris d'un cote et d'autre afin que vous jugie de La situassion des nations et de la notre, je crois que la tranquillité que nous avons eû jusque a presant de la part des misamis, ne viens que de Leur foiblesse et que lors quils ont voulu entreprendre quelque chose Jls Contois veritablement sur Les jllinois d'affin L'affaire du 8 Xbre a estes engagé Sans volonte presque de Leur part Le francois ayant tué Le premier jl est vrai qu'ils avoient de mauvais dessin mais je ne crois pas que cela fait general, ce coup occasion Les coup de trahison qui furent fait au vermillion et poste viensenne Celuy de nouveau ayant estes fait par Les chicacha l'estant nommé; Les mis ne parlent pas de ce Coup ce qui auroit estes seû depuis Le parti que mr de Longueüil prend d'envoier des francois aux mis et a La belle Riviere est Le plus sur pour faire finir cette guerre je n'ay poin encore recû de lettres de Luy je vous envoie vos Lettres sitot que je Les aures recû jay eû lhonneur de repondre a tout Les articles de vos Lettres dans ma commune ou particulier

[*Translation*]

I have reported to you at length what I have learned on this side and that, so that you may judge of the tribes' situation and our own. I believe the quiet we have enjoyed up to now from the Miamis proceeds only from their weakness, and that when they want to undertake something they really count on the Illinois as a result of the affair of December 8 in which they were engaged almost against their will, the Frenchman having been the first to kill. It is true they had ill intentions, but I do not think that is generally the case. This attack is the cause of the treacherous attacks which were made at the Vermilion and Vincennes, that again having been made by the Chickasaw. The Miamis do not speak of this attack which would since have become known. The course M. de Longueuil takes of sending French to the Miamis and to the Ohio River is the surest way to finish this war. I have not yet received letters from him. I will send you your letters as soon as I receive them. I have had the honor of replying to all the heads of your letters in my joint or separate ones.

Mr de monchervaux n'ayant pas pris Le signialement de Sa Compe comme je L'avois ordonne Le nomme Le grand n'est poin de signe dans Le prosses criminel je vous prie de Le faire ajouter et me L'envoier jay fait mettre en Regle celuy des vingt et un deserteur dont je vous marque Le sort jl seroit a propos que Les capne en partant de La ville gardassent avec eux un etat du signialement pour ne pas retomber dans L'embaras

Mr de velsse a trouvé que Le mariage dont jl vous avoit demandé permission ne Luy convenoit pas

je fait dessandre un soldat de La Compne de Des mezelieres attaqué de La pierre joint a des meaux veneriens je L'ay joint aux etat de ceux qui ont Resté en Route vous y veres La forse des Compagnies

On ne peû avoir plus de duceur pour Les habitans que j'en ay La plus part tienne du gubernage cela vat fort bien Lorsqu'on ne Leur demandera rien jl me demandois a estre paÿs Lorsqu'il marcherois pour Le service, Comme apres Les deserteur je prevois des dificultes Lors quil faudra travailler aux ouvrage

[*Translation*]

M. de Montchervaux not having taken the descriptions of his company as I had ordered him to do, the soldier named Le Grand is not designated in the criminal process. I beg you to have it added and to send it to me. I have duly arranged those of the twenty-one deserters whose fate I indicated to you. It would be proper that the captains on leaving the city should keep with them the register of descriptions in order not to be embarrassed.

M. de Velsse has found the marriage for which he had asked your permission does not suit him.

I have sent down a soldier of Des Mazellières' company who has had an attack of the stone as well as venereal diseases. I put him on the list of those who have remained en route. You will there see the effectives of the companies.

No one can be gentler with the inhabitants than I have been. Most of them want to direct things themselves. That does well enough so long as nothing is asked of them. They ask to be paid when they march on duty as after the deserters. I foresee difficulties when it becomes necessary for them to labor on the public

publique du fort soie convaincu de mon Zelle pour Le service du  
 Roy exactitude en tout cherchant Les occassions de corespondre a  
 vos bonnes jntantion pour moy et vous convinere de La sinserite  
 du sentimen avec Lesquel jay L'honneur destre avec un respec-  
 tueux attachement et parfaite reconnoissance Monsieur

Votre tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur

MACARTY MACTIGUY

SAUCIER TO VAUDREUIL, September 10, 1752

[H M LO 380]

MONSIEUR

Quelle differance gracieuze pour moy, de lire la Lettre par-  
 ticuliere que Vous avés bien voulos me faire L'honneur de  
 m'Ecrire Ou celle que Vous m' Ecrivés en commun avec M.  
 Michel. Je n'yest en veritée Monsieur, connus rien de Notre part  
 que Notre cher nom, quand aux termes: mais bien La dictée  
 d'une personne qui paroît avoir pris un travers contre moy par la  
 seulle Vüe peut estre de balancer en Mal tout le bien que Vous me  
 Voulés: et dont je Reçois des preuves si grandes.

[*Translation*]

works of the fort. Be assured of my zeal for the king's service,  
 and my care in seeking all occasions to be worthy of your good  
 intentions for me and to convince you of the sincerity of the  
 sentiment with which I have the honor to be with respectful  
 attachment and perfect gratitude, Monsieur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

MACARTY MACTIGUE

MONSIEUR:

How gracious the difference for me, between reading the  
 separate letter you have been so good as to do me the honor to  
 write me, and reading that which you write me jointly with M.  
 Michel. In truth, Monsieur, in the terms in which it was couched  
 I recognized nothing of you save your dear name. Rather I saw  
 the language of someone who seemed to have taken a bias against  
 me with the sole view perhaps of balancing with evil all the good  
 that you wish me, and of which I receive such great proofs.

Je connois dans Toutte sa portée La dernière que je Viens d' en recevoir, par la facilitée quil vous a plut, Monsieur procurer a ma femme de Venir me joindre pourvüe de quelque Choses. Je ne Sçai point determes pour vous en Exprimer le haut degré de ma Reconnoissance.

j'en attand encor une de Votre part, Mon cher General, qui est de vouloir bien me pardonner si j'ose vous Ecrire en commun, la Lettre conçue telle qu'est celle que Vous Reçevrés par cette occasions. J ay crus devoir me justifier sur Tout les articles ou l on me traite Si rigoureusement. je connois parfaitement que ce n'est point là vostre stile.

Mais, Monsieur, celle là n'est encor rien en comparaison de celle qu'il m'a fait l'honneur de M'Ecrire en particulier Laquelle je Vous enverrois cy joint si josois en prendre la Libertée. Un officier qui dans son Employ se seroit toutte La vie opposé au bien du Service. qui auroit par son Mauvaise conduite causé des Depenses Exessives au Roy. Dont la presance en un lieu seroit

[*Translation*]

I recognized you throughout in the last I received from you, and in the kindness with which you were pleased, Monsieur, to obtain for my wife the opportunity of joining me, bringing me some necessaries. I know no terms to express to you the high degree of my gratitude for that.

I await yet another favor from you, my dear General, which is to be so kind as to pardon me if I venture to write to you both jointly such a letter as you will receive by this occasion. I thought I must justify myself on all the points on which I have been treated so harshly. I perfectly understand that it is by no means in your style.

But, Monsieur, that is as nothing in comparison with the letter which M. Michel did me the honor to write me from himself, which I would send you herewith if I dared to take the liberty. An officer who in his profession had all his life set himself counter to the good of the service, who by his bad conduct had been the cause of excessive expenses to the king, who, his presence in a place being necessary to the good of the service,

Necessaire pour La service, et Negligeroit de si Rendre par une faute marqué. ne Recevrois pas de Vous, Monsieur, des lettres en termes plus fort. aussy au hazard de ce quil pouroit en ariver (qui ne sauroit estre un Malheur bien grand Tant que j'aurai Le Bonheur de vous avoir pour protecteur) jy repond (quoy qu'avec tout le Respect possible et que je doit) aussy Vivement que peut le permettre mon Etat, parceque mettant Toutte mon aplication a servir Le Roy de tout mon pourvoir, et a satisfaire aux ordres de Mes Superieurs, Je ne Saurois jamais m'accoutumer a recevoir de pareille réprimande sans Sujet

A l'Egard d'un Article qui me dit. "Jl ne me Restera aucune impression de ce qui je vous dit quand vous voudrés m'en detromper par une conduite contraire, et ce Nest que par Votre Zel marqué que Vous pouvés obtenir Les graces du Roy que je Serai toujours tres flatté de pouvoir vous procurer Lorsque vous me donneré matiere a Le faire."

J ay repondus a tous les articles separement, et a celuy cy dans ces termes. "Je croirois, Mr me faire Tort en changeant de

[*Translation*]

deliberately neglected to report there, would not, Monsieur, receive letters from you couched in stronger terms. So despite what may come of it (which cannot be so great a misfortune while I have the good fortune to have you for a protector) I reply (though with all possible respect and with all that is due from me) as sharply as my station permits. For, since I apply myself to serve the king with all my might, and to conform to the orders of my superiors, I shall never be able to learn to accustom myself to receiving such reprimands without cause.

Concerning the passage in which I am told, "I shall retain no memory of what I say to you when you are ready to disabuse me by different conduct, and it is only by your marked zeal that you can obtain the favor of the king that I shall always be most flattered to be able to procure for you when you give me materials on which to do it,"

I have replied to all these passages separately and to this one in the following terms:

conduite, mes santiments L'ont toujours trop bien guidé pour ne la pas metre audessus de quelque reproche que ce puisse estre. est-il possible, Mr que vous ne Vouliez pas voir le tableau dans son point. Je part d'un poste de 230. Lieües par des ordres communes sans y avoir finy ma Mission, Lon me fait passer comme une Eclaire et m'envoye a 500. autres Lieües pour y faire Executer des travaux assé considerable, et je n y suis pas plustot, que vous me marqué, que les ouvrages considerable de toutte La Colonnne periclittent et que les depenses en ogmantent par mon retardement. comme si tout ut esté dessidé a la Nelle orleans avant mon depart, et que j'us trouvés icy Cent Ouvriers a Metre en Oeuvre. Je m'en attriburois beaucoup d'honneur si je Savoie m'abuser, Mais, Mr Le Roy. Et Dieu même nexige pas L'impossible.

"Mon Auge, Mes Services, Vos Bonnes jntantions et le Vuide dans les places du genier me font voir une belle perspective Si Vous et Mr De Vaudreüil, avés voulus en saisir l'occasion, Sans qu'il ait esté necessaire d'avoir encor des preuves d'une plus

[*Translation*]

"I believe, Monsieur, that I should do myself wrong in altering my conduct. My sentiments have always been too well directed not to place me above any possible reproach. Is it possible, Monsieur, that you do not wish to see the picture in its point? I leave a post 230 leagues away on a joint order without having accomplished my mission. I am made to travel like a scout, and am sent five hundred leagues more to carry out important works, and I have scarcely arrived when you tell me that the important works of the whole colony are imperiled, and their expenses increase as a result of my delay. Just as if everything had been decided on at New Orleans before my departure, as if I had found a hundred workmen here to set to work! I would ascribe much honor to myself if I knew I was mistaken. But, Monsieur, the king and God himself do not require the impossible.

"My age, my services, your good intentions for me, and the vacancies among the engineers made me foresee a pleasant prospect if you and M. de Vaudreuil had wished to seize the opportunity, without finding it necessary to have further proofs of a



grande application, La quelle ne diminuëra jamais non plus que Mon Zel, puisque je quitterais plutot le service que de Changer de Sentiments."

Enfin, Mon General, on ne Sauroit m'oster de l'jdée que M. Michel, est mortifié de ne pas pouvoir procurer La place d'ingenieur a un autre avant moy sans injustice marqué, Je Vois de la Connivance, Si jose me servir de ce terme. On ma assuré que l'jntantion de M. amelot Capi8ne etoit d'entrer dans le genie, c'est un M. qui m'a parus d'un merite, jl est allié a la grande Maison et par consequant amy protégé.

Mr De Macarty m'a communiqué, Vos Reflexions Sur la positions du fort projettez, et pensant plus au solide qu'a La depense, jl donneroit comme moy Le Choix aux hauteurs qui Sont de l'autre coste de la petite Riviere. Je vous en detail par ma lettre commune Tous les avantages et les Motif d'une plus grande depense ce qui me fait croire, Monsieur, que Vous ne L'approuverez pas.

[*Translation*]

greater application to duty on my part, which will never decrease any more than will my zeal, since I would sooner leave the service than alter my principles."

Finally, My General, I cannot be disabused of the idea that M. Michel is mortified at not having been able to procure the place of engineer for some one else in preference to me without marked injustice. I see connivance if I dare use the word. I was assured that the intention of M. Amelot, captain, was to enter the engineering service. He is a gentleman who has seemed to me to have merit, he is allied to a great house, and consequently is to be favored.

M. de Macarty has communicated to me your reflections as to the placing of the proposed fort; and thinking more of permanence than of expense, he gave, like me, the preference to the heights which are on the other side of the little river. In my joint letter I detail to you, Monsieur, all the advantages and the reasons for a greater expense which makes me think, Monsieur, that you will not approve it.

L'Endroit qui est a la bariere des Caos, est un tres Bel emplacement, duquel je n'ai point parlé Vüe son Eloignement de la Ville, de Vingt arpents au moins.

Je Souhaitte, Monsieur, que vous approuviés mon dernier projet qui est tout ce qu'on peut faire pour diminuer la Depanse, et ce qui est Tres suffisant pour Le present aux jllinois, qui si par la suite setablisse plus considerablemt pouroit bien meriter une petite Citadelle sur les susdittes hauteures.

M. Devergés me marque, qu'on ne luy a pas fait L'honneur de luy Communiquer mon plans, ce que J'aurois Bien desirés pour en sçavoir Son santiment

J attant avec jmpatience Les ouvriers que Vous nous promettés par le premier convoye, quoy que cependant, jls ne pourons, Je pense, nous estre utiles qu a la fin de l'hyver ne pouvant point arriver avant le mois de novembre: Cest Sur le plus grand nombre que je fonde pour la prompte Execution de ces dts Traveaux.

[*Translation*]

The location which is at the gate of Cahokia is a very fine situation of which I have said nothing in view of its distance, twenty arpents at least, from the city.

I desire, Monsieur, that you approve my last proposal, which is all that can be done to diminish the expense, and which is quite sufficient for the present in Illinois, which, if in the end it settles up more considerably, may well deserve a little citadel on the heights mentioned.

M. de Verges indicates that he has not had the honor to be shown my plans, which I should much desire in order to know his opinion.

I await with impatience the workmen whom you promise us by the next convoy, though they cannot, I think, be useful to us until the end of the winter as they can't arrive before the month of November. It is on the largest possible number of them that I rely for the speedy execution of these works.

J'ay L'honneur d'estre avec un tres profond Respect  
Monsieur.

Votre tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur

F: SAUCIER

AUX CASKAKIAS Le 10 Sepbre 1752.

DE GUYENNE TO VAUDREUIL, September 10, 1752

[H M LO 312]

MONSIEUR

J'ai recû avec bien de la reconnoissance la lettre que vous m'avez fait l honneur de m'ecrire, et les nouvelles marques que vous voulez bien nous donner de votre bonté. Nous attendons avec crainte les nouvelles qu'aura apportées le Vaisseau du Roy au Sujet du gouvernement general. la joye qui eclateroit dans le Canada Si les voeux du tous les etats ont été écoutý à la cour, ne Servioit qu'a nous faire Sentir ici plus vivement la perte que nous aurions faite.

Mr le commandant vous marquera, Monsieur, les raisons qu'il a eûes de relâcher les Prisonniers Jllinois ou Miamis. il paroît

[*Translation*]

I have the honor to be with a very profound respect,  
Monsieur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

F. SAUCIER

KASKASKIA, September 10, 1752

MONSIEUR:

I received with much gratitude the letter you did me the honor to write me, and the new marks of your kindness which you are so good as to bestow on us. We await with dread the news which the king's ship will have brought on the subject of the governor generalship. The joy which that would afford in Canada if the wish of all the estates has been granted by the court, would but make us here feel more keenly the loss we would suffer.

M. the commandant will indicate to you, Monsieur, his reasons for releasing the Illinois or Miami prisoners. It seemed cer-

certain que la plus grande partie de ce village qui avec les deux chefs avoit hyverne dans le Mississipi n'avoit eû aucune connoissance des derniers mouvements des Pianghichias, ni de leur entrevûes avec les Illinois qui hyvernoient dans les leurs. il est encore fort douteux Si c'est le parti du Loup, duquel etoient ces quatre Prisonniers, qui nous a voulu frapper. je n'ai pas encore pu Scavoir cette affaire au net ce qui me paroît le plus vrai. Semblable est qu'il a été Suivi de près d'un autre dont etoient les deux jeunes hommes de ce village qui ont insulté les françois du côté du fort de chartres et dont il y en eut un de tué. jé crois que le Loup qui a empêché deux fois ceux de Ses gens qui etoient mal intentionnes de frapper les françois n'est coupable que pour n'avoir pas averti Monsieur Benoît de leurs dispositions, et pour s'être abouché Sur le Mississipi avec ce Second parti.

Devant cet hyvernement nos illinois ont amené à mr. macarty trois françois dont les Pirogues avoient péri dans les glaces de l'oyo, et ensuite moreau qui Se croyoit Sauvé Seul de Sa defaite dans cette même Riviere ils avoient traité celui-ci qui etoit arrivé

[*Translation*]

tain that the greater part of that village which with the two chiefs had wintered on the Mississippi, had no knowledge of the latest movements of the Piankashaw, nor of their interviews with the Illinois who wintered with them. It is moreover quite doubtful if the party of Le Loup, to which these four prisoners belonged, was disposed to attack us. I have not yet fathomed that affair, but what seems most likely to me is that that party was followed by another, which included the two young men of this village—one of whom was killed—who affronted the French toward Fort de Chartres. I believe that Le Loup, who has twice prevented those of his people who were ill-affected from attacking the French, is blamable only for not warning M. Benoist of their dispositions, and for having communicated at the Mississippi with the second party.

Before taking winter quarters, our Illinois brought to M. Macarty three Frenchmen whose pirogues had been lost in the ice of the Ohio, and then Moreau, who thought himself the sole survivor of his defeat on the same river. They had treated him, who

chez eux presque nud avec toute Sorte d'humanité l'ayant bien nourri, et bien vetù M. Moreau<sup>1</sup> a pensé, et tout le monde a approuvé ici La conduite, qu'il ne falloit par exposer des gens qui ne paroissent point etre coupables à un desespoir qui nous pouvoit être funeste; il a jugé qu'il n'y avoit point d'apparence qu'on les pût contraindre à porter la guerre chez les Peanghichias dont ils ont beaucoup de femmes et d'enfans dans ce village, et parmi les quels ils ont bien des hommes mariés. on ne pouvoit d'ailleurs le Soupçonner de foiblesse, ni de vûes d'interêt, pour qu'il avoir refusé une Esclave qui luy avoit été présentée par les parens des Prisonniers. toutes ces considerations l'ont déterminé á remettre entre les mains des deux chefs qui luy avoient aménés les françois, les deux prisonniers comme une recompense de leur affection pour notre nation ce qui a produit un tres bon effet. jus qu'à ce moment je ne Scavois ce qu'alloit devenir ce village qui assurément Se Seroit dissipés Les deux coupables Sont allés remercier M. le Commandant et Sont demeurý depuis fort tranquiles.

[*Translation*]

came among them almost naked, with all manner of humanity, feeding and clothing him well. M. Moreau<sup>1</sup> thought, and everybody agreed, that it was not necessary to plunge people who did not seem blameworthy into a despair which might be fatal to us. He judged there was no likelihood that they could be constrained to make war on the Piankashaw, many of whose women and children they have in this village, and among whom many of their men have married. Moreover he could not be suspected of weakness, nor of self-interest, since he had refused a slave offered to him by the relatives of the prisoners. All these considerations have induced him to turn over to the two chiefs who brought in the Frenchmen, the two prisoners as a recompense for their love for our nation, and it has produced a very good effect. Until then I did not know what was to become of this village, which assuredly would have broken up. The two culprits have gone to thank M. the commandant at his dwelling, and have since been very quiet.

<sup>1</sup> Probably Macarty is meant.

Les Kicapous de la nation de qui est le Loup Sont venus ensuite appuyés d'une recommandation de Mr De Lignery, qui n'a que ce village en Son quartier, qui ne Se Soit pas déclaré contre nous, le revendique le quatriesme qui est Ouyatanon avoit été refusé à Son pere, on vouloit que les chefs coupables vinsent reconnoître leur faute, mais il a trouvé le moyen de rompre un de Ses fers, et de s'échaper. Dix jours ensuite epuisé de faim il est entré pendant la nuit dans une cabanne de ce village où on la defergé des mains et d'un pied et où on lui a donné un fusil et un plat côté pour Sa route. quelques jours ensuite Sont arrivèy avec des lettres de Mr de Lignery deux chefs ouyatanons de ceux qu'en petit nombre Sont restés à leur ancien poste. ils venoient demander le Prisonner. ils nous ont rapporté que les gens de michilimakinac ont fait un coup Sur le village de la Roche vous Scavez de Mr le commandant qu'ils ont bien diminue la perte de ceux ci, mais ils ont ajouté qu'apres le coup fait un Jroquois blessé à mort demanda a parler aux outaoues et Poutouatames. qu'un miamis le Pavillon à la main s'approcha d'eux, et qu'après

[*Translation*]

The Kickapoo, of which tribe Le Loup is a member, have come, backed by a recommendation of M. de Ligneris, who has but this one village in his region that has not declared against us, to obtain the fourth prisoner, who is a Wea. He had been refused when his father begged for him, as it was desired that the blame-worthy chiefs should come and acknowledge their fault. But he found the means to break one of his irons and to escape. Ten days later, exhausted from hunger, he came by night to a cabin in the village, where they freed his hands and his foot of the irons and gave him a gun and a side of beef for his journey. Some days later two chiefs of the few Wea remaining at their old post came with letters from M. de Ligneris and asked for the prisoner. They told us that the tribes of Mackinac have made an attack on the village on the Great Miami. You know from M. the commandant that their estimate of the losses inflicted is much reduced; but their chiefs added that after the attack a mortally wounded Iroquois demanded speech with the Ottawa and Potawatomi. A Miami with a flag in his hand came up to them,

lui avoir reproché qu'ils devenoient les Esclaves et les chiens des françois qui les contraignoient de se battre et de Se detruire les uns les autres les outa8as avoient dit que c'étoit la dernière fois qu'ils ecouteroit le françois, et qu'ils avoient fait l'achange de quatre miamises prisonniers contre Sept anglois dont l'un qui etoit forgeron avoit reçu un coup de fusil dans la mêlée, et fut achevé Sur le champ et les Six autres ammenés á michilimakinac ils ont dit encore qu'ils avoient envoyey deux chefs à ce Poste pour inviter les chefs des nations qui'y Sont etablies, et ceux des autres nations voisines a l'aboucher pour convenir de ne plus prendre les armes les uns contre les autres ; ce qui emporteroit une espece de ligue contre le françois.

Il ne paroît pas que le Peanghichia ait encore pensé Serieusement a reparer Sa faute les differentes invitations que les Jllinois leur ont faites d'eux mêmes Sont demeureés Sans effet où ils desesperent de leur pardon ou'ils Se rafferent Sur la protection des anglois et des differentes nations refugiées dans ce canton la crainte ou'ils ont été jusqu'ici de la vengeance du françois leur a

[*Translation*]

and after reproaching him because they had become the slaves and dogs of the French, who forced them to fight and destroy each other, the Ottawa had said it was the last time they would listen to the French, and that they had exchanged four Miami prisoners for seven Englishmen, one of whom, the blacksmith, had been shot in the fight and was dispatched on the spot, and the six others taken to Mackinac. They also said they had sent two chiefs to this post to invite the chiefs of the tribes established here and those of other neighboring tribes to confer and to agree no longer to take arms against each other, which would imply a sort of league against the French.

It does not appear that the Piankashaw have thought seriously of atoning for their fault. The different invitations that the Illinois have sent them on their own account have been without effect. Either they despair of being pardoned, or else they rely on the protection of the English and of the various tribes who have taken refuge in that region. Their fear up to now



fait prendre tous les moyens d'augmenter leur forces. ils n'ont épargné ni mensonges ni menaces pour gagner l'Illinois, et dans la dernière chasse d'été un homme venu du poste de Vincennes a employé l'Eau de vie qu'il avoit reçue de M. le commandant à en débaucher sept à huit familles qu'il a emmenées à la Rivière blanche où sont campés encore les Peanghichias et les Ouyatanons qui les ont suivis. Les Anglois sont venus les y trouver deux fois, et leur ont apporté de la marchandise ils n'ont point encore de fort, et presque point de poudre il est encore temps de les dissiper Si on sçait conduire l'affaire;

Tout les discours qu'on prête aux Anglois de ce quartier n'ont aucune vraie-semblance ce sont des Quakers de Philadelphie gens qui ne pensent qu'à les Pelletterie, qui reconnoissent à peine le gouvernement d'Angleterre, qui ont pour principe de Religion de ne faire la guerre à personne, et qui dans la dernière guerre ont chassés de leur Colonie à coup de pierres et de bâtons des troupes envoyées par le gouverneur de la Caroline pour les contraindre à lever des milices qu'on destinoit à fortifier les postes du nord.

[*Translation*]

of the vengeance of the French has made them take every means of increasing their forces. They have spared neither lies nor threats to gain the Illinois, and in last summer's hunt a man from Vincennes used the brandy he had of M. the commandant to seduce seven or eight families whom he carried off to White River, where the Piankashaw and the Wea who followed them are still encamped. The English have twice come to seek them and have brought them goods. As yet they have no fort and almost no powder. There is still time to disperse them if one knew how to set about it.

All the talk ascribed to the English in that quarter is improbable. They are Quakers of Philadelphia, people who think only of peltry, who scarcely recognize the government of England, who have it as a principle of religion not to make war in their own persons, and who in the last war drove from their colony with stones and sticks the troops sent by the governor of Carolina to force them to raise militia to be used in fortifying

D'ailleurs il faudroit qu'ils fissent de grands progres, et des Etablissemens considerables en deça de leurs montagnes pour Se trouve en etat de Seconder les efforts des Sauvages, a nous enlever ce pais. et bien nous en prend, car que deviendroît le fort qu'on ppense à élever dans la plaine du village des Cascaskias commandée par une côte dont on la battroit en ruines

Quoique les esprits les plus moderés de cette nation Soient revenûs de la grande peur que leur ont faite les Renards et les discours des miamis, et qu'un prisonnier revenû de chez les Renards leur ait bien fait Sentir que les francois avoient ignoré leurs desseins, cependant l'arrivée continuelle des Soldats, le defaut d'un fort où ils pussent Se retirer en cas d'une allarme, la fuite de plusieurs cabannes, qui des deux villages Se Sont retirées aux Peorias, et aux Peanghichias, leurs besoins et le peu d'inclination qu'on fait paroître de les Soulager entretiennent ici une fomentation qui aboutira, comme je le pense, à éloigner encore l hyver prochain les plus mecontans et les plus peureux.

[*Translation*]

the northern posts. Moreover they would have to make great progress and considerable settlements beyond their mountains in order to second the Indians' attempts to filch the country. This is lucky for us; for what would be the fate of the fort proposed to be built in the plain at the village of Kaskaskia which is commanded by a hill from which it could be battered to pieces?

The more moderate of the tribe have recovered from the great fright into which the Foxes and the language of the Miamis have thrown them; and a prisoner come back from among the Foxes has convinced them that the French knew nothing of the designs of these last. Nevertheless the continual arrival of soldiers, and the lack of a fort to which they could retire in case of alarm, the flight of several cabins who have withdrawn from the two villages to the Peoria and to the Piankashaw, their needs and the little apparent inclination to supply them, are causing a ferment which as I think will end in driving away next winter the most discontented and the most fearful.

Des deux chefs de ce village Rouensa frere ainé de celui que vous avez vû, Monsieur, à la ville, et Thomas; celui-ci est honnête homme, a toujours été attaché aux françois et á la Religion il n'y a rien à craindre de Sa part le premier fait un personnage difficile à Soutenir—il voudroit bien vivre avec le françois; il Sent qu'il est de l'interêt de Son village, dont il Se regarde comme le Seul chef, de le menager: mais Son frere ainé élevé chez les miamis, est parmi les Peanghichias; et il le voudroit mettre à couvert de la vengeance de notre nation. il a fait cette année vers lui, et vers Son part plusieurs demarches infructueuses, il dit qu'il les abandonne à leur Sort, qu'il est prêt à marcher contre eux: mais quoi qu'il dise, il chercha les moyens de les reconcilier avec nous pour cela il dissimule, il interprete il adoucit tout ce qui vient de leur part, tout ce qui pourroit les rendre plus odieux, et retarde l'accommodement auquel il aspire c'est un esprit leger, mais doux, timide et jaloux de plaiser a la renards par des marques d'amitié

[*Translation*]

As to the two chiefs of this village, Rouensa, elder brother of the one you have seen at the city, Monsieur, and Thomas: the latter is an honest man, has always been attached to the French and to religion; there is nothing to fear from him. The first named plays a part that is difficult to sustain. He would like to live on good terms with the French. He feels that it is to the interest of his village, of which he considers himself sole chief, to get on with them. But his eldest brother, brought up among the Miami, is with the Piankashaw, and he would like to protect him from the vengeance of our nation. This year he has made various fruitless overtures to him and to his party. He says he abandons them to their fate, and that he is ready to march against them. But whatever he may say, he seeks the means of reconciling them with us. To that end he dissimulates, he interprets, he softens all their messages, censoring all that might make them more odious and retard the reconciliation for which he hopes. He is a flighty man, but gentle, timid, and careful to please the Foxes. Only by marks of friendship and of

et de confiance; et par de bonnes leçons. c'est le Seul moyen de prevenir les fautes où Son chagrin le pourroit porter.

Monsieur De Bertet qui la connoissoit bien avoit reussi par ce temperamment de douceur, et de fermeté à la mettre luy et Son village dans la dependance il plaçoit à propos Ses bienfaits, il donnoit dans l'occasion aux chefs de quoi Soutenir leur credit dans le village, et vis à vis de l'étranger qui les venoit visiter, il parloit toujours avec beaucoup de San froid, et de presance d'esprit, aussi etoit-il tellement ecouté, respecté, et aime que les chefs, et les considerés lui portoient leur differens, et S'en tenoient à Sa decision on a aimé après lui M. Benoit qui donnoit peutetre trop facilement mais leur Successeur est craint et a si fort les interêts du Roy à coeur qu'il n'en paroît pas connoître d'autres en voici quelques preuves dont la connoissance peut, Monsieur, vous sera utile

Les Caokias et les Mitchigamias apres leur echec du premier de Juin s'étoient retirés à l'Etablissement du fort de chartres. Six jours après un françois qui revenoit des Caokias vint annoncer

[*Translation*]

confidence, and by wholesome lessons can we forestall the errors into which chagrin might carry him.

M. de Bertet, who knew him well, had succeeded by tempering kindness with force in keeping him and his village in dependence. He distributed his favors wisely. On occasion he gave the chiefs the wherewithal to maintain their prestige in the village, and with those who came to see them. He spoke always with much sang-froid and presence of mind, and was accordingly so listened to, respected, and loved that the chiefs and prominent men brought their differences to him and abode by his decisions. After him they liked M. Benoist, who perhaps gave too easily. But their successor is dreaded; and he has the king's interest so much at heart that he seems to recognize no others. Some proofs follow, knowledge of which, Monsieur, may be useful.

The Cahokia and Michigamea, after their reverse of June 1, went off to the settlement at Fort de Chartres. Six days later a Frenchman returning from Cahokia came with a tale of a second

un Second parti d'ennemis plus fort que le premier. il assure les choses au commandant, il l'assure aux Sauvages, et leur dit qu'il vient pour achever de les detruire; il Specifie le lieu où il les a vûs, le nombre des canots, celui des gens qui viennent par terre, les differentes nations. on le croit, et Sans rien examiner, on presse les Sauvages de Se refugier au village des Cascaskias françois. Cetoit le lendemain matin qu'on devoit attaquer, il falloit donc que les hommes les femmes, et les enfans partissent, et fissent Six lieues dans une nuit tres pluvieuse et froide En passant ici ils communiquent l'allarme á tout le village dont je metois absenté la veille au Soir c'est un françois qui a vû et parlé à l ennemi, qui a compte tous les hommes, il y en a au moins cinq cent; ce Sont les chefs françois qui ont dit de fuir, on prend donc le parti de les Suivre et au point du jour quatre à cinq cent personnes arrivant au village françois la plus part trempés de la pluye, et transis de froid. l'interprete, les principaux habitans touches de la misere de tous ces fugitifs. parlent et intercedent

[*Translation*]

hostile party stronger than the first. He asserted it to the commandant and to the Indians, telling them it was to complete their destruction. He was specific as to the place where he had seen them, the number of canoes, the number of men coming by land, the various tribes. He was believed, and without question the Indians were urged to take refuge at the French village of Kaskaskia. The attack was to take place next morning; so men, women, and children must needs set forth and go six leagues on a very cold and rainy night. Passing by here they gave the alarm to the whole village, which I had left the evening before. It was a Frenchman who had seen and spoken with the enemy, who had counted all the men, five hundred at the least. It was the French chiefs who bade them flee. Therefore it was decided to follow, and at daybreak four to five hundred people reached the French village, most of them drenched with rain and perishing with cold. The interpreter and the principal inhabitants, touched by the misery of all these fugitives, spoke and interceded for them,

pour eux, prient en vain qu'on les loge quelque part, et qu'on leur donne des vivres. le maïs étoit rare, et c'auroit été une depense ces malheureux Se voyant méprisés prennent le pars de traverser la petite Riviere, et de S'en aller dans les Prairies, on craint qu'ils n'aillent aux miamis, ou les arrête, mais quelque instance que l'on fasse ou refuse de leur donner des vivres; on les verroit, dit on, mourir tous sans en etre touché. les habitans en prennent quelques uns chez eux, on loge le reste dans la grande Eglise qui n'est pas encore echevée. je pris la liberté de dire que J'allois leur faire donner du maïs. on me dit, vous ferez bien. je fais donc appeller les femmes, et leur fait distribuer devant l'interprete trente quatre minots de maïs. on reconnût bientôt l'imposture du nouveliste, et tous ces pauvres gens retournerent chez eux

a l'arrivée de M. la Cautrais M. le commandant fit faire un feu de joye pour la naissance du Duc de Bourgogne la veille de cette rejoyissance nos gens qui avoient vû débarquer beaucoup de boissons, ramassent dans le village, Selon l'usage introduit depuis

[Translation]

urged in vain that they be lodged somewhere and given food. Corn was scarce, and it would have been an expense. These wretched people seeing themselves despised resolved to cross the little river and go off in the prairies. It was feared that they might go to the Miami, and they were stopped, but despite all pleading, food was refused to them. We would, it was said, see them all die and remain unmoved. The inhabitants took some into their houses, and the rest were lodged in the great church which is not yet finished. I took the liberty of saying that I would go and get corn given them; and I was told I should do well. I called the women and had distributed to them in the presence of the interpreter thirty-four minots of corn. The imposition of the romancer was soon perceived, and all these poor people went back to their homes.

On the arrival of M. la Gautrais, M. the commandant ordered a *feu de joie* for the birth of the Duke of Burgundy. On the eve of this rejoicing our people who had seen much liquor unloaded, got together in the village, according to the custom in-

quelques annés, une Sain quantaine de peaux qu'ils vont presente à M. le commandant pour avoir de l'eau de vie. il les remet à deux jours de là le lendemain je leurs apprend la petite fête qui Se doit faire chez les françois de crainte que le bruit du canon ne les allarme, on raisonne Sur cela dans le village ceux qui Sont de la prier me viennent dire qu'ils ont le coeur françois, qu'ils Sont les enfans du Roy, et qu'ils ont envie de prendre part à notre joye comme je craignois bien qu'ils n'en fussent pour les frais, je repondis froidement que Jetois bien aise que cette pensée leur fût venue après la priere du Soir on fait la cri dans le village et des qu'on entendit le canon et durant toute la ceremonie françoise on tira de toutes les cabannes Sans aucun ordre après quoi tous les hommes Sans exception s'assemblent autour de ma maison où il y a un portrait du Roy, et font trois Salves generales. le lendemain allant chercher l'eau de vie promise, ils racontent ce qu'ils ont fait Sans qu'on y paroisse faire la moindre attention. Comme la chose m'avoit touché jusqu'au coeur, et qu'ils avoient bien depensé de la poudre je m'interessai pour eux la premiere

[*Translation*]

roduced some years back, a half-hundred of peltry which they went to present to M. the commandant, hoping to receive brandy. He put them off to two days thence. Next day, lest the sound of the cannon alarm them, I told them of the little festival the French were to have. Reasoning on that in the village, the Christians came and said to me that they had French hearts, that they were the king's children, and that they wished to participate in our joy. As I much feared lest they should lose their outlay, I replied coldly that I was glad that idea had occurred to them. After evening prayer they made proclamation in the village, and when they heard the cannon and all the French ceremonial, they fired guns from all the cabins indiscriminately, after which all the men without exception gathered around my house, where there was a portrait of the king, and fired three salvos. Next day, going to get the brandy promised them, they told what they had done without anyone's seeming to pay the least attention. As the incident had touched my heart, and as they had spent much powder, I interested myself in their behalf



fois que J allay au village francois. mais je ne puis rien gagner aussi les chefs disent ici qu'ils n'ont plus de peur

apres le coup des Renards les mitchis dont les cabannes avoient été bruleés Se trouvoient Sans vivres, Sans meubles, Sans habits, Sans armes, on ne les a aides en rien quoy que de tous cotes on ait intercedé pour eux.

au retour de la chasse d'hyver nos gens ayant porté Selon l usage des viandes Seiches, et des graisses au Commandant demandoient des fusils. on repondit qu'on n'en avoit point, et on les remit au premier convoy, mais ils n'en osent pas demander, et on ne leur en donne point Rouensa qui n'en a point et vient de m'en parler me prioit d'en demander un pour luy, je n'ay pas osé m'y engager. on craint, dit-on qu'ils ne donne de la poudre aux miamis ce qui est cause qu'on n'en a pas donné depuis un an cinquante livres pour le village ces petites chagrins me donnent ici de l'inquietude, et me font craindre que ces gens-ci ne prennent quelque mauvais part

[*Translation*]

on my next visit to the French village. But I could get nothing for them. Accordingly the chiefs here say we are no longer afraid of them.

After the Foxes' attack the Michigamea, whose cabins had been burned, were without food, furniture, clothing or arms, but they were no way helped although intercession was made for them on all sides.

On their return from the winter hunt our people according to custom carried dried meat and grease to the commandant and asked for guns. They were answered that there were none and were put off until the next convoy. But they do not dare ask for them, and none are given them. Rouensa, who has none, and who came to speak with me, begged me to ask one for him. I did not dare undertake to do it. It is feared, so it is said, that they will give powder to the Miami which is the reason that during a year but fifty pounds has been given to the village. These petty annoyances make me uneasy and fearful lest these people take some evil course.

Permettes moy, monsieur de presenter mes respects à madame  
et de vous assure que J aurai l honneur d'estre toute ma vie avec  
le plus vive reconnaissance Monsieur

Votre très humble et très obeissant Serviteur

AL FR. X. DEGUYENNE M J

De la mission de ST. JOSEPH ce 10. 7bre 1752

VAUDREUIL TO ROUILLÉ, September 28, 1752

[A N Colonies C13A 36:118]

MONSEIGNEUR

Les dernieres nouvelles qui me sont venües des Illinois sem-  
blent annoncer une reconciliation prochaine de la part des rebelles  
avec nous par certaine demarches qu'ils ont faites pour cela et  
par La mort du chéf la demoiselle autheur de leur Rebellion et  
de leur retraite sur la rivierre a la Roche Jointe a celle de la  
Majeure partië des hurons qui sont retournés avec leur frere au  
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detroit suivant L'avis que J'en ay recü de Mr le Marquis de  
la Jonquiërre Le printemps dernier

[*Translation*]

Permit me, Monsieur, to present my respects to Madame and  
to assure you that I shall have the honor to be all my life with  
most lively gratitude, Monsieur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

A. F. X. DE GUYENNE, M. J.

Mission of ST. JOSEPH, September 10, 1752

MONSEIGNEUR:

The last news which has reached me from the Illinois seems  
to announce an approaching reconciliation of the rebels with us  
by certain overtures which they have made to that end and by the  
death of the chief, La Demoiselle, who was the cause of their  
rebellion and of their retirement to Great Miami River; in addi-  
tion the majority of the Hurons have returned with their brother  
to Detroit according to the information which I received from  
M. le Marquis de la Jonquièrre last spring. It is certain that if

Il est constant que si la mort de ce Chef est certaine et que la Majeure partie des hurons se soient retirées c'est toujours un acheminement à pouvoir un peu calmer les troubles dont les païs d'en haut sont agités. Mais non pas Les Eteindre entièrement sans quelques coups d'Eclat sur ces rebelles qui puissent leur faire sentir Leur faute et forcer les anglois à se retirer de nos terres et les empêcher d'y pénétrer davantage par deux forts L'un sur La Belle rivière et L'autre sur Le Oûabache suivant le projet de Mr de la Jonquière et les circonstances que J'ay eû L'honneur de vous en détailler Monseigneur, par Ma Lettre du 8 avril dernier.

Mr de Macarty Major commandant au païs des Illinois me fait part des raisons qu'il a eûes pour rendre à ces sauvages

domiciliers leur prisonniers. Je les ay trouvées <sup>119</sup> d'autant Mieux fondées que ces nations se sont trouvées fort humiliées par une irruption faite sur elles au Mois de may dernier de la part des sioux, Renars, sakis, Puans folles avoines et Poutouotamis qui Leur ont faits environ 70. personnes tant hommes, femmes,

[*Translation*]

the death of this chief is authentic and if the majority of the Hurons have withdrawn, it is a beginning for calming the disorders which disturb the upcountry. But they cannot be entirely extinguished without some decisive blows against these rebels which may make them feel their fault and force the English to retire from our lands and prevent them from penetrating further, or without building two forts, one on the Ohio River and one on the Wabash, in accord with the project of M. de la Jonquière and with the circumstances which I had the honor to detail to you, Monseigneur, by my letter of April 8 last.

M. de Macarty, major commandant in the country of the Illinois, informs me of the reasons which he had for giving back to the domiciled Indians their prisoners. I found them the better founded in that these tribes have been very much humiliated by an attack made on them in the month of May last by the Sioux, Foxes, Sauk, Winnebago, Menominee, and Potawatomi, who have accounted for about seventy people, both men, women, and chil-

qu'enfans ce coup les avoit tellement Intimides que les differens villages setoient rassembles et projettoient de se retirer avec nos rebelles sur la riviere a la Roche ou seul ils croyoient pouvoir être en sureté, ce commandant les a rassures en leur remettant leur prisonniers et en leur promettant d'Empêcher que le ressentiment de Leur ennemis n'ait d'autre suite plus facheuse

J'ay marqué a cet officier ma satisfaction sur le party qu'il avoit pris en cette occasion ou il convenoit de menager en cela nos Intérêts qui seront toujours de conserver ces sauvages domiciliés tant pour couvrir le haut des Etablissemens de ce païs

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que pour ne point augmenter les forces de nos Ennemis

Les Peanguichias Jusqu'a present ont Bien faits des demarches pour avoir Leur prisonniers mais ce commandant n'a pas Jugés devoir Leur remettre ne luy aiant donné que de foibles Marques de leur repentir et craignans nôtre ressentiment ils se sont retirés en Majeure partie sur la Rivière Blanche ou il y a des anglois aujourd' huy Etablis avec un certain nombre de

[*Translation*]

dren. This blow so far intimidated them that various villages had assembled and planned to retire with our rebels on Great Miami River, where only they thought they would be safe. This commandant has reassured them by giving them back their prisoners, and by promising them to prevent the resentment of their enemies having any more unfortunate results.

I have indicated to that officer my satisfaction with the course he had taken on that occasion on which it was important to manage our interests carefully, which will always be to keep these domiciled Indians both to cover the upper establishments of this country and in order that they may not increase the forces of our enemies.

The Piankashaw up to now have taken various steps to get back their prisoners, but this commandant has not judged it proper to give them back as they have given but small marks of their repentance and, fearing our resentment, have retired for the greater part on White River, where there are English today established with a certain number of rebels from Great Miami River.

rebelles de la rivière a la roche que J'ay ordonné a Mr de Macarty de faire deguerpir en opposant la force a la force, s'il estoit Besoin d'en venir a cette extremité pour parvenir en cet Endroit Les suites d'un etablissement plus considerable par raport a la proximité du poste des Peanguichias qui n'est qu'a 15 Lieües environ de cette rivierre.

Ce commandant, me réitéré Les observations sur la nécessité de diriger La majorité commandant du detroit en Lieutenance de

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Roy comme elle a été autrefois en y Joignant un état Major qui seroit chargé de la dicipline des troupes a laquelle il ne peut donner qu'une Bien petite partie de son attention par le trop grand detail que Luy occasionne a present le gouvernement des habitans et des sauvages.

Il y á Longtemps Monseigneur, que J'en ressens, L'utilité, mais craignant toujours d'acumuler les depenses de cette colonie J'ay differé Jusqu'a present d'en faire la proposition au Roy que Je supplie tres humblement aujourd'huy de ne recevoir que comme une demande qui part du zèle ardent que Je conservray toujours

[Translation]

I have ordered M. de Macarty to extirpate this settlement, opposing force to force if there is need of coming to that extremity in order to forestall in that place the results from a larger settlement on account of the nearness of Vincennes, which is only about fifteen leagues from that river.

This commandant repeats to me the observations as to the necessity of raising the post of major commandant of Detroit to a lieutenancy of the king as it formerly was, joining to it an *état major* which would be charged with the discipline of the troops to which he can only give a small part of his attention by the too great detail which the government of the inhabitants and the Indians exacts on him at present.

For a long time, Monseigneur, I have felt the advantage of it, but always fearing to increase the expenses of the colony I have deferred up to now making the proposal to the king which I beg very humbly today may be received only as a request which arises from the ardent zeal which I shall always preserve for His

pour Le service de sa majesté ; persuades que je suis Monseigneur, que vous en sentiré toute L'importance pour La Luy faire agreer, J'auray L'honneur par cette occasion de vous proposer les sùjets qui conviendront Le mieux pour remplir les places de Major et d'ayde Major au païs des Ilinois sous le commandement de mon dit Sieur de Macarty qui paroît faire de son Mieux pour remplir

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les vües que sa Majesté à eües sur Luy en L'honorant de ce commandement qui etant dechargé La dicipline dés troupes et Milices sera plus a porté de se Livrer au gouvernement des nations sauvages et des habitans qui ont Besoin d'un peu d'emulation pour faire faire a ce païs les progres de culture et d'accroissement que sa Majesté aura Lieu d'attendre des soins de cet officer

J'ay L'honneur d'être avec un profond respect Monseigneur

Vôtre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur

VAUDREÜIL

A LA NOUVELLE ORLÉANS 28 Septembre 1752

[*Translation*]

Majesty's service. Persuaded as I am, Monseigneur, that you will feel all the importance of getting the king's assent to it, I shall have the honor by this occasion to propose to you the people who will be fittest to fill the places of major and aid major in the country of the Illinois under the command of the said Sieur de Macarty, who appears to do his best to fulfil the views that His Majesty had on him in honoring him with this command. Being relieved of responsibility for the discipline of the troops and the militia, he will be in a better position to devote himself to the government of the Indian tribes and the inhabitants who have need of being stirred up a little to emulation in order to make in that country the progress of agriculture and of settlement that His Majesty will have reason to expect from the pains taken by that officer.

I have the honor to be with profound respect, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL

NEW ORLEANS, September 28, 1752

DE LIGNERIS TO VAUDREUIL, October 3, 1752

[H M LO 398]

MONSIEUR

J'ai reçu La lettre que vous m'avez fait L'honneur de m'écrire le 1<sup>er</sup> Mai dernier. Je vous Suis Sensiblemt obligé des marques de bontes que vous voulez bien me donner, et je rechererai toujours les moyens d'en meriter La continuation en ne manquant aucune occasion de vous donner des preuves de mon profond respect.

Je ne me trompai pas, Monsieur, lors que j'eûs L'honneur de vous marquer L'année derniere que nous pourrions payer cher les deux chevelures que le parti de Nepissingues avoit levées chez les Miamis de la riviere aux Roches. Peu de temps après ce coup ils Se vengerent Sur deux Soldats qu'ils tüerent à Kikagon auprès du fort où commande M. de Villiers; et peu de temps après que Les Pianguichias eûsent frappé aux Illinois, Et au poste Vincennes, ceux du Vermillon à vingt lieües plus bas que ce poste-ci def firent cinq françois qui leur portoient leur besoins; un de ces françois même etoit marié avec une femme de leur nation. mais je pense, Monsieur, que vous avez Sçu il y a longtemps tout

[Translation]

MONSIEUR:

I received the letter that you did me the honor to write me May 1 last. I am sensibly obliged to you for the marks of kindness which you are good enough to give me, and I shall always seek the means of meriting their continuation, neglecting no occasion to give you proofs of my profound respect.

I did not deceive myself, Monsieur, when I had the honor to tell you last year that we might pay dearly for the two scalps that the party of Nipissing had taken from the Miami of Great Miami River. Shortly after that attack they revenged themselves on two soldiers whom they killed at Kekionga, near the fort where M. de Villiers commands. Shortly after the Piankashaw had struck at the Illinois and at Vincennes, those of the Vermilion, twenty leagues lower than that post, destroyed five Frenchmen who were bringing them the goods they needed. One of these Frenchmen even was married to a woman of their tribe. However I judge, Monsieur, that you have long known all that happened here last



ce qui S'est passé ici L'année dernière au commencement de L'hiver. J'ai envoyé plusieurs Courriers à M. de Macarty pour L'En informer.

Après toutes ces hostilités les Pianguichias Se sont retirés du côté de la rivière blanche, où ils ont entraîné avec Eux le plus grand nombre des Wiatanons. J'en ai retenu une bande depuis le printemps, et j'ai envoyé pendant tout L'Été des paroles aux autres pour les Engager à abandonner nos Ennemis, et à revenir à leur village, S'ils ne vouloient pas être traité Eux mêmes comme Ennemis; j'En Suis Enfin venu about avec L'aide des Poute8atamis de St Joseph, et ils Sont tous revenus ici vers la fin d'aoust et les premiers jours de 7bre Ils m'ont fait de grandes protestations de fidélité pour l'avenir; mais Si nous tardons à nous venger des trahisons qu'ils nous ont faites Les Pianguichias, je ne crois pas qu'il y ait beaucoup à compter Sur leurs beaux discours dans les quils je pense qu'il y a peu de Sincérité. J'ai fait revenir ici les Kikapoux qui étoient à la terre haute, et ça été pour les Wiatanons un porte respect, par ce qu'ils connoissent L'attachement que ceux là ont pour nous: ils ne

[Translation]

year up to the beginning of winter. I sent several expresses to M. de Macarty to inform him.

After all these hostilities the Piankashaw have gone off in the direction of White River, whither they carried with them the greater part of the Wea. I have kept back one band ever since spring, and all summer I sent messages to the others to induce them to abandon our enemies and to return to their village, if they did not wish themselves to be treated as enemies. With the help of the Potawatomis of St. Joseph I finally gained my end, and they all came back here about the end of August and the first days of September. They made me great protestations of fidelity for the future; but if we delay avenging ourselves for the treacheries of the Piankashaw to us, I do not think there will be much to count on in their fine speeches, in which I think there is little sincerity. I had the Kickapoo who were at Terre Haute return here, and that was for the Wea a guaranty of their respect because they knew the attachment of the Kickapoo to us. However they will

prendront cependant point les armes contre nos Ennemis, a moins qu'ils ne nous voyent avec assez de force pour etre En Etat de nous passer d'Eux : pour lors leur Secours nous Sera fort inutile.

Nous avons eté Sur le point d'avoir dés cet automne des forces asses considerables pour reprimer L'insolence des nations rebelles; M. le Cher de Longueüil Lieutenant de Roi de Quebec devoit venir avec 400 canadiens et des Sauvages d'Embas pour poursuivre les Ennemis pendt tout L'hyver; et dés le printemps prochain on devoit lui envoyer encore 600 hommes pr se joindre à lui dans la belle riviere, affin d En chasser les Anglois, et de nous y Etablir: Le manque de vivres en Canada, la recolte ayant eté aussi mauvaise cette anneé que la précédente, a fait differer ce projet jusqu'au printemps prochain; on ne laisse pas cependt que de faire des Envois Considerables de vivres et de munitions au Detroit; et Mrs le Commandant general Et L'Intendant ecrivent à M. de Macarty pour en faire voiturer au poste Vincennes, d'où nous les pourrons tirer de bon printemps. Il y a toute apparence qu'on ne veut plus compter sur les nations qui

[*Translation*]

not take arms against our enemies, at least unless they see us in enough force to do without them. Then their help will be quite useless to us.

This autumn we were close to having sufficient forces to repress the insolence of the rebel tribes. M. le Chevalier de Longueuil, lieutenant of the king at Quebec, was to have come with four hundred Canadians and Indians from the lower country to pursue the enemy during the winter. Next spring six hundred men were to have been sent to join him by the Ohio River to drive out the English and establish there. The lack of provisions in Canada, the harvest having been as bad this year as last, has caused this project to be deferred until next spring. However they do not cease to send considerable shipments of provisions and munitions to Detroit, and MM. the commandant general and the intendant write to M. de Macarty to have them carried to Vincennes, whence we may get them early in the spring. There is every appearance that they do not care to count longer on the

nous Sont les plus affidées, pour la destruction des rebelles, qu'on ne Samusera plus a de legeres hostilitées, qui ne decident de rien ; mais qu'on fera Enfin un action decisive, qui fera impression à toutes les nations, et qui reparera L'honneur des françois, qui ne Sont que trop meprisés depuis quelques années.

Vers La fin de Mai les Saulteurs et 8ta8as de Michilimakinac, au nombre de 200 hommes, ont frappé Sur les Miamis de La riviere aux roches. Ce coup n'a pas été considerable n'ayant tüé que cinq ou Six hommes. Mais ce qu'ils ont fait de mieux c'est qu'ils ont tüé trois anglois, et en ont emmené Six prisonniers après avoir pris leurs marchandises ; des Six les Miamis leur en ont livré quatre après l'action, pour y'avoir quatre de leurs femmes, qui avoient été prises. Un de ces anglois a été mangé par les Saulteurs qui avoient perdu du monde. Quelques anglois qui etoient avec les Pianguichias vers la riviere blanche Se sont retirés, dés qu'ils ont Scû ces nouvelles, qui les degouteront peutêtre du commerce qu'ils font avec les Miamis, chez les quels

[*Translation*]

tribes which are most faithful to us for the destruction of the rebels, and that they will no longer amuse themselves with slight hostilities which decide nothing ; but that they will at last undertake a decisive action which will make an impression on all the tribes, and which will repair the honor of the French, who have been but too much despised for the last few years.

Toward the end of May the Chippewa and Ottawa of Mackinac to the number of two hundred men attacked the Miami of Great Miami River. This blow was not of great account as they only killed five or six men. But what was better was their killing three English and taking six prisoners after seizing their merchandise. Of the six, the Miami gave up four to them after the action to get back four of their women who had been taken. One of these English was eaten by the Chippewa who had lost men. Some English who were with the Piankashaw toward White River left as soon as they heard this news which disgusted them perhaps with the trade they carry on with the Miami, among whom they

ils ne Sont plus en Sureté: on m'adit que ceux cy revenoient tous à leur village, et qu'ils avoient encore pillé et tué deux anglois qui venoient ou qui S'en alloient chez les Pianguichias. Mais je n'oserois assurer ces dernieres nouvelles que je ne Sçais que par les Sauvages.

Je crois, Monsieur, qu'il ne Se passe dans ce pays-ci rien autre chose qui merite vôtre attention. Mais une nouvelle qui rejoût tout le Canada, et à laquelle personne ne prend plus de part que moi, c'est qu'on nous asséure que vous avez ordre de passer En france pour venir l'année prochaine prendre possession du gouvernemt general. J'aurai une grande Satisfaction d'avoir L'honneur de servir Sous vos ordres, et je Souhaite de tout mon coeur avoir bientôt celui de vous assûrer de vive voix du respect très profond avec le quel je Suis Monsieur

Votre très humble Et très obéisst Serviteur

DESLIGNERIS

AUX WIATANONS le 3e 8bre 1752.

[*Translation*]

are no longer safe. I am told the latter all returned to their village, and that they had also pillaged and killed two English who came or were going to the Piankashaw. But I would not venture to certify this last news which I know only from the Indians.

I believe, Monsieur, that nothing else meriting your attention has happened in this country. But a piece of news which rejoices all Canada, and which no one takes more to heart than I, is that we are assured that you have orders to go to France to come next year to take possession of the general government. I shall have a great satisfaction in having the honor to serve under your orders, and I wish with all my heart soon to have that of assuring you viva voce of the very profound respect with which I am Monsieur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

DE LIGNERIS

OUIATANON, October 3, 1752

D'ORGON<sup>1</sup> TO VAUDREUIL, October 7, 1752

[H M LO 399]

MONSIEUR

Jay lhonneur, de vous assurer de mes très humbles respects je ne puis gueres me dispenser, monsieur, de vous faire part des nouvelles, que j'ai reçues des Jllinois; quoyque je ne doute pas que mr De MaKarty ne vous l'ecrive, mais je crois de mon devoir de vous apprendre ce qui me parvient par des correspondances differentes. On a été trois mois aux Jllinois Sans avoir une seule goutte de pluie, ce qui a causé un grand damage à la recolte surtout au mays tous les marais des environs, sont dessechés, jusqu'à la petite riviere, qui est si basse, qu'a peine peut elle porter, la plus petite pirogue allege, il en est de même de la riviere blanche et arkansa. On est Encore dans, l'incertitude Ou l'on placera le fort des Jllinois, néantmoins on travaille a tirer la pierre, et a faire les chaux, Et incessamment dans le tems convenable on doit faire la coupe des bois. Les Jllinois paroissent assez tranquilles.

[Translation]

MONSIEUR:

I have the honor to assure you of my very humble respects. I can hardly avoid, Monsieur, communicating to you the news I have received from the Illinois. Though I do not doubt that M. de Macarty has written it to you, I think it my duty to let you know what comes to me from different quarters. For three months at the Illinois they have not had a drop of rain which has caused great harm to the harvest especially of corn. All the marshes of the neighborhood are dry as far as the little river which is so low it can scarcely carry the smallest pirogue. It is the same with the White and Arkansas rivers. They are still uncertain as to where they will place the Illinois fort, but are nevertheless cutting the stone and making the lime, and shortly at the proper season they should cut the timber. The Illinois appear

<sup>1</sup> Henri d'Orgon. Half-pay captain, October 15, 1736; captain, September 1, 1738. Chevalier of St. Louis 1752. Died at the Natchez, August 25, 1757. A N Colonies D2C4. Said to have been the natural son of Prince de Lambesc. *Travels Through that part of North America formerly called Louisiana. By Mr. Bossu, Captain in the French Marines.* Translated by J. R. Forster, 1:36-37.

quand aux Peanguichia et aux miamis on a point de nouvelles, qu'ils ayent frappés les Kikap8 et les mask8tins ont suppliés mr De Makarty de leurs rendre le Loup. ce qu'il leurs à accordé, et ils ont parut tres sensibles a cette grace, il restoit encore en prison un Miami, qui a trouvé le secret de se procurer la liberté, que les droits de la guerre luy avoient otés.

du 29. aoust

Quatre ouiatanons, sont venus loger, dans la maison de la mission des R. P. Jesuites, pour temoigner a ces réverends peres leurs confiances. on en avertit le R. P. de Guione le soir, qui ne put sy rendre que le lendemain au matin, il y trouva deux chefs a medaille, avec les quels ils Sentretint assez longtemps, toujours avec le zele et l'amour de la patrie dont ces R. P. donnent des preuves en toutes occasions. il apprit qu'ils estoient chargés de lettres pour mr DeMakarty, qu'ils avoient vus, mr De Lignerie, Commendt du poste françois des ouiatanons, visavis le village.

que la moitié de leurs gens, qui avoient pris partis avec les Péanguichias avoient relachés, que les miamis de la riviere à la

[*Translation*]

reasonably quiet. There is no news at all of the Piankashaw and the Miamis, save that they have attacked the Kickapoo, and the Mascoutens have begged M. de Macarty to release Le Loup to them, which he has granted them; and they seem quite sensible of this favor. A Miami still remained in prison who found the secret of procuring his liberty of which the rules of war deprived him.

August 29.

Four Wea came to lodge in the house of the Jesuit fathers, to testify their confidence in those reverend fathers. The Reverend Father de Guyenne was told in the evening but could not get there until the next morning. He found two medal chiefs with whom he talked long, always with the zeal and love of country of which these fathers give proofs on all occasions. He learned they were charged with letters for M. de Macarty, that they had seen M. de Ligneris, commandant of the French post of Ouiatanon, near the village, that half of their people who had taken sides with the Piankashaw had abandoned them, that the

Roche, chez qui les Péanguichias, ont été se retirer, avoient été sattaqués, par deux cens hommes, ouataouas et sauteurs de michilimakinak, qui leurs ont tués 5 hommes et prise 4. femmes, qu'ils ont donnés ensuite aux anglois de ce poste, en dedomagement de 7 hommes qu'ils leurs avoient tués. Les ouiatanons ajouterent, que les Peanguichias n'avoient aucun forts sur la riviere blanche, mais que les anglois projettoient un établissement considerable, sur une des branches de la riviere blanche, la plus près des Jllinois, qu'il est venir beaucoup de monde du Canada, qui selon les apparences tiennent ces postes bloqués aujourd'huy. lorsqu'on m'ecrit les ouiatanon n'avoient pas encore vu mr De Makarty ainsy j'ignore qu'elle parole ils luy ont portés

Me De Regio qui doit commander le convoi descendant, seroit deja descendu S'il avoit trouvé de l'eau, mais elles sont plus basses quelles, n'ont étés depuis 20. ans.

Me Du Clos a trouvé, trois lieües audessus du grand gouffre le Convoi de me Benoist. ce convoi est parti d'icy le 21. ainsy il a fait 23. lieües en 15 jours.

[*Translation*]

Miami of Great Miami River to whom the Piankashaw had withdrawn had been attacked by two hundred men, Ottawa and Chipewewa of Mackinac, who had killed five men and captured four squaws whom they then gave to the English of the post in recompense for the seven of their men whom they had killed.

The Wea added that the Piankashaw had no forts on White River, but that the English planned a considerable establishment on one of the branches of White River, that nearest the Illinois. They say many men have come from Canada who apparently have these posts blocked up at present. When they wrote me, the Wea had not yet seen M. de Macarty, so I don't know what message they brought him.

M. de Reggio, who was to command the convoy coming down, would have already come down if he had found enough water, but it is lower than it has been in twenty years.

M. du Clos found the convoy of M. Benoist three leagues from Grand Gulf. That convoy left here the twenty-first so it has made twenty-three leagues in fifteen days.



Voicy, Monsieur, ce que j'apprens des Arkansas. on vous envoie, Monsieur, deux deserteurs des Jllinois qui sesont rendus aux arkansas.

Les grands ausages sont venus jusqu'a la poste des arkansas pour frapper, mais ayants été découverts ils ont manqués leurs coups Me Le Blanc<sup>1</sup> est a portée, aux Natchitoches de faire harceler ces traitres la, par les Natkitouches et autres nations ajacentes Les Jllinois ne cessent detre conviés par les anglois, de seduire les grands, Au les petits Au, et les Missouris pour aller chez eux des personnes dignes de foy et capables de rendre des services essentiels aux Jllinois, assurent que cette nation est tranquille et que la défiance qu'on leur montre depuis quelque temps, en a deja fait deserter plusieurs; huit familles sont allées chez l'anglois plusieurs autres sont pretes a suivre. cependant dit on depuis l'embouchure du fleuve St Laurent jus qu'a la balize, il ny a pas de nation plus douce et plus aisée a mener que celle la ;

[*Translation*]

This, Monsieur, is what I learn from the Arkansas, whence they are sending you, Monsieur, two deserters from the Illinois who came there.

The Great Osage have come as far as the Arkansas post to attack, but being discovered, their attacks failed. M. le Blanc,<sup>1</sup> at Natchitoches, is in a position to have those traitors harried by the Natchitoch and other neighboring tribes. The Illinois continue to be used by the English to seduce the Great Osage, the Little Osage, and the Missouri to come to them. Persons worthy of faith and capable of rendering essential service at the Illinois give assurance that that tribe is quiet and that the distrust shown them for some time has already caused several to desert. Eight families have gone to the English; several others are ready to follow. However it is said that from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the Balise there is no tribe that is gentler and easier

<sup>1</sup> Cezard de Blanc, reestablished as captain, July 18, 1734 after having been broken by the Company of the Indies; commandant at Natchitoches from June 1, 1746. A N Colonies, D2C4. The correspondence between him as commandant there and Vaudreuil runs as far as 1753. H M LO 402, 405, 424, 438.

mais il faudroit se souvenir assuret'on, que ce sont des hommes qui pensent et très sensible au mépris

Presque tous les sauvages arkansas sont en chasse, on attend leur retour pour les punir de, quelques brigandages qu'ils ont commis sur nous. Un de leurs chefs allant en chasse, a tué une vache qu'il a vendu ensuite aux françois, ils sont en bonne main avec un officier aussy respectable que mr le Cher De La houssaye insensiblement, la perte qu'elle fait de ses guerriers, affoiblit cette nation, depuis 18 mois, elle est diminuée de plus d'un tiers les maladies y regnent encore aujourd'huy et y font de grands ravages. par le dernier recensement il n'y a plus que 150. personnes portantes les armes. J'apprends aussy, que me De La houssaye à fait chef a médaille le nommé que de ton que je sai que c'est un considéré, mais je ne sai pas trop; si sa fidelité est trop assurée, j'usse désiré que ce choix fut tombé sur le fils de l'ancien chef, La tortue noire, la mere est femme chef et a beaucoup d'autorité dans la nation

.....  
[Translation]

to handle than they. But it must be remembered, we are told, that they are men who think, and very sensitive to distrust.

Nearly all the Quapaw Indians are at their hunt. They await their return to punish them for some acts of brigandage they have committed against us. One of their chiefs, going to hunt, killed a cow which he then sold to the French. They are in good hands with an officer so competent as M. le Chevalier de la Houssaye. Gradually their loss in warriors is weakening that tribe. In eighteen months it has diminished by a third. Sicknesses still are at work today, making great ravages. By the last enumeration they had no more than one hundred fifty persons capable of bearing arms. I learn also that M. de la Houssaye has made the Indian called Quedetonque a medal chief. I know he is an influential man, but I do not know too much about him. If his fidelity is fully assured, I should have wished to see the choice fall on the son of the old chief, La Tortue Noire. His mother is squaw chief and has much authority in the tribe.

Nous attendons cette grace de vous, Monsieur, ce Sera un nouveau motif de reconnoissce à ajouter au profond respect avec lequel j'ai l'honneur d'etre Monsieur

Votre très humble et très obeissant serviteur

LE CHER D'ORGON

AUX NATCHES ce 7. 8bre 1752

.....

[ *Translation* ]

We hope this favor of you, Monsieur, which will be a new cause of gratitude to add to the profound respect with which I have the honor to be, Monsieur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

THE CHEVALIER D'ORGON

NATCHEZ, October 7, 1752

.....

## CHAPTER IX

THE ILLINOIS, NOVEMBER–DECEMBER, 1752

BEAUVAIS<sup>1</sup> TO VAUDREUIL, November, 1752

[H M LO 404]

MONSIEUR

Pardonné mois la liberte que Je pran de Vous pryé de vous loire me faire La Grace de Vous interraisé pour Retirér mon fils Et mon neuve Mercier qui on Éte pris par lais chiskachias Le 10: 9 9bres de cete presante anne Environs a Vingt lieux dais Kascassias Ne de degne pas Lais pryere d'un paire affligée qui a Recoure a Vous dans Son afflicquetion a quis Le Cegeur a Enlever une de cais fille qui Étai mas Concolations J'ais pairre de votre Clemance Et crois que vous vous drée maistre faveurable Et que par laise fais de votre Bontee Je pourais revoir mon cher fils Et quan Reconnois a de Sa libertee Nous aufuron des

[*Translation*]

MONSIEUR,

Pardon me the liberty I am taking in begging you to be so kind as to do me the favor of interesting yourself in getting back my son and my nephew, Mercier, who were taken by the Chickasaw November 10 of this year about twenty leagues from Kaskaskia. Do not disdain the prayer of an afflicted father who has recourse to you in his affliction, and from whom the Saviour has taken away one of his sons, who was my consolation. I hope for your clemency and believe you will be good enough to look on me with favor, and that by the effect of your goodness I may again see my dear son. And in gratitude for his liberty, we

<sup>1</sup> For Beauvais see Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records* (I.H.C., 5), 414 n. His son was returned in 1753. See *post*, 823. The elder Beauvais died on April 15, 1773, leaving his widow, five sons, and one daughter. The inventory of his estate showed property valued at almost sixty-six thousand livres. French MS.

Veux aux cegeur pour Veautres conservations Je suis Enatan  
cete faveur de Votres Bonte Monsieur

Votres umbles Etrés obehissant Serviteur

J B ST GEMME BEAUVAIS

DEAIS KASCASSIAS ce 9bres 1752

BENOIST TO VAUDREUIL, December 5, 1752

[H M LO 411]

AUX ARKANSAS Ce 5eme xbre 1752

Repdu du 25 xbre 1752

MONSIEUR

J'ay Eu l honneur de vous marquer des natches, que je  
Craignois L huyvernement, par Rapport aux Eaux Basses, Et la  
peu de Route que je faisois, ayant toujours Vent Contrair, Et  
La force des Courants que Je trouvois, joint a Une troupe portée  
de Mauvaises Volonté, daillieurs une quantité de Malades que j  
ay Eu jusques a Mon arrivée au Bas ce Cette Rivierre, ou je ne  
suis parvenu que Le 8eme de 9bre qui Estoit une saison Bien

[*Translation*]

will offer vows to the Saviour for your salvation.

Awaiting this favor from your goodness I am, Monsieur,

Your humble and very obedient servant,

J. B. ST. GEMME BEAUVAIS

KASKASKIA, November, 1752

THE ARKANSAS this December 5, 1752

Answered December 25, 1752

MONSIEUR:

I had the honor of informing you from the Natchez that I  
feared I would have to winter en route on account of the low  
water and the slow progress I was making. The winds were  
always contrary, and I encountered the force of the current, let  
alone my having an ill-willed detachment, as well as some sick  
whom I had until my arrival at the mouth of this river, which I  
only reached the eighth of November, which was very late in the

avanç  e, a mon arriv  e je trouvai Le poste denu   de graisse, huyle  
Et viande, Et si Mr De La houssay ne nous avoit Envoy   des  
vivres j'avois Eu Bien De la peine a me Rendre

j ay trouv   La Rivierre si Basse, Et le post Si Eloign  , que  
auparavant que je pusse Re  voir des Vivres, il faloit huit jours,  
Et a peine pouvoi je Recevoir, La subsistance journaliere De ma  
troupe, Daillieurs point de voitures pour charier Les Effets du  
Roy icy, Les Batteaux ne pouvant point y monter<sup>1</sup> Des  
Sauvages arkansas avoisin De La Rivierre St fran  ois, mont  
assur  s, aussy Bien que Mrs De La houssay, qu'il Estoit jnpos-  
sible que je puisse passer a trois Endroits, surtout a Un, y ayant  
Un courant Extraordinaire, Et si Rempli de Bois, ou Les Bat-  
teaux ne pouroint point passer, point de Vivres suffisamant dans  
Le poste pour M'equipper, Et quand il y En auroit Eu j'aurois  
Est   oblig   De partir avec du pain Seulement, Cequi n'auroit point  
Est   suffisant pour nourir Ma troupe, n y ayant dans Ce poste ni  
huyle ni graisse, ni viande, Cequi ma D  termin   a hyverner icy,  
Estant jmpossible de Me Rendre aux jlinois sans huyverner, Et

[Translation]

season. On my arrival I found the post bare of fat, oil, and  
meat, and if M. de la Houssaye had not sent us provisions, I  
should have had much trouble getting here.

I found the river so low and the post so distant that it was  
a week before I could receive provisions, and I could hardly get  
the daily subsistence of my troop. Moreover there were no con-  
veyances to carry the king's property here, as the boats could not  
get up.<sup>1</sup> Quapaw Indians of the neighborhood of the St. Francis  
River assured me, as did M. de la Houssaye, that I could not  
possibly get by at three places, one in particular, where there was  
an extraordinary current with the river so full of timber that the  
boats could not pass. There were not enough provisions in the  
post to supply me, and if there had been I should have had to set  
out with bread only, which would not have sufficed to sustain my  
troops; for there was in the post neither oil, fat, nor meat; that  
decided me to winter here as it was impossible to reach the Illi-

<sup>1</sup> The difficulties referred to are those ascending the Arkansas River to  
the post.

peutestre dans un Endroit ou je naurois Eu Esperance de Recevoir aucun Secours

j'ay fait partir Les voyageurs Le 24eme de 9bre avec La voiture que j'avois Entre Mr de Macarty, Et Moy que j'ay Bien armé pour Estre En Etat de suivre Les voyageurs, jay mis Mer du Barry<sup>1</sup> a Leur teste, pour Les Contenir Dans Le devoir De La Subordination qui n'est point Connüe parmy Eux, Et afin q'uaucune pirogue ne quitta Les autres De craint De La Surprise des Ennemys; jespere q'u avec La Diligence quils Comptent faire, ils pourront se Rendre vers Noël a ouabache, avant Les grandes glâces, je Les aurois gardé jusques au printemps, mais il ny avoit point de vivres icy pour Les faire subsister, pendant L'huyvernement

Mr de la houssay Et moy, nous Expedions un Batteau avec Mr De Vaugin,<sup>2</sup> pour aller chercher des Vivres aux natches, En attendant que Mr De macarty, puisse En Envoyer Des jlinois Ce Retardement sera de trois mois, parceque je ne pouray partir

[Translation]

nois without wintering, perhaps in a place where I would have no hope of receiving help.

I sent off the *voyageurs* the twenty-fourth of November with the boat with which I communicate with M. de Macarty which I have armed well so as to put it in condition to follow the *voyageurs*. I put M. du Barry<sup>1</sup> in charge of them, to keep them in duty and subordination, which are entirely unknown among them, and, for fear of surprise by the enemy, to see to it that no pirogue leaves the convoy. I hope with the diligence they expect to use they can reach the Wabash by Christmas before the heavy freezes. I would have kept them until spring but there were no provisions here to subsist them while they wintered.

M. de la Houssaye and I are sending M. de Vaugine<sup>2</sup> with a boat in search of provisions at Natchez, while awaiting what M. de Macarty can send from the Illinois. This will be a three

<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant in the Régiment des Cantabres. Lieutenant in Louisiana, July 1, 1751. A N Colonies D2C4. Still serving in the Illinois in 1759. D2C52:125.

<sup>2</sup> Vaugine de Nuismann. Lieutenant in the Royal Bavarian Regiment. Lieutenant in Louisiana, October 1, 1750. A N Colonies D2C4.



qu'en La fin de fevrier ou au Commencement de mars, Cequi me Derange Extraordinairement prevoyant que vous ne seres plus a La nouvelle orleans Lorsque je Descendray, Les Echouments frequents que nous avons Eu Dans nostre Route, nous ont Bien Retardé surtout Ceux de la poudrierre, Ce Batteau nest nullement propre, pour une poudrierre, Les planches Des soutes Estant trop foibles, pour soutenir Leffort de la marche De lequipage dont le pesanteur a fait voiler toutes les Couvertures au travers Des quelles Leau De La pluye Entroit, et si L'on n'avoit point Defait Les Balots de Couvertes, toutes des poudres auroint Esté gastées, Ce qui a Causé parmy Les Couvertes, Et La Limbour .Beaucoup Damages Comme on na point pu prevenir Cet Evenement jl y a Eu pres de quinze Cent Livres de Biscuit gasté Cequi nous a Causé une grande disette, Et n'avoir Rien a manger que pour Un Repas, a Lisle au Bléd,<sup>1</sup> que nous avons Eu du secours des arkansas qui Est arrivé a temps, pour nous Tirer de la Dernierre Extremiteé, actuelement que nous somnes icy, nous vivons avec du pain seulement, mais j'espere avoir quelques arkansas, pour

[*Translation*]

months' delay as I cannot set out before the end of February or the beginning of March. This very much annoys me as I foresee that you will no longer be at New Orleans by the time I come down.

Frequent accidents that we have had en route have much delayed us, especially those to the powder boat. That boat is in no way fit for a powder boat. The planking of the magazine is too weak to stand the strain of the crew's walking on it. Their weight has borne down all the covers through which the rain water came in, and if we had not opened the bales of blankets all the powder would have spoiled. This has caused much damage to the blankets and the limbourg. As this could not be foreseen, almost fifteen hundred pounds of biscuit have been spoiled which has caused a great shortage, so that at Isle au Bled<sup>1</sup> we had only provisions for one meal, until we had help from the Arkansas which came in time to relieve us from the last extremity. Actually since we have been here we have lived on bread only, but I hope

<sup>1</sup> Isle au Bled was approximately at the present Bolivar, Mississippi.

chasser pour ma troupe, Et La garnison qui Est Reduite au mesme Etat que nous

je pense que Mr de Vaugine vous Demande vostre agreément pour se Marier avec Mme de guoyon, jl voudroit La mener avec Luy aux jlinois

j'ay L honneur Destre avec un profond Respect Monsieur

Vostre tres humble Et tres obeissant serviteur

BENOIST DE ST CLOIN

permettés moy d assurer Madame de Vaudreuil De mes tres humbles Respects

MACARTY TO VAUDREUIL, December 7, 1752

[H M LO 412]

AUX CASKAKIAS Le 7xbre 1752

MONSIEUR

Jay Reçus votre Duplicata Le quatre de ce mois Joint a une Letre de Mrs Benoist Et L'ahoussaye Jls ont Enparament oubliee L'un ou Lautre de menvoyer Les Letres que vous mordonnee de faire passer Jncessament En canada Je Luy ay Escris de me Les

[*Translation*]

to get some Quapaw to hunt for my troop and for the garrison, which is reduced to the same extremity.

I think M. de Vaugine will ask your consent to marry Mme de Guyon. He wishes to take her with him to the Illinois.

I have the honor to be with profound respect, Monsieur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

BENOIST DE ST. CLAIRE

Permit me to assure Madame de Vaudreuil of my very humble respects.

KASKASKIA, December 7, 1752

MONSIEUR:

I received your duplicate the fourth of this month annexed to a letter of MM. Benoist and la Houssaye. One of them apparently forgot to send the letters that you ordered me to have sent to Canada immediately. I have written them to send them

Envoyer par un courier afin que Je Les puissent faire passer a montréal dans Le courant de L'hiver; JI y á acraindre que ce convois n'hiverne Si L'hiver Se comporte comme JI á commencé Le fleuve ayant charier pendant Six a Sept Jours:

M. La houssaye mécrivant du 30 8bre qu'il n'arriveront aux ark de Sept ou huit Jours JI auroit convenus Pour Le Biens du Service qu'il fut arrivée cet autonne M. Benoist me marque que Les Eaux Basse Luy ont causee de grand retardement Et de L'avarie JL me demende des vivres que J'auray Soins á Luy faire fournir L'exortant á monter Le plus haut qu'il Pourat;

J'apprend aussy par M. Regio partis d icy Du mois de 7bre qu'il a Estee attaquée Le 12 8bre au commencement Des Eschores á prud'hommes ou JL á perdus un homme Et deux de Bléssee. JL vous aurat fait un Détail de Son voyage Je feray prendre par Les Bateaux Le plomb qu'il a Laissee par Le déffaut Des Eaux Estant Trop chargée depuis Son depart ou Je vous ay Informée de ce qui Se passoit; Les illinois Sont partie Le 10

[*Translation*]

by a courier, so that I can dispatch them to Montreal in the course of the winter. It is to be feared that this convoy may have to winter, if the season goes on as it has begun; the river has been full of floating ice for six or seven days; M. la Houssaye wrote me October 30, that they would not arrive at the Arkansas for seven or eight days. It would have been for the good of the service if the convoy could have arrived this autumn. M. Benoist indicates to me that low water had much delayed him and caused damage. He asks provisions which I shall take care to provide him, urging him to get up as high as he can.

I learn also by M. Reggio, who left here in the month of September, that he was attacked October 12, at the beginning of the Ecores à Prudhomme, where he lost one man and had two wounded. He will detail his voyage to you. I will have carried by the boats the lead which he left, being overloaded for the low water.

Since his departure, when I informed you of what had happened up to then, the Illinois left October 10 to go to their winter

8bre pour Se rendre á Leurs hivernement á La pierre á La fleche dans La Rivierre des illinois:

Le 23 du même mois Le Sr Delisle Venant du detroit par terre passa par Les ouyatanons Et poste vincenne JL me remis des Letre de ces postes de Mrs de Longueil Et Bigot par Lesquels ils me demendoient pour La Subsistance d'un detachement de 400 hommes qu'il Contoient faire hiverner aux mis á mis En atandant 600 milliciens qui dévoient ce Joindre á Eux Et passer par La Belle rivierre Sous Les ordres de Mr Longueüil Lieutenant pour Le Roy á québeq des Le petit printems par un autre Letre JL Sest resoüe á faire partir Le tout au petit printems me Demandant par une Letre commune 3000 minots De Bléds d inde, 200 quintaux de L'ards Et graisse, 30000 de farines, 100 Boeuf vifs Envoyee par Terre Jay Repondus á Leurs demendes Le 28 du même mois que Je ne prevoyois pas trouver Les 3000 minots De Bleds par Le manque comme ailleurs que J'en avois trouvee Jus qua lors 1800 que Jengagerois Les habitans á forcer, quand-aux L'ards Je ne prévoyois par quon En put trouver. quon y Supléroit

[*Translation*]

camp at Pierre à la Fleche in the Illinois River.

The twenty-third of the same month the Sieur Delisle, coming from Detroit by land, passed by Ouiatanon and Vincennes. He brought me letters from those posts from MM. de Longueil and Bigot by which they ask of me subsistence for a detachment of four hundred men that they count on wintering at the Miamis to wait for six hundred militia who are to join them there early in the spring by way of the Ohio River under the orders of M. Longueuil, lieutenant for the king at Quebec. Another letter indicates that it has been decided they will all set out early in the spring; in a joint letter they ask me for three thousand minots of corn, two hundred quintals of pork and fat, thirty thousand of flour, as well as a hundred live beeves to be sent by land. I answered their demands the twenty-eighth of the same month, saying that I could not anticipate finding the three thousand minots of corn on account of the scarcity; that up to then I had come on eighteen hundred, which I would engage the habitants to furnish. As to pork I did not foresee where it could be found;

par des graisses ou Salaisons ayant Beaucoup De chasseur dehors qu'on Suppleroit En farine au Déffaut des mahy; que J'envoyois Les Boeufs par terre á La démente de M. Longueüil mon plus grand Enbaras Estant des voitures pour Le transport de ces vivres Si Le convois que J'attendois n'arrivoit pas cet automne que Je donneroís tous mes Soins á Leurs demandes, Et á faire Reussir Leurs projets:

M. Longueüil repond aux Letres que J'écrivois á M. De La Jonquierre Sur Les Evenements des coups qui Sétoient faits icy Et ouabaches, Et Sur Le mémoire que Je Luy avoir Envoyee á Sa demande me marquoit qu'il connoissoit par Luy même Les avantages que J'en marquois, de Son Etablissement, de La Bontee des Lieux, de la necessitee d'établir; Il me marque aussy que vous avies Ecris á M de la Jonquierre Pour qu'il facilita á Son augmentations En y L'aisant Passer des familles du canada qu'il Epreuve actuellement Les difficultés de faire une Levee de meliciens Sans Interonpre Les travaux de La terre; nous avons Lieux desperer aujourd'hui que ce que vous desiriee nous Serat accordee;

[*Translation*]

we would supplement it with grease or salted meat, as we had many hunters out; we would supply the lack of corn with flour; I would send the beeves by land as M. Longueuil asked, my greatest difficulty being wagons to transport these provisions; if the convoy I awaited did not arrive that fall I would give all my attention to their requests, and to insuring success for their plans.

M. Longueuil answers the letters I wrote to M. de la Jonquière as to the events of the raids made here and on the Wabash. On the memoir I had sent at La Jonquière's request, M. de Longueuil informed me that he was of his own knowledge acquainted with the advantages of this settlement, the excellence of the region, and the need of establishing it. He informs me also that you had written M. de la Jonquière to give facilities for its development by allowing Canadian families to come here; but that he actually finds difficulty in making a levy of militia without interfering with the cultivation of the soil; today we have reason to hope that what you wished will be accorded us.

Les vivres que Jay Envoyee aux detroit par Le Sr Delisle ont Estee d un grand Secours, que Ceux qu'il me demande avec M Lintendent Sont Très necessaire, Je Le Sens comme Luy Et Je ne negligeree riens pour faire fournir tous ce qu'il Leurs Serat necessaire de ce quon pourat fournir icy.

Il me marque aussy avoir donneé ordre au Sr De L'ongueüil Commandant á La Baye de faire Son possible pour arester Les Renards Sakis De faire La guerre aux illinois que Jaye de mon cotee á Empêcher Les illinois de Se Venger Et Les Engager á faire La paix ce que Jay fait Sans vouloir précisément Leurs defendre de Se venger ce que Je vous marqueray plus Enplement, Il mengage á faire forcer de Semence. Le païs des illinois pouvant procurer de grand Secours dans Les postes Du haut qu'il Est á Souhaitee que vous fassieé passer des forces En Se poste que Son projet Estant Differer au printems il En Seroit dechargee par L'arrivee de M duquêsne demuneville qui prendrat Les mesures qu'il croira Les plus convenables En attendent votre arrivee ;

[*Translation*]

The provisions I sent to Detroit by the Sieur Delisle were of great assistance ; these which M. de Longueuil along with M. the intendant requires of me are very necessary. I feel as he does and will neglect nothing to supply everything that may be necessary to them that we can provide here.

He also informs me he has given orders to the Sieur de Longueuil, commandant at Green Bay, to do all possible to prevent the Foxes and Sauk from making war on the Illinois ; and that I on my side have to prevent the Illinois from revenging themselves and to engage them to make peace. This I have done without wishing specifically to forbid them to revenge themselves which I will explain to you at greater length. He also engages me to push the extension of planting here, since the Illinois country may afford great assistance to the posts of the up-country. He thinks it desirable that you send forces to this post. Since his project has been deferred until spring he will be relieved of it by the arrival of M. Duquesne de Menneville, who will take the measures he judges most proper while awaiting your arrival.

Celle de M. Sélaurons me marque quil Est facheux quon Est Estee obbligee de Renvoyee La chose au printems Et qu'il Est á Souhaitee que Le nouveau commendant ne change riens En attendant votre arrivee par Le mauvais Effet que cela feroit dans les nations.

M. De Lignery me marque que Les ouyatanons Estoient tous de Retour JI Luy faisoient Beaucoup De protestations de fidelitee Il pense que Cest Sur La crainte du parties quon L'eurs á anoncés Il Se plaint Beaucoup de Ladisette des vivres IL me prie de Luy En faire parvenir Le plustôt que Je pouray par L'entrepreneur, nostre prisonniers Sauvee cest Rendus á La fins d'aoust avec La mauvaise Bande Sur La rivierre Blanche

M. de St ange me marque La mort du maringoin Revenent dicy mes Letres Luy ayant Estee remise par Son neveux que Le Retardement du canada Rendoit Les nations plus insolentes, me demendes Des vivres un Renfort de monde que Je Luy ay Envoyee au mois doctobre :

Le Sr delisle françois Et deux chefs dont L'un Est vincennes

[*Translation*]

M. Céloron's letter informs me that it is regrettable that the affair must be postponed until spring and that is to be desired that the new commandant may change nothing pending your arrival for fear of the bad effect it would have on the tribes.

M. de Ligneris informs me that the Wea had all returned. They made him many protestations of fidelity. He thinks them caused by fear of the expeditions of which they have been told. He complains much of the shortage of provisions. He begs me to send him the most I can by merchants.

Our escaped prisoners at the end of August joined the ill-disposed band on White River.

M. de St. Ange informs me of the death of Le Maringouin on his way back from this place; his nephew gave St. Ange my letters. The delay in Canada makes the tribes more insolent, he says; he asks of me a supply of provisions and a reinforcement of men, which I sent him in the month of October.

The Sieur Delisle, a Frenchman, and two chiefs, one of them



ont rencontrée douze hommes pians de La mauvaise Bande qui ne Leurs ont fait aucunes insultes.

Le 25. 8bre Je Reçus une Lettre de M. Marins fils Par un Express qui me menoit cinq femmes ilinoise De celle qui avoient Estée prise Le premier Juin Les ayant retirée des mains Sakis Et Renards qu'il auroit Eù Le reste des Esclaves Sans un Bruit que plusieurs nations cétoient Joint aux illinois Et Se Rassembloient pour Leurs faire La guerre que J'arreta Les illinois Sils vouloient qu'on Travailât à avoir Le Reste qu'ils Se tinssent tranquils Et Engager Les chefs d'aller faire Leur paix avec Le françois qu'ils Envoyent Sils naimoient mieux attendre ce printems Je fis réponse à M. marins que Je m'eterois tous En oeuvre ne pouvant Luy En donner de positif sur La réponse des illinois Jenvoyay Le françois avec L'interprete quil Luy aurat rapportée ce que Les illinois ont répondu Jay recommandé à L'interprete de Leurs Biens faire Sentir Et valoir ce que nous faisons pour Eux pendant qu'ils nous Soupçonnoient De Les avoir fait frapper que Je Les Exortoie à aller avec Le françois qui Leurs menoit

[Translation]

Vincennes, met twelve Piankashaw of the ill-disposed band who offered them no indignities.

October 25 I received a letter from M. Marin, *fils*, by an express who brought me five Illinois squaws of those captured June 1. He had got them out of the hands of the Sauk and Foxes and would have had the rest of the captives had it not been for a report that several tribes had joined the Illinois and were assembling to make war. He indicated that I must check the Illinois if they wished efforts made to get them back the remaining prisoners. They must stay quiet, sending their chiefs to make their peace in company with the Frenchman whom he sent, unless they would rather wait until spring. I replied to M. Marin that I would set about it, but could give him no positive assurance as to what the reply of the Illinois would be. I sent the Frenchman with an interpreter to let him know the answer of the Illinois. I advised the interpreter to let them well perceive and appreciate what we were doing for them while they suspected that we had had them attacked; he was to say that I exhorted them to go with

des femmes á faire Leurs paix avec Les Renards Sakis Et autres ; Et quils Se tinssent tranquil S'ils vouloient que cet officier travaillat á avoir Le reste de leurs gens conjointement avec moy ; Je Leurs Envoyay un collier Et quelque porcelaine comme ils n'Etoient Pas Encore á Leurs hivernement ils me firent Dirent quils alloient continuer D'aller Trouver Leurs freres Les peoriant qu'ils Escouteroient ma Parolle

M. adamville me marque que deux des próriast avoient parties á Son issue pour aller frapper aux Sakis Et avoient menee un prisonnier quils gardèrent quelques Jours voulant Le donner aux Cahos ; quelques Jours après JI mecrivit qu'il Luy avoit Estee remis Le priant de Le renvoyer avec un françois JI Le fit pour celui que M. Marins avoit Envoyée ; Les peoriant Luy ont Donner un fusils M. adamville Léquipa Et Luy donna un collier.

Le 3. 9bre Je reçus Les duplicata des Letres du canada par Les voyageurs dessendant par chicagouë Et St Josephe ayant Estee retenus par Les Eaux de meme que ceux qui montoient qui

[Translation]

the Frenchman who had brought them back their squaws, to make their peace with the Foxes, Sauk, and others ; and that they were to stay quiet if they wished that officer to work in accord with me to get back the rest of their people. I sent them a belt and some wampum. As they had not yet gone to their winter villages they sent word to me that they were going on to look for their brothers the Peoria and would hearken to my word.

M. Adamville informs me that two of the Peoria on his departure had left to attack the Sauk and had taken a prisoner whom they kept some days, wishing to give him to the Cahokia. Some days later he wrote me that the prisoner had been turned over to him with a request that he be sent back with a Frenchman. For that he employed the man that M. Marin had sent. The Peoria gave him a gun. M. Adamville outfitted him and gave him a wampum belt.

November 3 I received duplicates of the letters from Canada by the *voyageurs* who had come down by way of Chicago and St. Joseph, being detained by the low water, as were those going up

Sont venus chercher des vivres pour Leurs hivernement Jls ont  
Eus Beaucoup de peine Les uns Les autres pour les portages

Jay reçus Monsieur Les letres que Je contoïs vous Envoyer  
de Jour En Jour ce que Je fais par cette occasions de meme  
que Le papier Ecris En Englois que Je n'ay put dechiffrer En-  
voyee par M. de St ange que Je trouve après Le depart de M.  
Regio ces Duplicata font Les réyterations des demandes des  
vivres necessaire au détachement quilz doivent Envoyer au prin-  
tems

Le 7 9bre Je fus visiter La Source de La rivierre Ste  
genevieve Si Elle donnoit asses d'Eau pour faire aller un moulins  
En tout Temps Je La trouvé Biens moindre que L'on me L'avoit  
ditte ce qu'on á atribuer á La Secheresse de cette Enné;<sup>1</sup> Je vis  
une Superbe fontaine dans Les cottes après une Lieüx Et demy  
Du fleuve sortant d'un Roque qui forme un diametre De 12 pieds  
dont L'eau Sort á Bouillons Et forme un Lit á Sa Sortie de 8  
pieds de L'arge de deux Pieds á deux pieds Et demy de pro-  
fondeur dans Son Millieux avec un courant ce qui fait un volume

[*Translation*]

who had come to get provisions for the winter. Both had much  
difficulty on the portages.

I have received, Monsieur, the letters that I expected daily  
to send you and which I send by this occasion, as well as the  
paper written in English which I have not been able to make out,  
sent by M. de St. Ange, which I found after M. Reggio's depar-  
ture. These duplicates reiterate the requests for the provisions  
needed for the detachment which they are to send in the spring.

November 7 I examined the source of the Ste. Genevieve  
River to see if it had enough water to run a mill at all seasons.  
I found it much smaller than I had been told, which was ascribed  
to the drought this year.<sup>1</sup> I saw a splendid spring in the hills, a  
league and a half from the river, issuing from a rock twelve feet  
in diameter from which the water boils up, making a basin at its  
outlet eight feet wide and two to two and a half feet deep in the  
middle with a current which has sufficient volume if the waters

<sup>1</sup> As indicated the stream flowing into the Mississippi at Ste. Genevieve  
on the Missouri shore is a very small one.

Plusque Sufisant En retenent Les Eaux avant La Sortie des cotes á faire plusieurs moulins Sur ce ruisseau qui Serpente dans La plaine, Je ne trouvay pas Encore grand avenement á ce village ou Jappris quon avoit vuë Sur Les cottes des Ennemis Dont un parloit françois avec qui un tonika montee dans Le dernier Convois avoient coucheé quelques hommes Et femmes des villages qui avoient couchee dans Le Bois pour Ramasser des pakannes Entendirent La nuit faire un crie Et un qui faisoit factions assure avoir vuë un Sauvage; Jenvoyay á La découverte Le Lendemain on ne trouvat quelques vestige Séparés.

Le 10 M. delagautrais venent de La mine me raporta que La negresse de M. de gruisse nommée magdelons Luy dit avoir vuë Etant a Ramasser des pakannes Le nommee Lusignans Esclaves d'un habitans nommee Beauvais decampeé depuis Le mois d'octobre Elle Luy demenda pourquoy Jl ne Retourné pas avec Son maistre JL Se plaignie que L'on Le L'avoit mis En prisons que son maistre n'avoit pas voulus qu'il Se Vengeat (Dun coup de casteste d'une Sauvagesse qu'il avoit abusée Estant Saoul) qu'il

[*Translation*]

were dammed before they flow from the hill to serve for several mills on this brook as it winds into the plain.

Nothing in particular had happened at this village where I learned that on the hills enemies had been seen, one of whom spoke French. With him a Tunica who had come up in the last convoy harbored in the woods. Several men and women of the villages who remained in the woods to gather pecans heard a cry during the night, and one who was on guard was sure he had seen an Indian. I sent next day to scout, but only a few scattered tracks were found.

The tenth M. de la Gautrais coming from the mine reported to me that the negress of M. de Gruis, named Madelaine, told him that being out to gather pecans, she had seen the fellow known as Lusignans, the slave of an inhabitant by the name of Beauvais who had run away in October. She asked him why he did not go back to his master. He complained that he had been put in prison, and that his master would not let him avenge himself (for a blow with a tomahawk which a squaw whom he had

vouloit Sen vengée Elle Luy dit de venir chee Elle quelle Seroit Bien aise de Luy donner a manger pour L'attirer Elle Vit En même temp un Sauvage qui Luy parla mobilliens,<sup>1</sup> ne voulant pas Luy repondre, La mis En Jouë Surquoy Elle Luy dit En mobiliens pourquoy me Tuë tu Le Sauvage dit tu disois que tu ne Savois par parler La negresse Sans fut Et Le Sauvage Ledit Lusignans Revint La nuit á La maisons ches La negresse Et Luy parla devant trois autres negres de Bienvenus des chose Et d'autre, Lusignans S'informant de chaque chose Et demendat Son mary, Jl deffendit á La negresse de dire quelle L'avoit vuë qui La turoit S'il avoit des nouvelles n y ayant point de françois á La Saline Et Etant Seul Elle né vint n y n'oia En Parler; que M Lagautrais passa L'ayant vuë pour La premiere fois Le dernier octobre ce Sur ce quon mavoit dit á Ste genevieve Et ce raport J'envoyay Deux detachement un En Bas En Remontant  
[Translation]

assaulted when he was drunk had given him) and that he was resolved to avenge himself.

To lure him she told him to come to her house and she would be glad to feed him. At the same time she saw an Indian who spoke to her in Mobilian<sup>1</sup> and who when she did not answer laid hold of her. On that she said to him in Mobilian, "Why do you kill me?" The Indian said, "You said you could not talk it." The negress ran away; the Indian and Lusignans came that night to the cabins where the negress was and talked to her before three other negroes of one thing and another, Lusignans learning about everything and asking for her husband. He forbade the negress' telling that she had seen him, saying he would kill her if he found she had told. Since there were no French at the Saline and since she was alone she did not come there nor dare to speak of it. M. la Gautrais passed there, and saw her for the first time the last of October.

On the basis of what they told me at Ste. Genevieve and of this report, I sent out two detachments, one lower down to go up

<sup>1</sup> "The so-called Mobilian trade language was a corrupted Choctaw jargon used for the purposes of intertribal communication among all the tribes from Florida to Louisiana, extending northward on the Mississippi to about the junction of the Ohio. It was also known as the Chickasaw trade language." Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, 1:916.

Le fleuve Et L'autre de Ste genevieve En dessendent qui Se  
 Rencontrerent n'ayant vuë que quelque piste. Le 14 au Soir  
 J'appris par un des fils de Beauvais qu'n de Ses frerre Et mercier  
 avoient Estee faits prisonnier Et un nommee pagee tuee a Lá  
 Seprierre<sup>1</sup> Le 11 au Soir Revenant chargee de chasse au cabanage  
 que Luy Estant plus Loins á auter une Epine de Son pieds Qu'il  
 Entendit un coup de fusils Et un crie ayant aveneés JI Reconnus  
 des Sauvages, JI desendit plus Bas Et Se cacha dans un Enbaras  
 dou JI vit Et Enbarquer 8 hommes Et Les deux prisonniers même  
 J'usqu'a Son chiens qu'il Entendit appeller par Son nom ce qui  
 fit présumer que ce Lusignans domestique de La maisons Etoit  
 de la Bande La femme qui Etoit depuis 14 ans icy Etoit chise;  
 JI fut au cabanage ou JI trouva Le corps de pagee Sans teste  
 Les Entrailles hors Le corps Et pour marque deux petit ark Et

[*Translation*]

the river, and the other from Ste. Genevieve to go down it. They  
 met after seeing nothing but some tracks. The evening of the  
 fourteenth I learned from one of Beauvais's sons that one of his  
 brothers and Mercier had been taken prisoner and a man named  
 Pagee killed at La Cypriesse<sup>1</sup> the evening of the eleventh while  
 they were returning loaded with their game to their cabins. He,  
 having stopped behind to take a thorn out of his foot, heard a  
 shot and a cry. Coming up, he came on Indians. He went lower  
 down and hid in a marsh, from which he saw eight men and the  
 two prisoners enter the canoe. He even heard his dog called by  
 its name.

This makes it probable that this Lusignans, as a servant of  
 the family, was with the band. The woman who has been here  
 fourteen years was a slut. He went to the cabins where he found  
 the body of Pagee without a head, and disembowelled, with a

<sup>1</sup> It is impossible to identify this exactly except to place it an inde-  
 terminate distance below Kaskaskia on the Mississippi. *Post*, 808. It is  
 said to be seventeen leagues from the Illinois. The iron mine is presumably  
 the Iron Banks or Yellow Banks. The precise location of Illes cannot be  
 told. Possibly it referred to the Iles Canadiennes, which were a little above  
 the Ecores à Prudhomme. Of course the place of that name on the upper  
 Illinois is not meant. The Little Prairie was in the neighborhood of the  
 present Caruthersville in the extreme southeast corner of Missouri.



8 fleches une Ligatures de Surtierre Engloise tranpee dans Le Sang J'ay pensée que cetoit Le partie qui avoit Roulee á Ste genevieve Et á La Saline Le L'endemain Je fis commender Deux detachement un de 30 hommes qui devoit Ramasser 17 chasseur qui Se trouverois dicy aux illes á la course, dont quelqun avoient passée La permissions Et avoient Estee a La mine de fert; L'autre détachement a cheval de 16 qui devoient aller Sur L'ouabache dans La crainte que ce ne fut des mis Jls En Sont revenus Le 29 nayant trouvee aucune vestiges<sup>1</sup>

M. Leonardy<sup>2</sup> Revint Le deux de decembre ayant Estée Jusqu'a La petite prairie né vit riens ayant Laissee par En haut une partie de voyageurs: Le nommee Boserons Et Sa Bande Estant á La mine De fert audessous du ouabaches qui foncés un Tierssont de Salaisons Le 13 9bre Lorsqun nommée Delisle aperçut une piraugue qui derivoit avertis ce premier de ne pas

[Translation]

mark of two little bows and eight arrows, and a thong of English gartering dipped in blood.

I have thought that this was the party which had been about Ste. Genevieve and the Saline. Next day I ordered two detachments, one of thirty men which was to pick up seventeen hunters from here who were about Illes à l'Ecorce, some of whom had passed the permitted limits and had been at the iron mine. The other detachment of sixteen mounted men was to go to the Wabash, lest these Indians should prove to be Miami. They returned the twenty-ninth having found no traces.<sup>1</sup>

M. Leonardy<sup>2</sup> returned December 2, having been as far as the Little Prairie and seen nothing. He left a party of *voyageurs* above. The man named Bosseron and his company were at the iron mine below the Wabash heading a cask of salted meat, when on November 13 a man called Delisle saw a pirogue approaching.

<sup>1</sup> For a commentary on the conduct of the mounted detachment, see *post*, 794-795.

<sup>2</sup> Pierre Leonardy de Foës. Of Italian extraction. Lieutenant in the Nassau Regiment; lieutenant in Louisiana, October 1, 1750. A N Colonies D2C4. In April, 1753, he was conducting a convoy on its way to Vincennes. *Post*, 815. The army list marks him as dead in 1753 [Bruno Roselli, *Vigo: A Forgotten Builder of the American Republic*, 121, says he died at Vincennes, May 24, 1753.]



faire de Bruit JL repondit Bon Se Sont de nos gens Et continuë Les Sauvages Qui venoient droit a L'ensse ou Jls auroient put faire Leurs decharge prirent aussytot L'autre cõtée Du fleuve S'appercevant du Bruit Et L'ors quil furent passes Jls Leurs crierrent En mobiliens viens nous avons deux de tes frerres Et tuee un ferent trois crie de mort Les françois disent mis a terres nous verons á te Les disputer JL mondit qu'ils auroient Biens donnee áprés Sils nussent crains quils ne tuassent Les prisonniers.

comme cet officier n'avoit pas trouvee tous Les chasseurs Endessendant Jl L'aissa Le nommee Joly coeure pour Remonter par terre Le missipy Et avertir ceux qu'il Rencontreroit pendant quil yroit plus Bas Les voyageurs descendans du ouaba mont assuree avoir trouvee une piste qui remonte Le Long de cette rivierre; Jl nous menque Encore Trois matelots qui Sont partis Sans congée quond dit Estre plus Bas Jls Se noment Bayonne vincent, Et Jean, peut Estre descendront il Jusquá La nouvelle orleans:

[*Translation*]

He warned the other to make no noise. He answered, "Good, they are our own people," and went on. The Indians who were coming straight to the cove where they could have fired on them, immediately on hearing the noise went to the other side of the river. Once they had passed by they cried out in Mobilian, "Come to us, we have two of your brothers prisoners and have killed another." They made the death cry three times. The French cried out, "Come on shore, and we will dispute them with you." They told me that they would have pursued if they had not been afraid that the prisoners would have been killed.

As the officer mentioned had not found all the hunters when he came down, he left the soldier known as Jolicoeur to ascend the Mississippi by land and warn those he met, while he himself went lower down. The *voyageurs* descending from the Wabash have assured me they found a track which went up the length of that river. We still have missing three sailors who went off without leave and are said to be lower down. They are called Bayonne, Vincent, and Jean; perhaps they will go down to New Orleans.

M. de St Ange me marque par sa dernière Que Le Secours D'hommes Et vivres nest pas arriv Et Jay appris par Les voyageurs dessendant qu'il L'avoient Rencontré a 25 Lieux qu'ils Leurs Estoient Desertee deux hommes vers La Belle rivierre qui De nuit avoient pris de La munitions cet officier me marque qu'il serat Bien Enbarassee pour L'ogér Les vivres que Je dois Envoyer pour Le détachement qui doit venir ce printens du canada tous Les Batiments de Son poste Estant pouris ne pouvant avoir des Escorces qu'a La fin d'avril JI me marque Que la privations de munitions a obbligee Les pians a chasser deux meurtrier qui Estoient parmy Eux qu'ils Sont venus Le prier d'avoir pitié de Leurs femmes Et Enfans Et Sur ce qu'ils Luy ont promis qu'ils ne paroistroient plus Jls Leurs á fait donner Leurs Besoins par Les traiteurs;

Le petit plat côtée chefs des 7 cabannes illinois Decanpee de chasse cet Estee aux rebelles Luy á Remis Le collier qu'il En avoit Reçus avec des protestations D'attachement aux françois qui ne peuvent qu'estre D'outeuse, cet officier Leurs á fait prendre

[*Translation*]

M. de St. Ange informs me in his last letter that the succor in men and provisions has not arrived. I have learned from the *voyageurs* coming down that they met it twenty-five leagues off; two men had deserted by night in the direction of the Ohio River, taking ammunication with them. That officer informs me that he will be much put to it to store the provisions which I am to send for the detachment which is to come from Canada this spring. All the buildings of his post are decayed, and he can get no bark until the end of April. He tells me that their being deprived of ammunication has compelled the Piankashaw to drive away two murderers who were among them, and that they came to beg him to take pity on their wives and children; and upon their promising him that they would not appear again, he let the traders supply their wants.

Le Petit Plat Côtée, chief of the seven Illinois cabins which left the hunt this summer to go to the rebels, gave back to St. Ange the belt he had received, with protestations of attachment to the French which at best are dubious. This officer made them

Leurs hivernement dans le Bas du ouabaches; Le gros Bleds chefs des pians Rébelles L'est venus trouver deux fois pour Luy demender grace JI crois plustôt que cest pour debaucher ceux qui Estoient aupres de Luy JI né La pas Biens Reçus il Est Est á deux Journés de Son poste Sur La Rivierre Blanche Se chef dit que depuis que Les mis avoient tuee deux Englois chée L'enfant Et La mouche noire JI n'étoit venus personne á porter Leurs Besoins Le fils de La mouche noire á abandonner Le partie de Son perre avec 7 cabannes JI L'est venus prier d'avoir pitieé de Luy qu'il vouloit Se rapprocher du françois cet officier Refusant Sa parolle Luy disant de me Lavenir porter comme Se Sont Les plus fotifs Jls craignent Destre arrestée En venent icy. Jls ont fait courir Le Bruit que nous avions tuée Le maringuouins ont vois quil veuille Sacheminer á La paix, Si Le projet de M. Longueüil á Lieu cela Les metrat Tous a La raisons S'ils ne venoient point céla Recommencerée comme de plus Belle Selon Les officiers des postes du ouabaches Les voyageurs ayant répandus cés Bruit de guerre qu'ils produisoient de mauvais Effet;

[Translation]

take up their winter quarters on the lower Wabash. Le Gros Bled, chief of the rebel Piankashaw, came to seek him twice to ask pardon. He thinks it more likely that it was to seduce those who remained at the post. The chief was not well received; he lives two days from the post, on White River. This chief reported that since the Miami had killed two English who were with L'Enfant and La Mouche Noire, no one came to supply their needs. The son of La Mouche Noire has abandoned his father's party, along with seven cabins. He came to beg us to have pity on him as he wished to join the French. That officer refused to accept his speech, telling him he must carry it to me. As these are the most guilty, they are afraid of being held if they come here. They have spread the report that we killed Le Maringuouin seeing that he wished peace established. If the project of M. Longueuil is executed, it will make them all hear reason. If his detachments do not come, everything will begin again worse than ever according to the officers of the Wabash posts. The *voyageurs* have spread reports of war which have an ill effect.

Le premier de ce mois Le gros Bleds Et La Babiche chefs des péoriast vinrent me donner á fumee me demandant que Les françois hivernessent avec Eux Leurs ayant ordonner d'hiverner au poste avec La garnisons afins qu'ils fussent tous Ensembles Et qu'ils n'ussent point de Different comme Jls En ont tous Les Jours ayant Eu des plaintes de traite deaudevie qui quelque chose quon fasse En donne toujours ce qui Est Le dieu de cette nations comme Les voyageurs Sont arrivée très tard cet Ennée Et que Les Sauvages Estoient partie pour L'hivernement Jay acquiessee á Leurs Demendes et ne voulant Riens refuser á cette nations dans Les circonstances présentes Je fis Sentir á ces deux chefs tout ce que Je faisois pour Eux que Je travaillois á ravoir Leurs prisonniers Des Sakis Et Renards que Jetois un Bon perre que Je né voyois aucuns Effet De Leurs attachemt Je metendis Beaucoup Sur cette matierre Et Sur Le coup que venoit de nous arriver Et madressant au gros Bleds Je Luy dis Je compte que tu Renplacerat Les chefs des Soldats mort Et que dans peut Jete veray icy avec un partie de 60 á 80 hommes pour aller donner La chasse aux chykacha Jl me repondit que Sils Les avoit avec

[Translation]

The first of this month Le Gros Bled and La Babiche, chiefs of the Peoria, came to smoke with me and to ask that Frenchmen should winter with them. I had ordered the French to winter at the garrisoned post so that they might all be together, and have no quarrels such as daily occur; I had had complaints of trade in brandy, which is the god of these tribes, and which is given them whatever one does. Since the *voyageurs* arrived very late this year and the Indians had left for their winter camps, I acquiesced in their request as I wished to refuse this tribe nothing in the present circumstances. I let these two chiefs see all that I was doing for them, how I was laboring to recover their prisoners from the Sauk and Foxes, how I was a good father, and how I saw no fruits of their attachment to us. I enlarged much on this point and on the attack made on us. Addressing myself to Le Gros Bled I said, "I count on your replacing the dead chiefs of the soldiers, and that in a little while I shall see you here with a party of sixty to eighty men to give chase to the Chickasaw."

Luy qu'il partiroit Tout á Leurs que Sils pouvoit Les Rassembler  
 Jl Seroit Bientot icy; comme cette nations ne fait compte que  
 De Leaudevie Je Léurs Endonnay avec quelque Marchandises  
 pour Leurs nations Leurs En promettant davantage á Leurs  
 Retour des chy avec quelques françois, que Je vais Inviter Les  
 nations du missouris a Levée quelque parties pour aller aussy  
 Sur Les chy; Je Leurs contay avent que de Les Renvoyée La  
 triste Situations des pians Ennemis Sur Les nouvelles de M. de  
 St ange quils demendoient tous Les Jours á Rentrer En grace  
 menquant demunitions Et de toutes autres choses Jl me dit qu'il  
 La Savoient que Les mis avoient tuée deux Englois Et que  
 depuis Jl menque de tout Je Le restay á ne Leurs pas faire part  
 de ce que nous Leurs donnions Jl me disent qu'ils devoient  
 Leurs a porter un grand collier cet hiver dont un Bout Estoit  
 Rougis Que S'ils venoit Jl me L'enverroit Sans Le garder comme  
 JL m'avoient fait dire; Jls partirent contens Et promirent de me  
 venir voir Bientôt

Jl y á toute apparence que Se Sont Les chikacha Et alliee

[*Translation*]

He answered that if he had the men with him he would set out at once, but that if he could gather them he would soon be here. Since these tribes make no account of anything but brandy I gave them some with some goods for their tribes, promising them more on their return from the Chickasaw with some French, and telling them that I am going to invite the tribes of the Missouri also to raise some parties to go against the Chickasaw. Before sending them away I told them of the sad plight of the hostile Piankashaw as M. de St. Ange reported it; how they daily asked to be forgiven, lacking ammunition and everything else. They told me they knew that the Miami had killed two English and had since wanted for everything. I told them not to give these people a share of what we were giving them. They told me that these Indians that winter were to bring them a great belt one end of which was red. If it came they would, so they said, send it to me and not keep it. They left satisfied and promised to come and see me soon.

There is every appearance that it was the Chickasaw and

qui ont attaquee Mrs Benoist Et regiot Jay Estee très inquiet de ce dernier Sur un Bruit Qui á courus parmy Les françois depuis quelque Jours venent Sediton des Sauvages que cet officier avoit Estee deffait que nos Ennemis Estoient assemblee Et fortiffiee aux Echors á prud homme pour attaquer Le convois En montant ce qui m'avoit fait Envoyer M. Leonardy Jusqué La petite prairie ou Je pensois que Le convois devoit Estre y ayant passée Lennee Dernierre de meilleur heure Jenvoye un Bateau Biens armée audevant de M. Benoist Luy porter des vivres Et faire passer Les Letres Que Je vous Envoye

J'ordonneray á L'officier de vous rendre compte De ce qu'il aurat vuë

Jl parois que nos Ennemis Se forme Tous Les Jours puis-qu'ils attaque des deux cotés du fleuve á La derive Ladefaitte De chatetraud Et Le pilliage des farines Leurs a donner du gout S'ils y Estoient fortiffiees ce qui peut arriver tot ou tard comme on me La assuroit des puis quelques Jours combien de paine Et dargent il En couteroit par Leloignement des postes a Sy

[Translation]

their allies who attacked MM. Benoist and Reggio. I have been very ill at ease about the latter from a report which has circulated among the French the last few days, coming as is said from the Indians; namely that that officer had been defeated, and that our enemies had assembled and were fortified at the Ecores à Prudhomme to attack the convoy as it went up. This made me send M. Leonardy as far as the Little Prairie where I thought the convoy should be, as it passed there last year at an earlier date. I am sending a well-armed bateau to meet M. Benoist to carry him provisions and dispatch the letters I send you.

I will order the officer to give you an account of what he has seen.

It seems our enemies manifest themselves daily since they attack from both sides of the river at La Derive. The defeat of Chatetraud and the plunder of the flour has given them the desire for more. If they were fortified there as I was assured a few days ago will happen sooner or later, how much trouble and expense will it then cost, as a result of the remoteness of the



transporter Et Les vivres necessaires pour Les En chasser au Lieu qun Poste Etably comme Jay deja Eus L'honneur de vous marquer Seroit non Seulement necessaire pour contenir nos Ennemis mais même par Rapport aux convois qui monte icy L'autonne qui y trouveroient des Secours Estant quelque fois Surpris par Les glaces comme JL Est arrivé á M. Bénac Seroit arrivee cette Ennée Si Lenore avoit continuer Je doute Encore qu'il arrive icy Le mois de Janvier S'ils n hivernent point n'étant pas rendus Le 8 9bre aux arkas S'ils hivernent ce convois couterat plus au roy qun Etablissement á quelques Lieux de Ses Echors ou Le fleuve ne prend Jammais Et dou L'on peut venir de La petite prairie icy En cinq Jours par terre avertir de Leurs Besoins Et La Derive icy y vat En trois Jours ce qui Est une communications a pouvoir Secourir ce poste Et pour metre Le fleuve En Surtée Et toutes nos rivières des Anglois.

Les deux fort dont vous me marquée que vous aves demendée au ministre L'établissement L'un audessus de La chute de La

[*Translation*]

posts, to transport the men and the necessary provisions to drive them off. On the other hand an established post as I have already had the honor to tell you would not only be necessary to repress our enemies but also for the convoys which ascend hither in the autumn, and which there would find help. For they are sometimes taken unawares by the ice as happened to M. Bénac, who would have arrived this year if the north wind had continued. Now I doubt if he arrives in January, if they do not winter, not having arrived at the Arkansas by November 8. If they do winter, this convoy will cost the king more than an establishment some leagues from Les Ecores, where the river never closes and whence one can come from the Little Prairie here in five days by land to give notice of what they need; from La Derive to here it is three days. This is a communication by which that post could be aided, and the river, as well as all our rivers, put in safety from the English.

The two forts the establishment of which you tell me you have asked of the minister, one above the Falls of the Ohio to



Belle rivierre Etablie par Le canada Et l'autre audessous du ouabaches Se Sont Les vrais moyens de Les En Banir pour toujours

L'a compagnie dans La rivierre des arkansas Devient inutil par Le Secours quelle donne aux Voyageurs 12 hommes dans La nations Sont plusque sufisant pour Leurs donner Leurs Besoins veiller á Leurs conduitte, Et informer de ce qui Se passe, Se poste Sur Le fleuve Seroit tous different Et accelleroit Les convois aux Lieux qu'il Les Retarde;

Je ne vous parle icy que de ce qui Est indispensab[le] JI En-fauderoit un á La rivierre des yazouë qui Empêcha Les Ennemis d'entrer par cette Rivierre Sur Le fleuve avec Leurs voitures comme Jls ont faits plusieurs fois. JI Est vray Qu'au commencement de Son Etablissement nous vivions sovent d'ennemis ne pouvant passer outre Jls s'en L'asseroient En y perdant du monde D allieurs Le temps, Le Bon traitement Si nous pouvions avoir La paix; La proximitté de Leurs villages qui nest qu'a 35. á 40 Lieux des échores á margot, ou prudhomme nous Les familiarises Et avec Le temps Jls Seroient Bientôt reduite par

[Translation]

be made from Canada, and the other below the mouth of the Wabash, are the true means to expel the English forever. The company on the Arkansas River will then become useless as an assistance to the *voyageurs*. Twelve men among the tribes are enough to supply their wants, watch their conduct, and inform us of what happens. This post on the river would be quite a different matter, accelerating instead of retarding the convoys.

Here I speak to you only of what is indispensable. A post is needed at the Yazoo River to prevent the enemy's entering the Mississippi with their boats from that stream as they have done several times. It is true that at the first settlement we lived generally among enemies, not being able to pass without their sufferance and without losing men. However, the enemy will become accustomed to us with time, and with good treatment, if we can have peace, as well as with the proximity of their villages which are but thirty-five to forty leagues from Ecores à Margot or Prudhomme; in time they would indeed be reduced by the growth

L'augumentations de nos Establissement á né pouvoir nous nuire ont Seroit plus á partee de faire quelques coups Sur Eux voyla 17 personnes qu'ils nous ont tuée au pri En Détail Sans que nous Sachions Leurs avoir tuée un homme, Sils passent par La Rivierre des charaquis Jl n'étoye cette rivierre La Belle rivierre Et Le missipy de ce qu'ils peuvent rencontrée Je ne parle point de celles quils peuvent monter icy Et Lorsqu'ils ont fait coup ils Sont rendus par La derive á Les echores En Surtée En peut dejours chée Eux Sans ne pouvoir y apporter remede de ce cotee icy Le coup fait Le 11 9bre nous En donne L'experience.

pour L'établissement Et Subsistances de ces postes Elle pourroient Les tirer En vivres d celuy cy En attendent Quils pussent par Eux même Semintenir il Est aisée á fournir des postes L'orsque L'on á La derive pour Sois ce qui fait qu'on né S'auroient avoir trop D attentions á Envoyer des familles icy qui aurussent Le pain de L'aboureur ainsy Ses postes né S'établisse Jammais qu'en y méttand des familles Les troupe né feront que Les mintenir Et Resteront toujours au même Estat Le principe

[Translation]

of our settlement to a point at which they could no longer injure us. It would be more to the point to make some attacks on them. Here they have killed in detail seventeen people, and we don't know we have killed a man of theirs. If they go by the Tennessee River, they might be encountered on that river, the Ohio, and the Mississippi. I say nothing of the rivers they can ascend to come here. And when they have struck their blow, they have returned by La Derive to Les Ecores in safety and in a few days to their villages without our being able to apply a remedy here. The attack made November 11 gives us the proof of it.

As to the establishment and subsistence of these posts, they could get provisions from here while awaiting the day at which they could maintain themselves. It is easy to furnish the posts when one has the leeway for it. It follows that one cannot give too much care to sending families here who would take the trouble to work to this end. These posts will never be established save by sending families. Troops can do no more than maintain them and will always remain in the same situation. The principle of

Est d'envoyer des Souche Lorsque L'on veut acroître car nous  
avons Beaucoup d'hommes qui n'e trouve pas á Sétablir faute  
de fille Les créolles de ce païs né daignent pas Regarder un  
Soldat L'aisences L'eurs faits donner De h'aute vuë Si on pouvoit  
Envoyer quelques filles des Enfans trouvee ou des hopitaux de  
france á donner au Soldat congédiée Si la feroit des Souches  
instruite des Sentiments de religions qui Subiroient Leurs Sort  
Et formeroient dans La Suite de Bons habitans En Les facilitant  
Les deux premieres Enneés; Je craindrois Biens qu'en passant  
par Le Bas de nostre colonies L'on nous Les débaucha ;

Le poste projectté par L'ouabaches peut Se Secourir par  
terre d'icy Se Le ministre accorde Lasinement De La compagnie  
de dragons dont Je vous ay       marquée La necessitee Et Seroit  
Encore plus facil pouvant y aller En quatre ou cinq Jours par  
terre.

J ay Ecris á Mrs Lignerie Et St ange de prandre connois-  
sance de Lá forces des rebelles Sur La Belle rivierre il paroît  
par ce qu'il men oñt marquee Que Le nombre En diminuë Tous

[*Translation*]

it is to send fruitful stock, if you wish increase, for we have many  
men who cannot set up housekeeping for want of girls. The  
creoles of this country won't deign to look at a soldier. Their  
easy life gives them big ideas. If you could send some girls from  
the foundlings or the hospitals of France to give to the discharged  
soldiers, they might become fruitful vines, instructed in the  
principles of religion, who would accept their situation and would  
in the end make good inhabitants, if things were made easier for  
them the first two years. But I am much afraid they would be  
corrupted on their way through the lower colony.

The post projected on the Wabash could be supported by  
land if the minister would allow the assignment of the company  
of dragoons the need for which I indicated to you, and it would  
be all the easier as you could go there in four or five days by  
land.

I have written MM. Ligneris and St. Ange to get information  
as to the force of rebels on the Ohio River. It appears from what  
I am informed that the number daily diminishes. You will see it

Les Jours vous Le verreés parceque J'ay Eus L'honneur de vous marquer tant du récit du maringouins que de ce que m ecrivent ces Mrs

J'aurois Envoyee de fort partie des mon arivée de francois Et Sauvages Si nos domiciliees tinnssent Estre Les allies de nos Ennemis Et Je regarde comme impossible de faire marcher des gros parties du missouris L'orsqu'il né Seront pas pour nous Je ne doute point que Les mis ne reviennent Jl Se raproche Et travaille a vouloir Entrer En graces Jay fait prèssentir aux illinois Et peoriast Sils me donnoient des marques de Leur attachement Je pourois oublier Le passée mais qu'ils craignissent S'ils diferoient peut Estre que Latante du partie de canada qu'on Leurs á anoncés Les faits commencer a S'acheminer á la paix Jls mont fait dire par un illinois qu'ils Estoient fachée de ce qui Estoit arrivée qu'ils y avoient Estre Engager par Les nations du haut qu'ils vouloient se tenir tranquille qu'il noioient venir me voir ; Jl y a toute apparence que nous ferons faire La paix aux illinois, Renards, Sakis, puis qu'il Reste tranquille Jl la couterat de re-

[*Translation*]

because I had the honor to indicate it to you both from Le Maringouin's story and from what these Messieurs write me.

Immediately on my arrival I would have sent out a strong party of French and Indians, if our domiciled Indians had not been allied with our enemies; and so long as our Indians are not in our favor I think it impossible to march large parties of the Missouri. I do not doubt that the Miami will return. They make advances and labor to enter into our graces. I have forewarned the Illinois and Peoria that if they give me proofs of their attachment I can forget the past but that they should fear deferring to do so. Perhaps the proposed expedition from Canada of which they have been told makes them begin to move in the direction of peace. They have sent me word by an Illinois that they were sorry for what had happened and that they had been involved in it by the upper tribes; they wished to keep quiet but could not come to see me. There is every appearance that we shall arrange peace between the Illinois, Foxes and Sauk since they remain quiet. It will cost something to get the Illinois slaves back from

tirer Les Esclaves des Renards mais Je veux quil nous      Donne quelques marques de Leurs attachement Soit Sur Les chy ou Les mis Je né menque nul ocasions de Leurs faire Sentir combien ils Devoient nous menager.

M. de portneuf me marque que Les panis ont Rapportés quil avoient fait La paix avec Les L'étannes que Les Espagnols pressoient ces dernier De Les mener Sur Les missouris ou ils avoient Deja Estee Je Luy ay Ecris au Sujet de la Reparations du fort cavaniol qu'il Est a Le faire faire par Les voyageurs. Je fais payer a cet officier La gratifications qui Luy Est duë de deux Ennee Je retiendray de quoy Satisfaire M. olivier il craint que deux françois dont il n'a point Denouvelles neut Estre tuee aux otos<sup>1</sup> par Les Petit os JI n'en a pas Encore de nouvelles certaine comme il y á toujours des difficultees dans Les voyageurs qui viennent du canada JI Seroit Bon Monsieur que vous nommassiés trois canots pour Rester au peoriast Et Les autres des-

[Translation]

the Foxes; but I wish them to give us proofs of their attachment either against the Chickasaw or the Miami. I lose no occasion of making them feel how much they should consult our wishes.

M. de Portneuf tells me that the Pawnee have reported that they have made peace with the Ietan. They say the Spaniards have urged these last to take them to the Missouri, where they have already been. I have written him on the subject of the repairs to Fort Cavagnal that they are to be provided for by the *voyageurs*. I am having that officer paid the gratification which is due him for the two years, retaining so much as will satisfy M. Olivier's claims. M. de Portneuf fears that two Frenchmen of whom he has no news may have been killed at the Oto<sup>1</sup> by the Little Osage; as yet he has no reliable news. There are always difficulties with the *voyageurs* who come from Canada. It would be well, Monsieur, if you were to designate three canoes to re-

<sup>1</sup> The Oto were located above Portneuf's post near the present Omaha, Nebraska. On the other hand the Little Osage were located much lower down the Missouri. The Oto, according to Jefferys (1761), were along the south bank of the Panis (probably the Platte) River; elsewhere he placed them on the west side of the Missouri, above the Kansa. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, 2:165.

sendant icy Jl ont commis des abus depuis quelques tems ces voyageurs reste au cahos qui Est á 16 Lieux d'icy Je ne puis S'avoir n y veriffier Leurs congés Laissant Leurs marchandises Et hommes audit poste Et me viennent demender des permis JI né parois pas un pot deaudevie d ce quon Leurs permet plusieurs L'on traitee En route jls ont paîcher a L'eau trouble cet Ennee n y ayant pas un congée En regle tant pour Les hommes que par Le nombre de canots Sils changent d'hommes ou augemente Leurs canots ils Endoivent prendre un permis du commandant de michelimaquinat ou des postes ou il passe comme ceux qui L'est quitte comme il Est portees par Leurs congée La plus part même de leurs Engages Sont des coureurs qu'il n'est pas Bons de L'aisser aller dans La Traitte Surtout quand il Sont nôtee des commandants 8. Sont Partie Sans congée voulant Les faire attendre Les autres; La moitiee ont remontee Le missipy Les autres ont pris Le missouris J'auray L'honneur de vous En Ecrire par la premier ocasion J esperre Monsieur que vous

[Translation]

main with the Peoria and direct the remainder to come here. They have been guilty of misconduct for some time past; these *voyageurs* remain at Cahokia, which is sixteen leagues from here, where I can neither inspect nor verify their licenses. Leaving their goods and men at that post, they come here to get permits. They don't have a pot of the brandy allowed for their own use, as they have traded it en route to the Indians. This year they have been fishing in troubled waters, having no proper *congés* for their men or the number of their canoes. If they change their men or add to their canoes they should get a permit from the commandant of Mackinac or of the posts where they pass as well as a notation of those who leave them there as is provided for in their *congés*. Most of their *engagés* are *coureurs de bois* whom it is not well to allow in the trade, especially when they have drawn the notice of the commandants. Eight left without licenses when I tried to make them wait for the others. Half have reascended the Mississippi, and the others have taken to the Missouri.

I shall have the honor to write you on this by the first



voudrée Biens fixer une gratifications a L'officier des péoriast payee par Les traiteurs de L'endroit comme celui du missouris Je Les ay fait tous contribuer cette Ennée á celle des missouris vous connoissce La dessus mieux que personne Monsieur combien peut d'aisences L'officier de cette colonies á Je Suis persuadée que vous voudrée Biens prendre Sa cause auprès du ministre Lorsque vous Serés En france Et Luy faire Sentir La Durtée du Service

Je vous prie Monsieur de me faire instruire Des reglements du Roy pour Le payments Des miliciens Lorsque Le Le Roy Sen Sert Il dise quils Sont payée En canada Je Le crois L'orsqu'il Serve par ans ou par mois, pour un Détachement de quelque Jours Je n'ay pas crus qu'il dussent Estre payee Les nourrisanture connoissant point ces regles ce devant Estre Les même tant pour L'officier que pour Le Soldat Je my conformeray Lorsque J'en Seray instruit Je me conformeray aux ordres que vous me donnee par La Letre commune avec M. michel pour Le

[*Translation*]

occasion. I hope, Monsieur, that you will be pleased to arrange a gratification for the officer with the Peoria, to be paid by the traders of that region as is done for the Missouri. I made all the traders this year contribute to the officer at the Missouri. You know better than anyone, Monsieur, how few comforts the officer of that colony enjoys, and I feel sure that you will be good enough to take up his case with the minister when you are in France, making him understand the hardships of that service.

I beg you, Monsieur, to have me informed as to the king's regulations for the pay of militia when the king employs them. It is said they are paid in Canada, and I believe that is the case when they serve by the year or the month. For a detail of a few days I have not thought that they should be paid for their rations. I don't know whether these rules are the same for the officer and the soldier, but I shall conform to them when I am instructed.

I shall conform to the orders you give me in your joint letter with M. Michel as to the proposed mills at Vincennes and as to



moulins projetée au poste vincenne comme pour ce qui regarde  
Les reparations du fort Je Luy ay Marquée de Le metre En  
Estat de deffence Et de Recevoir des vivres Selon vôtre Letre  
que Jay Reçus de M. Lagautrais

Je Souhaitte que La mirrande Et de guire né fassent point  
comme Eux á qui vous avoir deja pardonné qui mon demander  
Un congée pour áller En chasse dans Le haut du missipy Et qui  
ont Estee rencontrée dans L'ouabaches Dont Je n'ay point de nou-  
velles.

Je travailleroit á faire venir icy Les chavouanon ou de Les  
faire Sondir par quelqu Sur Leurs Sentiments a nostre Egard  
Je Les Engageray á nous Estre attachée

Je n'ay pas vólus Envoyer un détachement arester du Long  
prée crainte de L'efaroucher Jexecuteray vos ordres

Je favoriseroit En tous ce quil me Serat possible Les  
nouveaux Etablissement mais L'orsquon aurat donné des ordres  
par un a Lignement Retranchement ou autre Jls Est necessaire  
quils Les Suivent

Je vous ay rendus compte par M. derégíot de La Bontée de

[*Translation*]

what concerns the repair of the fort; I have told the officer to  
put it in a state of defense and to receive provisions in accord  
with your letter which I received by M. la Gautrais.

I wish that La Mirande and Deguir may not behave like  
those you have already pardoned. They asked me for a *congé* to  
hunt on the upper Mississippi and were found on the Wabash;  
and I have no news of them.

I will strive to induce the Shawnee to come here, or to have  
them sounded by someone as to their feeling toward us. I will  
answer for it that they are attached to us.

I have not wished to send a detachment to arrest Dulongpreé  
for fear of frightening him away. I will carry out your orders.

I will favor new settlements in every way I can; but when  
orders are given for an addition or withdrawal they must be  
obeyed.

I have given you an account by M. de Reggio of the richness

La mine á La motte<sup>1</sup> ou Jay Estee Si Le païs Etoit peuplée Et que La veine Se conserva comme Elle Est Je ne doute pas qu'on n'épuissent Se Sauver a donner Le plomb Sur Les Lieux á trois Sols Le plus grand Enbaras Est de Le transporter par Terre ou il y á 14 Lieux á monter et Descendre Les coteaux La quantitee demande Et de voítures quil faudroit pour Le descendre á La ville doubleroit Son prix Se qui fait qu'a Six Sols Le plomb ne Séroit pas cher. JI Seroit avantageux pour Les colonies qu'on traite Toute Les peaux de Serf Et autres ánímeaux du missouris Dont Les canadiens né font point de cas par La pesenteur Et Enbaras dans Les portages de Ses Sortes demarchandises cequi Leurs donne peut de proffet Je crois quen Les dessendant á La ville que cela pouroit faire une Branche de commerce Jay Recommandee a M. deportneuf Et au voyageurs de Sattacher á La decouverte de quelque mine M. Buchet á fait ramasser plusieurs Sortes de graines, plantes médicinalles qui avoient Estee Demendée pour Le Járdirs du Roy Jls Les adresse a M. michel par

[Translation]

of Mine à la Motte,<sup>1</sup> where I have been. If the country were peopled and the vein continues there is no doubt that its lead could be sold on the spot at three sous a pound. The greatest difficulty lies in transporting it by land as there are fourteen leagues up and down in the hills. The number of people and wagons necessary to bring it down to the city would double the price, but at six sous lead would not be dear. It would be advantageous for the colonies that all the deer and other skins from the Missouri should be bought. The Canadians make no account of such merchandise because their weight and burden in the portages makes them of little profit. It seems to me that by bringing them down to New Orleans they might become an article of commerce. I have recommended to M. de Portneuf and to the *voyageurs* to devote themselves to the discovery of some mine. M. Buchet has had gathered various sorts of grain and medicinal plants which had been requested for the king's gardens. He is sending them

<sup>1</sup> Mine à la Motte was located above the sources of Saline Creek, in the northern part of the present Madison County, Missouri, and thirty miles southwest of Kaskaskia.

cette occasions M. Le marechel duc de noailles qui men'avoit demandee comme de toutes Sortes d arbres En pourat Liver de M. Buffond<sup>1</sup> netant pas a même de faire des Envois Separees

Les deux hommes qui ont Estee pris prisonniers Le 11. 9bre par Les chy Sont En Estat par Leurs parans De pouvoir Sera chepter un Est Le fils d'un habitans aisée dicy, L'autre Son neveux qui á á La nouvelle orleans pour par ans meunier<sup>2</sup> Et Quelques autres il a quelque fond a Luy même icy Je pense que S'ils Leurs ont donnée La Vie il né Serat pas difficil á Les ravoirs par Les alibamons. Le perre Esperre Monsieur que vous voudres Biens vous interessée á Luy faire avoir Son fils Et Son neveux Jl Seroit dessendus Luy même á Laville Sil nut Estee malade Jl a des fond S'il En Est nécessaire chee un nommée maxand Jl dois vous En faire Ecrire M. degruisse á Beaucoup de mine de plomb deliver Jl Esperoit pouvoir En fondre de quoy Satisfaire M. olivier cet autonne Jl commençoit même a En faire

[*Translation*]

to M. Michel by this occasion. M. le Maréchal Duc de Noailles, who had requested them of me, as well as specimens of all kinds of trees, may have them of M. Buffon<sup>1</sup> since it is not possible to make separate dispatches.

The two men who were taken prisoners November 11 by the Chickasaw may be ransomed by their relatives. One is the son of a well-to-do habitant, the other his nephew, who has for relatives at New Orleans, Meunier<sup>2</sup> and some others. He has some funds himself. I think if they have been given their lives it would not be difficult to get them back through the Alibamu. The father hopes, Monsieur, that you will be good enough to interest yourself to get him back his son and nephew. He would have gone down to the city himself if he had not been sick. He has funds, if they are necessary, with a certain Maxent. He is to write you.

M. de Gruis has much lead at the mine to send. He hopes to get enough from it to satisfy M. Olivier this fall. He was

<sup>1</sup> Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon, 1707-1788. The celebrated naturalist.

<sup>2</sup> Several persons at New Orleans bore the name Meunier. It is impossible to tell which is meant.

charier L'orsque Les chemains Sont Inpratiqueable par Les neiges Et glaces. Jauroit Soins qu'il satisfasse a L engagement qu'il á avec M. olivier

Jl Est en détachement depuis quelques Jours après Ledit Lusignans qui á parus a La mine avec quelques Sauvages Je Souhaite voir Biens qu'on put Le prendre Estant très dangereux parmy nos Ennemis Et S'il Estoit au coup du 11 du mois derniers il connois Biens La Route des Echores icy Jl n'est pas Etonnant quils connoisse Ses Environs y ayant chasse Depuis son Basage.

Je vais faire faire dimanche prochains L'adjudications des vivres necessaires au detachemen Du canada ceux qu'il L'auront Seront obligée á Les Livrer au Commandant du poste vincenne ou a celui qui Serat commis par M. Lignery qui doit Les faire Enlever de ce poste;

L'entrepreneur Serat obligée de faire tous Les frais Et prendrat Son payment En canada Si Le Roy Leurs fais des avances icy Jls Seront obligée á Les remettre au trésors de La colonie pour faciliter ce transport nous Serons obligée a Donner

[*Translation*]

even beginning to have it wagoned when the roads became impassable with snow and ice. I shall take care that he satisfies his undertaking to M. Olivier. He was on detachment some days after the said Lusignans appeared at the mine with some Indians. I wish much that Lusignans could be captured for he is very dangerous among our enemies, and if he was concerned in the attack of the eleventh of last month he knows the route from Les Ecores here quite well. It is not surprising that he knows this neighborhood since he has hunted here since he was very young.

Next Sunday I shall have adjudicated the necessary provisions for the detachment from Canada, as to those who will have to deliver them to the commandant of Vincennes or to the person to be designated by M. Ligneris to carry them from that post. The undertaker would have to advance the whole expense and take his payment in Canada. If the king makes advances to them here they will have to be remitted to the treasurers of the colony. To facilitate the transport we shall have to furnish bateaux. I

Les Bateaux; Je Les feray partir d icy Sitôt que La Saisons Le  
permetterat

Je ne prévois point pouvoir Envoyer cette Ennee Beaucoup  
de farine á La nouvelle orleans je Seray charmée Sils nous En  
reste de quoy fournir Les postes Les granges Sont très plaine  
mais ne rende point de farine comme nous pouvions Esperer

Jay L'honneur d'Estre avec un tres respectueus attachement  
Monsieur

Votre très humbles Et tres obeissant Serviteur

MACARTY

SAUCIER TO VAUDREUIL, December 8, 1752

[H M LO 357]

MONSIEUR.

Si la justice que le Roy vient de Vous Rendre, ne touchoit pas  
aux malheur qui nous est arrive et a moy particulierement qui le  
sant dans toute son Etendue et qui augmante a chacune de mes  
reflexions. avec quelle joye et quelle facilitée ne m'etandraije  
pas en vous en faisant montres respectueux Compliment. Vous

[*Translation*]

shall send them off from here as soon as the weather permits.

I cannot foresee that I shall be able to send much flour to  
New Orleans this year. I shall be delighted if we have enough  
left to furnish the posts. The barns are full but don't afford as  
much flour as we could hope.

I have the honor to be with a very respectful attachment,  
Monsieur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

MACARTY

MONSIEUR:

If the justice the king has just rendered you were not bound  
up with the misfortune which has befallen us, and me in especial,  
who feels it in its full extent more and more each time I reflect  
on it, with what joy and gladness would I not enlarge myself in  
making you my very respectful compliments! You go, Monsieur,

allés, Monsieur, porter L'alegresse, qui reigne desja par avance, dans toutte La Nouvelle france, mais ce ne sera pas sans laisser Toutte La Colombie en deuil. Tous les Colons Vous aiment et tous les Colons Vous perdent. quant a moy J'Epreuve l'Evenement le plus rigoureux de ma vie. Si je Suis ce que je Suis, cest a vous a qui Je le doit. Vous partés et Je suis aux jllinois. Il y a 12. ans Entiers que je forme le projet de passer en france, Sans avoir pus trouver un tems ou la Colombie ait pue Se passer de mes Services, Vous le Savés, Monsieur, et ce ne sont que Vos Bonteés qui m'ont fait supporter cette difficulté. Permettés moy, aujourd'hui, Mon tres cher general de Vous faire le detail au Naturel des motifs de mes Chagrins present et avenir. Vous este mon seul protecteur, et la haine naissante de ceux qui (Sans prevantions) pourroient aussy L'estre, me donnera tout le desagrement possible, Sans que je rencontre aucune Satisfactions, puis que malgré votre presence et le tems ou je sacrifie Tout a mon Employ, Jay desja eu celuy dont j'ai prie la Libertes de vous donner Connoissance. un tems dis-je qui par mes pennible

[Translation]

to bring gladness where it reigns already in anticipation through all New France; but that cannot be without leaving this whole colony in mourning. All the colonists love you, and all the colonists are losing you. For myself I experience the hardest event of my life. If I am what I am, it is to you that I owe it. You are departing, and I am at the Illinois. During twelve long years I have planned going to France, without being able to find a time when the colony could dispense with my services. You know this, Monsieur, and that it has only been your kindnesses that have made me endure this difficulty. Permit me today, my dear General, to detail to you simply the grounds of my griefs, present and future. You are my sole protector, and the growing hatred of those who (if not prejudiced) might be my protectors also, will give me all the discomfort possible, without my encountering any satisfaction. For despite your presence, and the time during which I sacrifice all to my duty, I have already encountered what I have taken the liberty of bringing to your knowledge. Once, I promised myself that by my painful labors

travaux et la Mort de M. Broutin doit me faire Toucher au but de Mon Esperance pour le presant, pendt Lequel on m'Exorte a l'application pour fournir Les moyens d'Ecrire en ma faveure affin d'obtenir Les graces du Roy. helas, Monsieur? si ces mêmes personnes avoient estés obligés de me suivre depuis que jay L'honneur de le servir Jls M'Exorteroient bien plustot au repos qu'à un plus grand travail, qui ne m'est pas possible de Surpasser

C'est cependant, Mon cher General, Sans me meffier de vos Bonteés, elles me sont trop Connus mais Les Reflexions, m'assomment. Je vous perd, Vous avés et aurés, de Serieuze et tres grandes affaires et occupations, Le Sujet est petit et L'Eloignement tres grand.

Si jetois a la Nelle orleans quelle differance pour moy, Le Vaisseau de Roy qui doit venir nous Enlever notre Satisfaction, apportera sans doute une promossions, et les graces du Roy, ce qui Dessideroit mon Etat, Sil etoit Conforme a mes Esperances, Jaurois Le Chagrin de Vous Voir partir, Mais Si jetois oubliés, il ny auroit, Monsieur, que Vos ordres Seuls Capables, de

[Translation]

and by the death of M. Broutin I might arrive at the limit of my present hopes, while I was urged to apply myself to supplying materials for writing on my behalf to obtain the king's favors. Alas, Monsieur, if these same persons had been obliged to follow me since I have had the honor to serve, they would urge me rather to repose than to still greater exertions, which it is not possible for me to put forth.

However, my dear General, I don't despair of your kindnesses, which are too well known to me; but my reflections overwhelm me; I am losing you. You have and will have serious and weighty businesses and employments. My concerns are small and very far off.

If I were at New Orleans, how different it would be for me! The king's ship which is to come to carry off our happiness, will doubtless bring a promotion, and the king's favor, which would decide my fate. Were it conformed to my hopes, I would have the pain of seeing your departure. Were I forgotten, only your orders, Monsieur, could prevent me from following you, and



M'empêcher de Vous suivre et d'aller chercher avec Vous, L'Effect de Vos Bonnes intentions pour moy. quelle perspective! Votre Bienveillance ne M'abandonnant point j'aurais L'avantage d'estre connus aux Bureaux par La Voie d'un Gouverneur General, mais Je suis aux Illinois.

J'aurois en outre le plaisir, de Mener, moy même mon fils, que jay Laissé chez le Sr Destrehan qui s'est chargé a la premiere occasion favorable de le faire passer en France, pour y faire ses Etudes dans La Geometrie particulièrement comme cest mon intention. Si Vos Bontés, Monsieur, Vouloient Setendre Sur cet autre moy même, quelle plus favorable occasion Ledt Sr Destrehan pourroit Choisir, Le Manteau seul de votre protection obligerois Ses personnes qui seroient chargés de Sa Conduite, a Executer cette Mission comme il convien Et ma tranquillité (a ce sujet, seulement) Seroit parfaite.

Adieu donc Mon cher General, que le Seigneur Exauce Mes Voeux, en vous donnant une heureuse traversée Jusqu'au lieu ou Vous este tant désirés. et qu'il Conserve Vos jours qui Me

[*Translation*]

from going to seek with you, the fruit of your intentions for me. What a prospect! Your benevolence never failing me, I would have the advantage of being introduced in the offices by a governor-general; but I am at the Illinois!

I would also have the pleasure of myself taking my son, whom I left with the Sieur D'Estrehan, who undertook at the first favorable opportunity to send him to France to begin his studies, especially in geometry as I intend. If your bounty, Monsieur, was pleased to extend itself to that other myself, what more favorable occasion could Sieur D'Estrehan choose! Merely the mantle of your protection would oblige the persons who have him in charge to execute their task as they should, and my tranquillity, even on this subject only, would be perfect.

Adieu then, my dear General. May the Lord answer my vows by giving you a fortunate journey to the place where you are so much desired, and by prolonging your days, which are

sont Cher, en Santé aussi parfaite, qu'est Le tres profond  
Respect avec Lequel, Je serai toute ma Vie. Monsieur.

Votre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur.

F. SAUCIER

AUX JLLINOIS Le 8e Decembre 1752.

MACARTY TO VAUDREUIL, December 8, 1752

[H M LO 413]

AUX CASKASIAS ce 8me xbre 1752

MONSIEUR

Lors que je vous ay fait part de ce que j'avois appris, de mr  
duquesne de mennéville nommé au gouvernement de canada;  
j'avois Lieu d'espérer qu'on Erigerait cette Colonnie en gouverne-  
ment general, des Lettres particulieres dissent que ce n'est qu'En  
attendant votre arrive En Canada ou Lon vous attend L'anne pro-  
chaine nous sentons vivement La perte que nous allons quoy que  
vous Seres plus que jamais a même d rendre Service a toute notre  
Colonnie que vous Connoisse parfaitement et suis tres persuadé

[*Translation*]

precious to me, in a health as perfect as the profound respect  
with which I shall be all my life, Monsieur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

F. SAUCIER

THE ILLINOIS, December 8, 1752

KASKASKIA, December 8, 1752

MONSIEUR:

When I reported to you what I had learned as to M.  
Duquesne de Menneville's being nominated to the government of  
Canada, I had reason to hope that this colony would be erected  
into a government general. Private letters say that this is merely  
in expectation of your arrival in Canada, where you are expected  
next year. We feel keenly the loss we are to suffer, though you  
will be more than ever in a position to do service to our whole  
colony, which you know perfectly. I am very much persuaded

que votre voyage en France nous procurera de grands avantages dans l'avancement des officiers, des douceurs qu'on ne peut guère refuser, persuade que le ministre ne connaît pas au juste leur situation, surtout pour les voyages extrêmement dur et mal supportés. Le développement de la Colonie ne sera pas oublié. La nécessité de déposer les habitants qui voudroient faire quelque chose, quel chagrin ! Chagrin n'ai je pas lorsque je pense que je ne puis plus espérer de vous assurer du respectueux attachement que je vous ai voué et pénétré d'une vive reconnaissance des bontés que vous avez pour moi et ma famille, que pourrai je faire pour les reconnaître ; je ne doute pas, que sur la demande que vous avez faite d'un état major complet en ce Pays, qu'on n'acquiesce à votre demande avant votre départ, si quelque chose me faisoit de rester ici se seroit de plus à portée de recevoir vos ordres, vous santis d'ailleurs monsieur Combien cet éloignement de mon bien et de ma famille me dérange, j'aurai quelque satisfaction lorsque j'apprendrai mon fils placé dans la marine je

[*Translation*]

that your voyage to France will procure us great advantages in the advancement of officers, favors which can scarcely be refused, persuaded as I am that the minister does not truly know their real situation, especially when extremely long and ill-equipped journeys are in question. The growth of the colony will then not be forgotten nor the necessity of sending habitants who will wish to get something done. What grief do I not feel when I think that I can no longer venture to assure you of my respectful attachment to you, penetrated with a lively gratitude for the kindness you have shown to me and my family ! What can I do to show my gratitude ?

I do not doubt that on the request you have made for a complete major staff in this country, that it will be agreed to before your departure. If anything flattered me into remaining here, it would be to be more in a situation to receive your orders. You know otherwise, Monsieur, how much my distance from my estate and my family discommodes me. I shall have some satisfaction when I learn that my son is placed in the marine. I can

ne puis plus en douter puis que vous aves bienvoulu Le prendre sous votre protection et faire La demande dune plasse de garde de la marine au ministre jespere qu'il recevra Sa lettre de vos mains Lorsque vous Seres a paris, jl fini sa philosophie Le mois d'aoust prochain j'ecrit de vous Le presanter a votre arrive et de le mettre a meme de faire honneur que vous voule bien prendre a Luy, Soyex tres Conveneu que persone ne peut estre plus reconnoissant de ce que vous voudres bien faire pour Luy ou pour moy je vous ay temoignie Combien mon elogiement me touchoit au moment de Le faire entre au service que de tranquillite vous me donne de La demande que vous aves fait pour Luy je vous remerisie monsieur de m'avoir procure L'ambarquement de mes provisions on m'anonse beaucoup d'avoir promettre et tenir son deux en france on m'avoit promis Les mêmes avantages qu'a mon predessesseur c'est a dire du frait de quelques tonneaux qui assure La provision dun Commandant qui vit honorablement outre qu'on est pas assure de trouver du vin au

[Translation]

no longer doubt of it since you have been good enough to take him under your protection and make the request of the ministry for a place as *garde marin*. I hope he will receive his letter from your hands when you are at Paris. He finishes his course in philosophy next August. I am writing him to present himself to you on your arrival and so to behave himself as to do honor to the interest you are pleased to take in him. Be assured that no one can be more grateful for what you are so good as to do for him or me. I have indicated to you how much my remoteness irked me at the moment of his entrance into the service. What peace of mind do you not give me by the request which you have made for him!

I thank you, Monsieur, for having procured for me the carriage up of my provisions. They tell me much about being promised what is due. In France I was promised the same advantages as my predecessor, that is the carriage of some tons which assure the supply of a commandant who lives honorably. Moreover one is never sure of procuring wine at the time when

moment que Les convois partent Ce quil est toucher Comme jl m'est arrive Lors que j'ay monte et par mr de La Gautrai ou L'on m'a achette Le vin 250 et 300 La barique joint a ce qu'il En arive par ysi quelque fois La moitie j'espere monsieur que vous appuierez ma juste demande au pres du ministre qu'on me fasse payer Le frait si l'est necessaire mais au moins qu'on fust assure de l'avoir et a un juste prix que ce soit moy ou un autre qui reste ysi jl n'est pas possible d'y vivre si L'on n'est pas facilite avec 2200<sup>l</sup> dapointement ou gratification Les present que j'y ay recû monte trois a quatre cent Livres de peau et quelque graisse Lors que le paÿs sera plus tranquile jntereste vous monsieur a ce que La Cour meraproche de ma famille personne ne connois mieux que vous ma situation jay eû lhonneur de vous rendre compte du projet de Mr de Longueuil qui sans doute vous en fait part, et pour revenir au Bien de notre Colonie et a Son agrandissement jl conviendrait qu'on y jetta des families ou des negres ces dernier rendroit Le francois bien peû La

[*Translation*]

the convoys set off except at too dear a price as happened to me when I came up, and by M. de la Gautrais, when my wine was bought at 250 to 300 a barrel, in addition to the fact that sometimes only half of it gets here. I hope, Monsieur, that you will support my just demand with the minister. Let me pay the freight if that is necessary, but at least let there be a certainty of having it and at a just price, whether it be for me or for another commandant who remains here. It is not possible to live here if one is not assisted with twenty-two hundred livres of salary or gratification. The presents I have received amount to three hundred or four hundred livres in peltry and some grease. When the country is more at peace, interest yourself, Monsieur, in having the court bring me closer to my family. No one knows my situation better than you.

I had the honor to give you an account of the plan of M. de Longueuil which he doubtless communicated to you.

To return to the welfare of our colony and its increase, it would be well to settle families or negroes here. The latter as

borieuse Comme nous Lesperimantons ysi et nous voyons aussi quil n'y a que ceux qui ont des negres qui fassent de bonnes recoltes c est ce qui est tres necessaire dans un paÿs naissant qui doit estra La nourisse de plusieurs autres, vous ferai un grand bien aux deux Colonnies en Laissant passer du Canada des filles ou des familles vous L'aviés demandé a mr de Lajonquiere je pense qu aujourdhuy vous Les y engagere, vous pouvie demander au ministre quil Envoia des fillies des enfants trouvé ou de quelques hopital pour marier aux soldats Congédié En Leur faisant quelque avantage ; Si sera y dans ce temp de paise eû envoie ysi mille famille au Lieu de deux milles soldat Le fond du monde se soutiendrait par Luy même et ne feroit que croitre au lieu que mille soldat ne peuvent que diminuer Les espagnoil anglois et autres Lorsquil etablissent une colonnie jl commanssent par y jeter toute sorte de bestiaux apres quoy jls y menent du familles Ces familles font La forse du Paÿs Cultivent Les terres et defandent Leur Pays Lorsquil en est question ; Le font qu'on emploie un grand nombre de troupe, jl L'employent a L'a

[*Translation*]

we perceive here make the French much less industrious ; and we also see that it is only those who own negroes who make good harvests. This is most necessary in an infant country that should be the nurse of several others. You will do a great good to the two colonies by letting girls and families come from Canada. You asked it of M. de la Jonquière, and I think that today you will obtain them. You can ask the minister to send girls from the foundlings or some hospital to marry discharged soldiers, giving them some assistance. If in this time of peace a thousand families instead of a thousand soldiers had been sent here the stock of population would maintain itself and could only grow, whereas a thousand soldiers can only decrease.

The Spaniards, English, and others when they establish a colony begin by sending there cattle of all sorts, after which they bring families. These families make up the forces of the country, till the soil, and defend their country when there is need. When these nations use large numbers of troops they use them for the

agrandissement ou a La surete de Leur Colombie jnsensiblement ces Colonies se trouvent peuplés sans estre a charge au Royaume nationaux pour Leur recrue et jl ne faut pas presser Ses peuples pour La defanse de Leur foyer qu'on jette L'oeuil sur La mexique jamassique ou autres Colombie on y vera ce que je marque Les espagniol donnent dans bien des poste La Ration aux famme je ne Les siterer pas pour Les travaux, L'abondance de viande qu'il ont Les rend a plus pres comme nos chasseur quil n'est pas possible de tirer du bois par Laisance quil y on d'y vivre et c'est cequi rend ce paÿs coquin jls ne tirent aucun avantage de Leur bestiau jls se fient sur Les huille d'ours et suif Le grand nombre de beste a corne que les espagnols ont sert a Leur nourriture Leur Cavaliade a se porter par tout Les endroits de Leur Colombie et Les secour qui y sont necessaire, Le Recu de cette Colombie pouroit s'establi de meme avec La differance des espagniol qu'on y feroit tout ce qu'on voudroit jl est vrai que dans quelque endroit du fleuve Les Cavalerie ne serviroit de rien Les fossonier que Le ministre avoit fait esperer d'envoier serois Encore un

[*Translation*]

enlargement or safety of their colonies. Insensibly these colonies become populated without expense to the kingdom for their recruit, and it is not necessary to impress these people for the defense of their homes. When you cast your eye on Mexico, Jamaica, or other colonies, you will see there what I mean. The Spaniards in many posts give rations to women. I will not touch on the works that are undertaken; the abundance of meat which they have equals that of our hunters, who cannot be drawn from the easy life they lead in the woods which is what makes this a scoundrelly country. They derive no advantage from their cattle; they rely on bear's oil and fat. The great numbers of horned cattle which the Spaniards have serve for their food. Their mounts take them to all parts of their colony and bring help where it is necessary. The receipts of this colony might provide the same here, with the difference from the Spanish colonies that here you do as you please. It is true that in some places where there are rivers the cavalry would not answer.

The salt smugglers which the ministry held out the hope of



moien d'establiir ce paÿs sil y Estoies Etabli avec Leur familles  
jls y auroient bientot oublie La france avec cela que ces gens La  
ne sont fautif que pour avoir fraude Les drois du Roy Les un  
par necessite Les autres par ambission de gannier

jl conviendrait qu'on Envoia ysi toute Les grennes qui y  
manquent Les arbres a fruit qui y sont de chaque espesse est  
telle qu'en france beau et bon jl n'y a ysi qu'une espee de grin  
qui demanderoit encore a estre change òn ne scait ce que c'est qu  
segle orge et autres Les poids y vienne beau et tres tandre toutes  
Les Legume dont on a Les pesse viennent tres bien, Le chamvre  
qui leur est dun grand utilite jls ne dignie par La cultiver parce  
quil trouvent a ganier d'avantage je les engage autant que je  
peu a En cultiver ont pouroit tirer milles avantages pour Le  
commerce de la porte des vivieres a la mer La brievete du temp  
que j'ay avous ecrire par la crinte de ne pouvoir vous Envoir si  
le fleuve venoit a a prandre ne me permest pas d'entrer dans  
milles particularites; tout ceque j ay eû lhonneur de vous Ecrire  
de son etablissement de la necessité même de le faire de son

[Translation]

sending would be another means to settle this country. If they  
were settled with their families they would soon forget France.  
These people are only guilty of defrauding the king's revenue,  
some from need, some from desire for money.

It would be well to send here all the kinds of seed which  
are lacking. The fruit trees which are of all kinds are, as in  
France, good and fine. There is only one kind of grain here  
which would have to be changed. Here they know nothing of rye,  
barley, and other grains. Peas grow fine and very tender. All  
the vegetables the species of which are here are very good. Hemp  
which is very useful here they don't deign to cultivate because  
they find it wild. I induce them so far as I can to cultivate it.  
A thousand advantages could be derived from the trade of carry-  
ing provisions to the sea. The shortness of the time that I have  
to write to you for fear of not being able to get my letters to you  
if the river is frozen does not permit me to enter into a thousand  
particulars. All that I have the honor to write you of this settle-  
ment, of the necessity even of providing for its increase and for

accroissement et de sa deffiance un coup doeuil sur une Carte bien faite pouvoit convaincre plus que tout ce que je pouvois vous dire

Madame de la barre a pris avec plaisir Le parti de retourner En Canada Lors quelle a pris Votre destinastion au genera la Si Ses dificultes Luy êusent permis elles se seroit determine a avoir L'honneur de vous accompagner et madame de vaudreuil join a ce quel auroit veû sa belle mere elle vous acrit a ce sujet vous deves estre bien persuade que je luy rendre tout ses services qui depandront de moy je la ferai conduire par des troupes jusque aux Peorias je la recommande res aux voyageur et sa familie et ferai en sorte qu'elle En porte en Lettre de change ce quelle pourra avoir jecrive a mr de beaujeu que Commande a michelimaquina de Luy procurer tous Les secour qui dependront de luy je me chargeré avec plaisir de ses affaire sil y en reste a faire elle partira Le printant prochin si sa sante Luy permoit elle compte estre arrive pour vous y recevoir Si mr olivie part je me chargere aussi avec plaisir de ses affaires ysi je

[Translation]

its defense, you may be convinced of by a glance at a map more than by all I can tell you.

Madame de la Barre has with pleasure decided to go back to Canada when she learned of your appointment as general. If her difficulties had permitted she would have decided to have the honor of accompanying you and Madame de Vaudreuil, by which she would have seen her stepmother. She will write you on this subject. You may be assured that I shall render her all the services which may depend on me. I shall have her escorted by troops as far as Peoria and shall commend her and her family to the *voyageurs*. I shall see to it that she carries in letters of exchange what may be available for her. I am writing to M. de Beaujeu, who commands at Mackinac, to provide her all the assistance which he can. I will take charge of her business with pleasure if there is anything left to do. She will leave next spring if her health permits; she counts on arriving in time to welcome you.

If M. Olivier leaves I shall with pleasure take care of his affairs here also. I shall send by the first occasion the remain-

luy envoiere par La premiere occassion ce qui Luy Reste estre pour mr de porneuf, de mem jespere que de mr degruis qui a beaucoup de mineral mais L'embistion et Les epreuves Le perdent je vous ay deja parle de cette mine je ne manquerer aucune occasion de me rapeler en votre Souvenir je ne L'aura pas asses favorable Lorsque vous seres au pres du ministre a même de luy exposer mes Services et mes demande jay toute La confiance du monde dans votre sinserité et dans quelque Lieux que je me trouve je me ferai un plaisir de vous faire connoistre Les Sentiment de lamitie et attachement respectueuse que je vous ay voue pour La vie avec La quelle jay L'honneur autant que L'on peut estre Monsieur

Votre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur

MACARTY

MACARTY TO ROUILLÉ, December 8, 1752

[A N Colonies C13A 36:313]

MONSEIGNEUR

J'ay Eûs L'honneur de rendre compte a vôtre grandeur à mon arrivée Du trouble, ou J'ay trouvé Les nations De ce qui se

[*Translation*]

der of what is due him from M. de Portneuf. I hope as much of M. de Gruis, who has much ore; but ambition and assays are ruining him. I have already spoken to you of that mine. I shall neglect no occasion to recall myself to your remembrance. I shall be glad if when you see the minister you set forth to him my services and my requests. I have all the confidence in the world in your sincerity, and wherever I may be, I shall have pleasure in letting you know the sentiments of friendship and respectful attachment that I have sworn to you for life with which I have the honor to be as much as one can, Monsieur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

MACARTY

MONSEIGNEUR:

I have had the honor of giving an account to Your Greatness on my arrival of the disorders in which I found the tribes, and

passoit depuis mon arrivée icy comme La paix Est plus avantageuse que La guerre avec Les Sauvages Jay pacifiée Biens des choses dans Lesperances De Ramener nos Ennemis, ayant Essuyer quelques coup de nos allies Les Laissant menquer de munition Ils cherchent à se rapprocher de nous Et nous demendt Leurs Besoins qu'ils Estoiient fachée De Se qui s'estoit passée qu'ils y avoient Estee Invites par Les partis des Englois. Les plus coupables nosent se présenter icy de crainte dy Estre arrestée Il y á apparence que nous ferons faire La paix Entre nos domicillé Renards, Sakis, qui quelques un avoient trempée dans

313v

Le coup general Et avoient pris Le parties Des Rebelles Estant necessaire de nous Les conserver J'ay rendus compte au gouverneur de canada Et a M. de vaudreuil—de tout ce qui se passoit. En conseque Du tumulte des nations M. de L'ongueuil comme General mecrit conjointement avec M. Bajot quils ont pris Le partis de faire partir Le printems Prochain un détachement de 900 hommes commandé par M. Le Chr de L'ongueuil

[*Translation*]

of what has happened since my arrival here. As peace is more advantageous than war with the Indians I have appeased many difficulties in the hope of reclaiming our enemies, letting them bear attacks by our allies and leaving them in want of ammunition. They seek to be reconciled to us and beg us to supply their needs. They say that they are sorry at what has happened and that they were stirred up through the practices of the English. The most blameworthy do not dare to present themselves here for fear of being arrested. There is every appearance that we shall make peace between our domiciled Indians and the Foxes and Sauk, some of whom have been concerned in the general attack and have taken the side of the rebels. As it is necessary to keep them attached to us, I have given an account to the governor of Canada and to M. de Vaudreuil of all that has happened here. In consequence of the disorder among the tribes, M. de Longueuil, as general, wrote me jointly with M. Bigot that they have decided to send off next spring a detachment of nine hundred men commanded by M. le Chevalier de Longueuil,

Lieutenant de roy a Quebeq qui doit obliger Les rebelles a  
 Livrer les meurtriers qui ont fait ces derniers coups sur Les  
 françois Et selon La dispositions ou ont trouveat Les sauvages  
 faire La guerre ou La paix Ils m'ordonne de faire La provision-  
 nement necessaire Des vivres de ce detachement que Je dois  
 Envoyer ce printems au poste du canada on vat En faire Les  
 aijudications J'ay donnée des memoires à ces deux gouverneurs  
 Sur La necessitees de L'augmentations de ce poste En habitans  
 de son utilité aux deux colonies des avantages qu'on En peut  
 tirer pour La Deffence du païs de La necessité de faire des  
 postes sur Le fleuve pour La conservations de nôtre colonie ou  
 nos Ennemis font Toujours quelques coups sur nous par La  
 facilités de dessendre Les rivieres qui Les rendes chés Eux En  
 pèut De jours

314

Tel qu'un dernier coup arrivée Le 11 du mois qui ont surpris  
 trois chasseurs chargés de viandes En ont tuée un Et fait Les  
 deux autres prisonniers Je né metendray point sur cette matiere

[*Translation*]

lieutenant of the king at Quebec, which should oblige the rebels  
 to give up the murderers who have made these last attacks on the  
 French, and which, according to the disposition in which the  
 Indians were found, should make war or peace. They order me  
 to supply the necessary provisions for this detachment which I  
 am to send in the spring to the posts of Canada. The necessary  
 awards are to be made. I have given memoirs to these two gov-  
 ernors on the necessity of increasing the number of inhabitants  
 in this post, on its usefulness to the two colonies, on the ad-  
 vantages they could draw from it for the defense of the country,  
 as well as on the necessity of building posts on the river for the  
 preservation of our colony where our enemies are always mak-  
 ing attacks on us because of the ease of descending the rivers  
 which carry them to our settlements in a few days. Such was  
 the last attack which happened the eleventh of the month which  
 surprised three hunters loaded with meat, killed one, and made  
 the two other prisoners. I will not enlarge on this matter, per-

persuadée que L'on En rendrat compte a vôtre grandeur

ce poste icy Est plus considerables qu'on a fait connoistre a votre grandeur par Le gouvernement Des nations sauvages, La relations dans chaque nations pour savoir ce qui se passe Joint á six compagnie de garnisons qui ne sufisent point Dans Biens des occasions quil faut discipliner Le gouvernement des habitans Les voyageurs tous cela fait un Enchainement de tracas ou une personne ne peut sufire: J'aurois Esperer que votre grandeur auroit Biens voulus my faire nominer Lieutenant de Roy avec un majord En attendent quil Luy plut de mes rapprocher de La nouvelle orleans ou jay tout mon Biens.

J'esperre de votre grandeur quelle voudrat Biens maccordoit une place de garde marine pour mon fils ainée Est au colege de Julie ou Il acheve ses Etudes Le mois d'aoust prochains M.

314v

Devaudreüil mecris vous avoir demendée cette place dont je vous seray obligée car que puige faire pour Luy dans mon Eloignement Et que deviendrait-il icy sans aucun Exercice

[Translation]

suaed that an account of it will be given to Your Greatness.

This post is more important than Your Greatness has been informed on account of the government of the Indian tribes, of keeping touch with each tribe to know what happens, as well as on account of a garrison of six companies, which on many occasions is not sufficient, and which it is necessary to discipline. The government of the inhabitants, the *voyageurs*, all that produces a series of difficulties for which one person cannot suffice. I hope that Your Greatness will be good enough to have me nominated lieutenant of the king with a major until it may please you to bring me back to New Orleans, where I have all my property.

I hope from Your Greatness that you would be good enough to allow me a place of *garde marin* for my eldest son. He is at the college of Julie, where he will finish his studies in the month of August next. M. de Vaudreuil writes me that he asked this place of you for which I shall be very grateful; for what can I do in my remote situation and what will become of him unless he learns his drill?

J'espere que vôtre grandeur voudrat Bien avoir Egard dans  
mes demandes. M. de Vaudreuil qu'on Dit passer En france  
pourat Informer vôtre grandeur de ma façons de servir Et de  
ma situations Et lorsquils vous En aurat rendus compte J'attend  
tout de vôtre Justice Et La grasse de me croire avec une ré-  
spectueuse Et Entierre Soumissions Monseigneur

Votre très humble Et très obbeissant serviteur

MACARTY

BOVÉ TO VAUDREUIL, December 9, 1752

[H M LO 414]

MONSIEUR

Souffrez je vous prie Les humbles representations que je  
prens la liberté de vous faire, au sujet des logements de troupes  
et d'officiers auxquels Mr de Macarty assujety Non seulement  
L'habitant, mais meme Les officiers de milice et Cela Gratuite-  
ment, et Comme Monsieur jay l'honneur d'Etre a la tête de la  
milice de ce poste, et que je me trouve Confondee dans le Nombre

[*Translation*]

I hope that Your Greatness will be good enough to pay heed  
to my requests. M. de Vaudreuil, who is said to be going to  
France, can inform Your Greatness of my service and of my  
situation, and when he has given you an account of it I expect  
everything from your justice as well as the favor of believing me.

With a respectful and entire submission, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

MACARTY

MONSIEUR:

Suffer, I beg you, the humble representations which I take  
the liberty to make on the subject of lodging the troops and  
officers, in doing which M. de Macarty imposes not only on the  
habitant, but also on the officers of militia, and that without pay-  
ment; and, Monsieur, since I have the honor to be at the head of  
the militia of this post, and as I find myself confounded with



de Ceux qui sont choisis pour loger des officiers, jay recours apres avoir obey à vôtre Equité Naturelle, et je prens La liberté Monsieur de vous faire Connoistre que puisque jay Eté trouvé digne de Commander une Compagnie de Milice; je doit se me seinble jouir des prerogatives dont tous mes Confraires jouissent dans tous autres paÿs, Nous avons l'honneur de servir jcy le meme prince et Nous pouvons je Croy Esperer Les mêmes Graces, mais jl s'en faut qu'elles Nous soient accordées dans Ce poste. je suis Mortifié Monsieur d'Etre obligé de vous le faire Connoistre que Nous ne jouissons pas de ses memes Graces, Mr de Macarty m'a obligé d ôter de Mon Moulin un cheval pour le donner à un Detachement qu'il Envoioit par terre apres des Ennemis qui venoient de faire Coup sur de Nos francois et qui avoient Le Courant du mississippi pour fuire; Ce detachement En question ne fut Composé que d'une troupe de Volontaires, sans officiers de troupes, n y de milice, Lesquels se Voiant maistres, et s'entant linutilité de Ce Voyage pour le bien du service, travaillerent à se Le rendre à Eux même fructueux, et Voicy

[*Translation*]

those chosen to lodge the officers, I have recourse, after having obeyed, to your natural equity. I take the liberty, Monsieur, of letting you know that since I have been found worthy to command a company of militia, I should, as seems to me, enjoy the prerogatives that my confreres enjoy in all other countries. We have the honor of serving here the same prince, and we can, I think, hope for the same favors, but they will have to be accorded us at this post. I am mortified, Monsieur, to be obliged to inform you that we do not enjoy those favors. M. de Macarty has obliged me to take from my mill a horse to be given to a detachment which he was sending by land after the enemies who had just attacked our French, and who had the whole course of the Mississippi for their flight. The detachment in question was made up only of a troop of volunteers without either army or militia officers, who, seeing they were their own masters as well as the uselessness of the expedition for the service, set to work to make it at least profitable to themselves. This is what they did:

Ce qu'ils firent; ils proposerent à Mr de Macarty de Leur faire donner des chevaux a quoy Mr de Macarty adera et Envoya des ordres a ceux qui En avoient soit au moulin ou ailleurs, je receust son ordre, Lequel je joüint a la presente, et jobeit sur le champ, Ce détachement est revenu sans aucune reussite pour L'objet qui avoit Engagé a le former, mais bien fructueux pour Ceux qui l'ont fait ayant ramené tous Leurs chevaux chargés d Extremement de la chasse qu'ils ont fait dans leur route, et nous qui les avons fournis Nous sommes dans le Cas de n'en pouvoir tirer aucun service qu'ils ne se soient remis d'une pareille fatigue pardon, Monsieur de la liberté que je prent de vous jimportuner si longtemps, l'entiere confiance que jay a Esperer de la misericorde aupres de vous my Engage, et je me flatte Monsieur que Vôtre Equité Naturelle Nous fera jouïr amplement des privileges qui sont accordeés aux Nouvelles Colonies que l'on Etablit Ce poste. jcy En à d'autant plus de Besoin qu'il N'est remply que de peines Et de miseres Lesquelles on voit augmenter de jour En jour, et surtout depuis un an Cest

[*Translation*]

they proposed that M. de Macarty have horses given them, to which M. de Macarty agreed, sending orders to those who had them for mills or other purposes. I received his order, which I annex to this letter, and I immediately obeyed. The detachment returned without any success as to the object which had caused it to be formed, but with considerable profit to those who took part in it, since they brought back all their horses heavily loaded with the products of the hunting they had done en route; whereas we who furnished the horses are unable to get any work out of them, because they were returned in such a degree of exhaustion. Pardon, Monsieur, the liberty I take of importuning you at such length. The full confidence which I have of hoping your pity impels me, and I flatter myself, Monsieur, that your natural equity will let us enjoy amply the privileges accorded the new colonies that are established. This post here has the more need of them, since it is filled only with pains and miseries that daily increase, and especially during the past year. This is the

la Grace que jattens de vous Monsieur Et celle de me Croire tres respectueusement Monsieur

Votre tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur

Bové

DES JLLINOIS Ce 9e Xbre 1752

ORDER OF MACARTY, November 16, 1752

[H M LO 417]

Le Srs Bovvé charleville et de lisle fourniront un cheval chacun au detachement qui doit partir aujourd huy ce 16 Xbre<sup>1</sup> 1752

MACARTY

LEONARDY DE FÖES TO VAUDREUIL, December 9, 1752

[H M LO 415]

MONSIEUR

Permettez que je renouvelle a la fin de cette année les voeux Sinceres que je forme pour que le ciel propice a mes prieres

[*Translation*]

favor that I expect of you, Monsieur, as well as that of believing me very respectfully, Monsieur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

Bové

THE ILLINOIS this December 9, 1752

The Sieurs Bové, Charleville, and Delisle will each furnish a horse to the detachment which is to set out today, December<sup>1</sup> 16, 1752.

MACARTY

MONSIEUR:

Permit me to renew at the end of this year the sincere vows which I make that the heavens propitious to my prayers may

<sup>1</sup> So in the original, but undoubtedly an error for November, referring to parties Macarty sent out. See *ante*, 758.

accorde la prolongation de vos jours, et repande Sur vous avec  
abondance les influences Celestes necessaires a votre Conservation,  
je recours aussi avec confiance a la continuation de vôtre protec-  
tion je chercheray l'occasion de la meriter, je ne Scaurai que trop  
vous prouver combien j'ay prie depard a la justice que La cour  
vous a accordé par les recompense Militaire quelle vous a accordé  
je vous prie de vouloir bien mètre favorable, et de me croire avec  
respect le plus profond Monsieur

Votre tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur

LEONARDY DE FÖES

AUX CASKASKIA ce 9 Xbre 1752

VAUDREUIL TO ROUILLÉ, December 23, 1752

[A N Colonies C13A 36:142]

MONSEIGNEUR

143v

J'ay appris par cette même occasion que Le convoy pour les  
Jlinois parti d'icy a la fin de Juillet dernier avoit trouvé tant

[*Translation*]

accord the prolongation of your days, and may spread over you  
in abundance the celestial influences necessary to your salvation.  
I rely also with confidence on the continuation of your protection.  
I shall seek the opportunity to merit it. I cannot too fully prove  
to you how much I have taken satisfaction in the justice the court  
has accorded you by the military recompense which it bestows on  
you. I beg you to be favorable to me, and to believe me with the  
most profound respect, Monsieur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

LEONARDY DE FÖES

KASKASKIA, this December 9, 1752

MONSEIGNEUR:

I learned by this same occasion that the convoy for the  
Illinois which left here at the end of July last had found so many

d'obstacle a s'y rendre cette année par Les Eaux Basses dans Le fleuve, et par les Maladies que les grandes Chaleurs L'y ont occasionné qu'il hyvernera aux Arkansas, ce qui fera une depense

144

considerable au Roy que J'ay eû à craindre châce année par La Lanteur avec Laquelle L'on Sepreste aux departs de ces convoys ce qui n'arriveroit point Si depuis mes representations L'on eut voulu être plus exat et que les magazins du Roy eussent été Munis apouvoir faire partir ces convoys dans Le mois de Janvier ou de fevrier auplûtard, il resulteroit dela que ces voyages Seroient Bien plus Briéfs, Moins dispendieux, et exempte de Maladies et de perte d'hommes au Roy

144v

J'ay L'honneur d'être avec un tres profond respect Monseigneur

Vôtre tres humble et et tres obéissant serviteur

VAUDREUIL

A LA NOUVELLE ORLEANS 23 Xbre 1752

[*Translation*]

obstacles on its way there this year from the low water in the river and from the sickness which the great heat caused that it will winter at the Arkansas. This will be a considerable expense to the king that I have had cause to fear each year as a result of the slackness with which these convoys are got off. This would not have happened if in accordance with my representations people had been willing to be more punctual and if the king's storehouses had been furnished so as to get these convoys off in the month of January or the month of February at the latest. This would make these voyages much shorter, much less costly, and exempt from maladies and from the loss of the king's men.

I have the honor to be with very profound respect, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL

NEW ORLEANS, December 23, 1752

VAUDREUIL TO BENOIST, December 25, 1752

[H M LO 420]

A Mr Benoist de St Clere Comdt le Convoy des jllinois aux Arkansas. le 25. Xbre 1752

J'ay reçu Monsieur la lettre que vous m'aves fait l'honneur de m'Ecrire des Arkansas du 5 du present, je Suis persuadé que vous N'avez pris le party d'hiverner au Bas de cete Rivierre que dans le peu d'Esperance qu'il vous restoit a pouvoir vous rendre à votre destination, Cete une Relache qui Coutera bien au Roy mais je suis persuadé que dans Lhyvernement quelle vous a Causé vous en ferez les dépenses avec l'Econommie qui Convient.

Je ne puis blamer Monsieur les raisons que vous avez Eüe de laisser partir les voyageurs pour les jllinois dans une saison ausy tardive Et de mettre un officier a leur teste pour les Contenir dans la subordination Et la reserve avec laquelle l'on doit se precautionner dans cete Route pour se parer de la surprise de l'Ennemy, mais vous Eusies dû leur en accorder la permission 14 jours plus tost cependant Si L'hyverd Est tardif

[*Translation*]

To M. Benoist de St. Claire, commanding the Illinois convoy at the Arkansas, December 25, 1752

I received, Monsieur, the letter you did me the honor to write me from the Arkansas the fifth instant. I am persuaded that you have decided to winter on the lower part of that river only as a result of the little hope which remained to you of being able to reach your destination. It is a reverse which will cost the king much, but I am persuaded that in the winter halt it has caused you, you will incur expenses with the economy that is proper.

I cannot find fault with the reasons, Monsieur, which you have had to let the *voyageurs* leave for the Illinois at so late a season, as well as to put an officer in charge of them to keep them in subordination and in the caution with which one ought to be on his guard on this route to avoid surprises by the enemy; but you should have given them this permission two weeks earlier. However since the winter is late as it appears, they will have the time

comme jl y a apparence jls auront le témps de se rendre quoy quil en soit jl n'eut pas ette prudent d'Enposer ces voyageurs à se consommer au Bas de cete Rivierre, que dans le cas d'hyvernement Et dans l' obligation de se garder ils courriront visiblement aucun risque Et trouveront á subsister Mieux qu'aux Arkansas.

jl est bien facheux que la foiblesse des planches qui formoient, la Soute aux poudres du Batteau qui les avoit chargé, ayt occasionné la perte des Munitions de Bouche de vostre Convoy et beaucoup d'avaries a L approvisionnement des jllinois dont Vous Ettes chargé; je suis persuadé Monsieur que vous ne negligeres Rien pendant cet hyvernement pour sauver les effets de plus grand risque Et vous mettre en Estat de vous rendre a vostre destination Cest a dire le petit petit printemps a la suite des glaces, pour faciliter à Mr de Macarty de renvoyer le Convoy le plus tost quil sera possible. Je luy marque sur cela de faire toute la diligence qui dependra de luy.

Je vous seray oblige de profiter de cete occasion Sil ne s'en raconte pas de plus prompte pour Satisfaire a vostre Engage-

[Translation]

to get there. In any case it would not have been prudent to have required these *voyageurs* to devour their subsistence on the lower part of the river, unless they were wintering and in the obligation of being on their guard. Apparently they will run no risk and will be better able to subsist than at Arkansas.

It is very annoying that the weakness of the planks which formed the powder room of the bateau loaded with that article should have occasioned the loss of the food supplies of your convoy and so many damages in the supplies for the Illinois with which you were charged. I am persuaded, Monsieur, that you will neglect nothing during this winter halt to save the goods from greater risks and to put yourself in a position to reach your destination early in the spring after ice breaks in order to make it easier for M. de Macarty to send back the convoy as soon as possible. For that I direct him to use all the diligence which may depend on him.

I shall be much obliged to you to profit by that occasion, if an earlier one does not offer, to discharge your obligation to M.



ment vis a vis Mr de la Clue afin que je puisse luy remettre cete solde compte qui pourroit l'inquieter.

Je vous souhaite une bonne santé et ay lhonneur destre tres parfaitement Mr &.

VAUDREUIL TO MACARTY, December 25, 1752

[H M LO 423]

A LA NLE ORLEANS ce 25. Xbre 1752

a Mr de Macarty commandant aux jllinois.

J'ay reçu Monsieur les lettres que vous m'aves fait l'honneur de M'Ecrire du 2. Et 6 Septembre dernier par les quelles j'ay vu avec plaisir que tout Etoit asses tranquile de vos cotes je Suis persuadé que les choses à la jront que de mieux en mieux par les Soins et l'attention que vous continuerez dy apporter, particulièrement à vos Nations domiciliees qui semblent aujourd'hui demander des menagemens plusque du passé pour la Crainte d'un ressentiment de notre part Sur lequel nous ne pouvon Entièrement les Guerir.

[*Translation*]

de la Clue, that I may remit to him the sum about which he may be uneasy.

I wish you good health and have the honor to be very perfectly, Monsieur, etc.

NEW ORLEANS, December 25, 1752

To M. de Macarty, commandant at the Illinois

I received, Monsieur, the letters you did me the honor to write me September 2 and 6 last, by which I perceived with pleasure that everything was quiet in your neighborhood. I am persuaded that things will go better and better as a result of the care and attention which you will continue to bring to bear, especially as regards your domiciled Indians, who today seem to require tactful handling more than in the past, due to their fear of our displeasure with them, of which we cannot entirely cure them.

J'ay bien gouté M. Les raisons que vous avez Eües de remettre aux Kikapoux et Maskoutins Le chef le Loup que vous tenies prisonnier vous ne pouvez guère le refuser a cete fidelle nation ny aux jnstances du Mr delignery comdt aux Ou8atanons, La liberté de ce Chef par la reconnoissance qu'il paroît en Conserver ne pourra produire qu'un bon effet Sur l'Esprit des Revoltés ; Mais jl Est facheux que le Guerrier pianguichias Se soit procuré la Sienne Sans vostre participation jl Eut pu servir autrement à racommoder les affaires avec sa Nation, jl est a desirer que les Anglois ne puissent pas aisement luy fournir Ses besoins aujourd'hui sur la Riviere blanche ou elle s'est refugié, jl seroit bien facheux que la mort de Mr de la Jonquierre changea les dispositions quil avoit faites de faire rentrer dans le devoir les Refugies de la Riviere a la Roche qui prendroient vraysemblablement le party de se retirer chacun dans leur Nation Sil se faisoit Sur Eux une Entreprise d'une Certaine Espece, Nous avons scu ausy que Cestoît Mr Dukesne Menneville qui devoit aller commander au Canada jusqu'a ce que la Cour m'ayt mit en Estat de

[*Translation*]

I have been pleased, Monsieur, with the reasons you had for turning over to the Kickapoo and Mascoutens, Le Loup, the chief you held as a prisoner. You could hardly refuse him to that faithful tribe, nor to the requests of M. de Ligneris, commandant at Ouïatanon. The freedom of this chief, from the gratitude he should retain, can only produce a good effect on the minds of the revolted Indians. But it is annoying that the Piankashaw warrior should have procured his liberty without your participation. Otherwise he might have served to have arranged matters with his tribe. It is to be hoped that the English cannot easily supply its wants today on the White River where it has taken refuge. It would be most unfortunate if the death of M. de la Jonquière should alter the arrangements he had made to make the refugees of Great Miami River return to their duty. Very likely they would take the course of returning to their tribes if a certain sort of expedition was prepared against them. We also have learned that it was M. Duquesne Menneville who was to command in Canada until the court enabled me to go there. I have no in-

my rendre, je n'ay Enonce a ce sujet ny a celui du Gouverneur qui doit me succeder aucune Certitude de la Cour quoy que les dispositions en soient faites, par le retardement des vaisseaux que nous attendons et qui nous sont annoncés depuis longtems, je ne puis vous rien marquer aujourd'hui de positif Sur le fort projeté aux Kaskakias, N'ayant Encore reçu aucunes reponces de la Cour a ce sujet qui doivent me parvenir incessamment; ausytost que je les auray recüe je ne perdray point de temps a vous faire savoir par un Expres aux arkansas Mes jntentions tant Sur la forme que doit avoir ce fort que sur sa position que je prevois devoir rester à L'Endroit que vous designé par vostre lettre jus'quaux l'emplacement du nouveau Lachever Sauf par la suite à faire une petite citadelle sur la Cote au dela de la Rivierre des Kaskakias Si le paÿs prend une faveur a L'Exiger je serois bien d'avis de donner des a present la preference a cete hauteur mais les dépenses En seroient trop considerables pour le present, Au reste Nous En assurerons sur le place les choses de plus prez ausytost que jauray reçu des Nouvelles de la Cour à cete occasion.

[*Translation*]

formation on that subject or on that of the governor who is to succeed me; as a result of the delay of the vessels which we await and which were announced long since, I know nothing certainly from the court although its arrangements may be made.

Today I can tell you nothing positive as to the proposed fort at Kaskaskia; I have as yet no answers from the court on that subject, though they should reach me immediately. As soon as I have received them I will lose no time in letting you know by an express to the Arkansas my intentions both as to the form this fort should have as well as to its location. That last I foresee should remain at the place you indicate by your letter until the emplacement of the new one is finished, except for building in the future a little citadel on the heights by the Kaskaskia River. If the country develops enough to demand it, I should at present be in favor of giving the preference to this hill; but the expenses would be too great for the present. Further we will make sure on the spot of the things that will first be necessary as soon as I have received news from the court on this matter.

Je suis charmé que le sr de la Gautrais Soit arrive a bon port aux jllinois quand aux depenses quil a eté obligé de faire pour son Convoy et dont jl a fait les avances jl ny aura point de difficulté a luy faire rembourser.

Vous aures appris l'hyvernement de vostre Convoy commandé par le sr Benoist qui na pu faire la diligence que je luy avois recommandé par les Eaux Bases quil a trouvée Et les maladies qui ont accablés son detachment, Cet hyvernement mettra au depour vu le poste des Arkansas Et celui des Natchez ou je renvoy du farine en remplacement de celle que le sr de la houssaye y a Envoyé que querir pour le subsistance de ce Convoy et celle de sa Garrison, pourquoy jl conviendra Monsieur de Renvoyer ce Convoy avec des farines pour les postes peu de temps apres qu'il vous sera parvenû par le quel je suis persuadé que vous mettrez En regle Ceux de chez vous qui doivent des fonds jcy et au sujet des quels je vous ay Ecrit plusieurs foyes persuade Cependant que vous avez fait pour le Mieux.

[*Translation*]

I am delighted that the Sieur de la Gautrais should have arrived in good condition at the Illinois. As to the expenses he has been obliged to incur for his convoy and which he has advanced, there will be no difficulty in reimbursing him.

You will have learned of the wintering of your convoy commanded by the Sieur Benoist, who has not been able to use the diligence that I had recommended him as a result of the low waters he encountered and the illnesses which have overwhelmed his detachment. That wintering will leave unprovided the post of the Arkansas and that of the Natchez, where I am sending flour to replace that for which the Sieur de la Houssaye sent for the subsistence of this convoy and that of his garrison. Accordingly, Monsieur, it would be well to send back that convoy with flour for the posts shortly after it reaches you, by which I am persuaded that you will arrange settlements by those at your posts who owe money here. I have written you several times on this subject, but nevertheless am persuaded that you have acted for the best.

Quant aux troupes qui Composent les detachemens que vous avez reçu jusqu'apresent vous pouvez les regarder Comme troupes detachées pour les qu'elles Et pour celles avenir, comme pour les Antien Soldats, vous recevrez par la suite une liste des compagnies d'ou elles seront avec le tableau de leur signalement, vous pouvez les distribuer dans chaque Compagnie de vostre Garnison Sur le pied Et sur lequel vous les renvoyerez jcy par chaque Convoy à l'exception des Soldats de routtier qui conviendront la haut Et que vous garderay comme soldats d'une tele Compagnie detaché en vostre poste.

Le Sr d. roche peut y rester jusqu'a Nouvel ordre. J'oubliais de vous faire part de la Mort de Mr Michel decedé le 18 de ce mois d'une 4me attaque dappoplexy. C'est comme vous penseres bien, Mr d'auberville qui tient Sa place.

Made de Macarty se porte bien je me feray toujours un plaisir de luy donner et a vous toutes les marques du sentimen avec lesquels jay lhonneur destre Monsieur

Votre tres humble et &.

[*Translation*]

As to the troops which make up the detachments you have received up to now, you can regard them as detached troops. For them, as well as for those who come in the future, and for the other soldiers, you will receive a list of the companies they come from, with a table of their descriptions. You can distribute them in each company of your garrison on this footing; on it also you will send them back here by each convoy with the exception of the old soldiers whom it will be proper to keep up there, and whom you will keep as soldiers of such a company detached in your post.

The Sieur de Roche can remain there until new orders. I forgot to inform you of the death of M. Michel, deceased the eighteenth of this month of a fourth attack of apoplexy. As you will judge, it is M. d'Auberville who takes his place.

Mme de Macarty is well. I shall always take pleasure in giving her and you all the marks of the sentiments with which I have the honor to be, Monsieur,

Your very humble and, etc.

D'ORGON TO VAUDREUIL, January 5, 1753

[H M LO 434]

MONSIEUR

Jay l honneur de vous assurer de mes très humbles respects, et de vous rendre compte que le sr Versailles sergent des Jlinois, est arrivé icy ce matin il descend pour vous porter des paquets d'en haut il a recontré a 11. lieues du bas de la fourche des arkansas, un Caporal et deux soldats, envoyés par mr De La houssaye à La ville, ces gens etoient degradé leurs voiture ayant crevée sur un bois en dérivant ils n'ont pu sauver de la cargaison que deux panis de suif et leurs corps, ayants perdus jusqu'a leurs vetemens et armemens ; ils sont encore heureux que ce sergent les aye tiré de l'embaras ou ils etoient Jls ont quelques paquets pour vous, Monsieur En les remettant au sergent Versailles, j'avois grande envie de les garder icy, dans le dessein de les faire remonter avec mr fagot, pour acclereler son voyage aux arkansas, mais ils n'ont représentés, qu'il leur etoit ordonné de descendre à la ville pour remonter une voiture, ainsy je n'y ai plus pensé. Mr

[Translation]

MONSIEUR :

I have the honor to assure you of my very humble respects and to inform you that the Sieur Versailles, sergeant from the Illinois, arrived here this morning. He is going down to carry you packets from above. He met eleven leagues below the fork of the Arkansas a corporal and two soldiers sent by M. de la Houssaye to New Orleans. These people were stranded, their boat having foundered on a snag. In getting off they could save of the cargo only two *panis* of fat and themselves, having lost even their clothes and arms. They were yet more lucky that this sergeant rescued them from the distress they were in. They have some packets for you, Monsieur. In intrusting these men to Sergeant Versailles, I had a great desire to keep them here, with the intention of having them go up with M. Fagot to hasten his voyage to the Arkansas. But they represented to me that they were under orders to go down to New Orleans to bring back a boat ; so I thought no more of it.

Benoist a deja reçu des secours des Jlinois puis que j'apprens, que le 11. Xbre me De La Mazilier est parti des Jlinois dans un batteau, chargé de biscuit, 5000. et une autre voiture chargée de 5060H. de farine, et de quatre tonneaux de lard ou viande salée: le convoi a descendu jusqu'a 67 lieues des Kascacias, et a trouvé au dessous de la petite prairie, les voyageurs montants sous les ordres de me Dubaril. crainte d'hiverner en conséquence des ordres de mr DeMaKarty. Mr de La Maziliere est remonté, et a envoyé son sergent feret aux arkansas avec Versailles qui commandoit l'autre voiture. ils sont arrivés le 24. Xbre au fort, ainsy ils auront le tems d'attendre l'arrivée de me De Vaugine qui versailles a recontre le 1er janvier au dessus de la riviere des Yasoux vous apprendrés me les differentes nouvelles des Jlinois. les dispositions du Canada, pour denicher les guepes incommodes de la riviere à La Roche, et que mr les ChiKachas commencent a donner des signes de vie. il ny a pas a douter, que mr les blonds n'y ayent beaucoup de part. Jl n y a rien autre de nouveau au

[Translation]

M. Benoist has already received help from the Illinois since I learn that December 11, M. des Mazellieres left the Illinois with a bateau loaded with 5,000 pounds of biscuit and another boat loaded with 5,060 pounds flour, and 4 barrels of pork or salt meat. The convoy descended sixty-seven leagues from Kaskaskia and found below the Little Prairie the *voyageurs* going up under the orders of M. du Barry. For fear of having to winter, and in consequence of the orders of M. de Macarty, M. des Mazellieres went back up; he has sent his sergeant, Feret, to the Arkansas with Versailles, who commanded the other boat. They arrived at the fort December 24, so they will have time to wait for the arrival of M. de Vaugine, whom Versailles met January 1 above the Yazoo River. You will learn, Monsieur, the different news of the Illinois, the arrangements in Canada to dislodge the annoying wasps of Great Miami River, and that Messieurs the Chickasaw begin to show signs of life. It is not to be doubted that Messieurs the blonds have a great share in it. There is nothing else new at the post worthy your information.



poste qui merite que vous en soyiés instruit J'ay l'honneur d'etre  
avec un très profond respect Monsieur

Votre très humble et très obéissant Serviteur

LE CHER D'ORGON

AUX NATCHES ce 5. janvier. 1753

.....

VAUDREUIL TO BEAUCHAMP, January 20, 1753

[H M LO 437]

A LA NELLE ORLEANS ce 20. janvier 1753

MONSIEUR

par les dernierres nouvelles qui me sont venües des jllinois  
j'ay appris quil y avoit Eüe un Coup fait par des Ennemis  
jnconnûs Sur des chasseurs a 17 lieux audessous des jllinois en  
un Endroit appelé la Cypriesse dont un á Eté tué et deux autres  
fait prisonnier.

Comme lon Soupconne les chis de cete jrruption jl sera bon  
Monsieur d'en donner avis ausy tost au Sr Masieu Commandant

[*Translation*]

I have the honor to be with a very profound respect,  
Monsieur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

THE CHEVALIER D'ORGON

NATCHEZ, January 5, 1753

.....

NEW ORLEANS, this January 20, 1753

MONSIEUR:

By the latest news which has come to me from the Illinois  
I have learned that an attack was made by unknown enemies on  
hunters seventeen leagues below the Illinois in a place called La  
Cypriesse, one of them being killed and two others taken prisoner.

As the Chickasaw are suspected of this raid, it will be well,  
Monsieur, to give advice immediately to the Sieur Masieu, com-

aux halibamons Et de luy Recommender fortement de ne rien Negliger pour Estre jnformé Si ce sont reellement les chis qui ont fait ce Coup Sur le fleuve a la fin du mois de 9bre dernier, jl le pourra facilement par le moyen des halibamons ou talapouches Et dans le Cas ou jl puisse en avoir une Certitude jl ne negligera rien pour rachetter les prisonniers meme à quelque prix que ce soit, ces Sont les Nommés Mercier Et Bauvais qui appartiennent jcy au Sr Munier Et au Nomme Bauvais habitant des jllinois qui sont dans les Sentimens de ne rien Epargner pour tirer leurs parents dentre les mains de ces Barbares quand la Ranson jroit a 2000# et 3000# jls sont en Estat et dans la resolution de Sacrifier pareille somme a la liberté de Ces prisonniers. Ainsy Monsieur ne perdez point de temps a donner des ordres par un Courrier au poste des halibamons ou le Sr Masieu pourra se servir du Nommé Famastimungo pour cete Negotiation, Ce pourroit d autant mieux cetee les Ennemis qui a fait fait ce coup que l'Esclave rouge dudit Bauvais Est allé Maron depuis

[*Translation*]

mandant at the Alibamu, and strongly to recommend to him to neglect nothing to find out if it was really the Chickasaw who made this raid on the river at the end of last November. This he may do easily by means of the Alibamu or Talapoosa. In case he can make sure of it, he is to neglect nothing to ransom the prisoners whatever it may cost. Their names are Mercier and Beauvais, and they are connected with the Sieur Meunier here, and with the person called Beauvais, an inhabitant of the Illinois. Both are resolved to spare nothing to get their relatives out of the hands of these barbarians. Even if the ransom should go to two thousand or three thousand livres, they are in a situation and a resolution to sacrifice such a sum to the freedom of these prisoners.

Therefore, Monsieur, lose no time in giving orders by an express to the Alibamu post where the Sieur Masieu may use the Indian called Famastimungo for this negotiation. It is the more likely that these enemies made the attack, inasmuch as the Indian slave of the said Beauvais had been a runaway for some time with

quelqués temps avec une sauvagesse Chikachau Et que le meme Esclave quelques jours auparavant avoit randé du Coté de la saline qui est devant les Kaskakias principal Etablissement du paÿs des jllinois.

Je vous seray obligé Monsieur de me faire passer par les premieres occasions les Nouvelles que vous en apprendrez bien des Respects a Md. de Beauchamp a la quelle j ay lhonneur de souhaiter Comme a vous une parfaite santé

[*Translation*]

a Chickasaw squaw, and as the same slave some days before had been about the Saline which faces Kaskaskia, chief settlement of the Illinois country.

I shall be obliged to you, Monsieur, to send me by the first opportunity the news you learn of this affair.

Many respects to Mme de Beauchamp, to whom as to you I have the honor to wish perfect health.

## CHAPTER X

### THE ADMINISTRATION OF KERLEREC AND DUQUESNE, 1753-1754

DEPOSITION OF ENGLISH TRADERS, February 2, 1753

[P R O 78—246:145]

James Devoy—Native of Dublin

Joseph Stevens—of the same City

John Evans—Native of Wales

George Henery—of Strathbogie

Owen Nicholson—born in Pensylvania.

Declare That they have been settled several Years at Philadelphia—That they were Trading at the back of Carolina with the five Indian Nations\* on the River Ohio otherwise Aligany or Bell River, when they were met, on the 22d of June 1752; by a Party of 170. Canada-French and some Indians, having a French Officer at their head named Langlade who took these Declarants Prisoners. There were two other Men of Philadelphia in Company with these Declarants, vizt Andrew Browne and Alexander Macdonald, both whom the Indians of the French party kill'd by the Officers Order and cut off their Scalps.

The French Party seiz'd all the Goods belonging to these Declarants which consisted of Hardware, Linnen, Woollen and other Effects, with which it is usual to Trade with the Indians, the first Cost of which amounted together to £1400. Sterling, whereof £350. belonged to Devoy & Stevens—£200. to Evans £560. to Henery and £290. to Nicholson—or thereabouts, little more or less, Besides which the French kill'd 30. Horses belonging to all five of them which at a low valuation were worth Seven Pounds Sterling each. The French carried away all the Goods to Quebec—And these Declarants themselves were carried Prisoners to the Detroits, Sarre Town, and Montreal and from this last place to Quebec where they arrived towards the latter end of August last, and were there thrown into a dark Dungeon with

\* see the  
Treaty of  
Peace of  
Utrecht  
Art: 15

350  
200  
560  
290

---

1400

only Straw to lay upon; and remain'd there till they were Shipp'd on board the Belle Margot, Captain Archer, in the middle of November last.

They further Declare, That they were never examin'd by any Governor or other French Officer from the time they were taken; not even at Quebec.

That they arrived at La Rochelle on the 15th of December last and in Justice to the Captain of the Ship, who is an Irishman, they think themselves in gratitude obliged to acknowledge that he treated them with great Humanity during the Voyage which was between four and five weeks; when he was obliged, upon his arrival at La Rochelle, to deliver them up According to his Orders, to the Keepers of the Royal Prison, there, in which they were fed on nothing but Bread and Water, and nothing given them to lay upon but a little Straw—till at last they were released on the 6th of January 1753. by order from the French Minister obtained on an Application from the Earl of Albemarle to whom they had wrote to make their Case known And They arrived at Paris the 2d February 1753.

DE COSNÉ<sup>1</sup> TO AMYAND,<sup>2</sup> February 7, 1753

[P R O 78—246:143]

PARIS 7th Febr'y 1753

SIR

I am by My Lord Albemarle's Direction to transmit to you the inclosed Declaration of five Men from Philadelphia, who are just in the same Case with the two others from that part of the World about whom I had occasion to write to you in May last, which His Excellcy desires you to lay before the Earl of Holderness for His Lordship to do therein what he shall judge proper.

<sup>1</sup> Ruvigny de Cosné. Appointed a member of the Joint Commission at Paris in April, 1752. Chargé from the death of Albemarle, December 22, 1754 to the breaking off of relations in July, 1755. He was attached to the British Embassy to Madrid in 1757-1758.

<sup>2</sup> Claudius Amyand, August 10, 1718—April 1, 1774. Undersecretary of state, 1750; M. P. for Tregony, 1747-1754, Sandwich, 1754-1756.

As soon as the Earl of Albemarle had been made acquainted with the Situation of these Men, His Excellency demanded their Liberty of the French Ministry, which after some Instances, he obtained; and complaining of the hardships they had suffer'd in being taken, plunder'd and then sent to Europe instead of being return'd to their own Country, Mosr St Contest said they were ordered hither with an Intention of prosecuting & trying them in this Country for carrying on a Counterband Trade; not caring to leave it to the Authority of their Governours to punish them, who might be inclined to use Arbitrary Methods.

As these unhappy men were both naked & starving Lord Albemarle sent them such Releif as was necessary, and for want of any opportunity likely to happen soon of shipping them at La Rochelle directly for England His Excellency has been obliged to make them come to Paris, in order to proceed by Calais. The whole Expence to Lord Albemarle of Cloathing and Maintaining them and of their Journeys from La Rochelle to Paris and London, amounts to fortyfive Pounds.

They set out from hence yesterday and I take for granted will be with you in about fifteen days, when they will present you a Letter I have taken the Liberty to give them for you, to make them known to you. Their Situation deserves Compassion, the Treatment they have met with, if there is any faith to be given to what they say being both cruel and unjust; And My Lord Albemarle begs the favour of you to recommend them in His Name to My Lord Holdernesse's Protection, to whom He likewise desires you would be so good as to deliver the inclosed Letter His Ex<sup>c</sup>y makes you his Compliments and I have the honour to be with great Truth and Regard Sir

Your most obedient humble servant

RUVIGNY DE COSNE

These men had a Guinea  
& a half apeice given them  
to carry them to London

MACARTY TO ROUILLÉ, May 20, 1753

[A N Colonies C13A 37:188]

MONSEIGNEUR

Sur les ordres que J'ay Recus de Mrs Longueuïl Et Bigot D'un aprovisionnement de vivres pour un détachement qui Devoit partir de Canadas Ce printems pour Metre a La Raisons. Les nations de La Belle Rivierre Et fournir Le Poste de ouyatanons

J'ay fait partir Le Six de Mars La moitié de Cette Aprovisionnement n'ayant pû trouver Sufisament de Voitures. Pour Envoyer Le tout Ce qui ma occasionné un Second Convois Et aÿant au peu de monde qui me Restoit par Lhivernement Aux arkansas du Convois qui montoit de La Nouvelle orleans

La moitié de Ses vivres ont Esté Rendus a Léurs Destinations Le premier De ce mois; une voiture qui Avoit tourné Sur un Enbaras L'obligea à Rester En Arriere du Convois Et ayant Entré dans une petite Rivierre croyant y Estre En Surté huit  
188v

hommes y furent tué Le traise du passé un homme Blessé Et une fille qui alloit Joindre Ses parans Enlevé prisonnierres;

[Translation]

MONSEIGNEUR:

On the orders which I have received from MM. Longueuil and Bigot for a supply of provisions for a detachment which was to leave Canada this spring to bring to reason the tribes of the Ohio River as well as for supplying the post of Ouiatanon, I sent off on March 6 the half of this supply, not having been able to find enough transportation to send everything. This has given me the occasion for a second convoy, having had few people left me here because the convoy coming up from New Orleans wintered at the Arkansas.

Half of these provisions reached their destination the first of this month. One boat which had caught on an obstacle was obliged to remain behind the convoy; having entered into a little river and thinking themselves in safety, the thirteenth of last month, eight men were killed, a man was wounded, and a girl who was going to join her relatives was carried off as a prisoner. I



Je n'appris Ce Coup que Cinq Jours après Jy Envoyay des françois Et Sauvages qui Rencontrerent Leurs pistes à La pointe de douabaches qui donnoient Sur la Rivierre des Charaquis par ou L'on crois que Ses Ennemis Sont Dessendus. En voîtûres que L'on à trouvé avec des Pagages a une Lieux au dessous du vouabaches. Mr Leonardy Commendt Ce Convois ayant attendus vingt quatre heure Crus que L'Equipage Seroit Relaché ysi Et Continua Sa Route Sur Laquelle Ils apperçurent Plusieurs fois des vestiges d'Ennemis Le 27 ayant passé La Rivierre Blanche deux hommes Etant devant Les voîtûres un peu plus de porté de fusils furent attaqué par Six ou Sept decouvreurs qui tuerent Le nommé Le Conte. L autre Se Replia Sur Les voîtûres En criant aux armes. on y fut Les Ennemis abandonnerent Leurs Equipages Après avoir Levé La chevelure du mort un partie quikapou Et mascoutin qui Sont En Guerre aux chikachas assurent par Les Marques que cest des pianguichias Rebelles ;

Les illinois disent que Les Marques du parties qui a fait Coup Le traise Sont des chikachas, Charaquis Et Loups ; Ces nations

[*Translation*]

only learned of this attack five days afterwards. I sent French and Indians who found the trail at a point on the Wabash opposite the Tennessee River from which it is believed that these enemies have descended in boats which were found with baggage a league below the Wabash. M. Leonardy, commanding that convoy, having waited twenty-four hours thought the boat had returned here and continued the journey on which they several times perceived trace of the enemy. On the twenty-seventh, having passed White River, two men who were ahead of the boats a little more than a gunshot were attacked by six or seven scouts who killed the man called Le Conte. The other one retreated to the boats and cried, "To arms." The enemies abandoned their boats after having taken the scalp of the dead man. A Kickapoo and Mascouten party going to war with the Chickasaw are positive by the marks that they were rebel Piankashaw. The Illinois say the marks of the party that made the attack on the thirteenth are Chickasaw, Cherokee, and Delaware. These tribes seem to be in a kind of quiet

Paroissent dans une Espec de tranquillité Sur la Crainte De Ce détachement Les Commnds des postes du vovabache me marquent qu'il y à à craindre que ces nations ne Se Liassent Ensemble Si Le projet de Mr de Longueuil n'avoit pas Lieux

on me marque aussy que Les joloçaïs ont vendus Le Belle Rivierre aux anglois quils travaillent à y faire quelques Etablissements Mr Jonquierre Capne Commandant à La pallier Couppés Et doit avoir Informé Mr Le General du Canadas

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Un Chef illinois massure que deux ou trois Cent hommes De Ses nations Rèbelles Sont Répendus Sur Les Rivierres au passage Des francois

Nos domicilliés Sont assé tranquils à nôtre Egard Et Reconnoissent Leurs faute; Je n'ay pu Encore Leurs faire faire La paix avec Les Renards. Et Sakis n'ayant Pu Les Rassembler tous depuis Leurs hivernement D'ou ils avoient Esté En partie Il Est nécessaire qu'ils Soient En paix afin de Les fairre agir pour nous. quatres parties de differentes nations Sont En Guerre Sur Les chikachas

[*Translation*]

from fear of this detachment. The commandants of the Wabash posts inform me there is reason to fear that the tribes will band together if the plan of M. de Longueuil is not carried out. I am told here that the Iroquois have sold the Ohio River to the English and that the latter have set about making settlements there. M. Joncaire, captain commanding at La Paille Coupée, should have informed M. the general of Canada of this. An Illinois chief assures me that two or three hundred men of the rebel tribes are spread upon the rivers by which the French will pass.

Our domiciled Indians are moderately reassured with respect to us and acknowledge their fault. I have not yet been able to have peace made with the Foxes and the Sauk, having not been able to assemble them all since they have been scattered throughout their winter camps. It is necessary that they should be at peace in order to make them act for us. Four parties of different tribes are carrying on war against the Chickasaw. Twenty Potawatomi

Vingt poutououatamis En arrivent avec un prisonniers Et une Chevelure

Le vingt de mars dernier il nous Est arrivé deux prisonniers Et un anglois des chikachas. qui nous Raporte que Cest Cette nations Et les Charaquis qui ont toutes Les attaques Depuis dix huit mois Sur Le mississipy Et vouabaches. Dans Les quels Ils nous ont pris ou tué aux Environs de Trente personnes Et Blessé plusieurs Il y a apparence que Les nations de La Belle Rivierre Se Joignent aux Charaquis Et chikachas.

Le trouble des nations de La Belle Rivierre Et de Nos domicilliés ont Empêcher D'y Envoyer En Parties Et Se voyant tranquil de Ses cotés ysi Sont venus Sans Crainte pendant qui nous penssions que C'etoit des parties des Rêbelles

Mrs Les Gouverneurs à qui Je ne Laissent Riens Ignorer doivent Instruire vôtre Grandeur de Leurs Projets. pour fairre cesser les troubles dans La Belle Rivierre Comme j'ay déjà Eu L'honneur de Rendre Compte à vôtre Grandeur De La nécessité

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D'y faire quelques Etablissements á Empêcher Les Courses

[*Translation*]

arrived here with a prisoner and a scalp. The twentieth of March last there arrived here two prisoners and an Englishman from the Chickasaw who reported to us that it is this tribe and the Cherokee who have made all the attacks for the last eighteen months on the Mississippi and the Wabash on which they have taken or killed about thirty people and wounded several. There is some appearance that the tribes of the Ohio River are joining the Cherokee and the Chickasaw. The difficulties of the tribes of the Ohio River and of our domiciled Indians have prevented sending parties there against them, and, seeing themselves secure in their own territory, they have come without fear while we thought they were parties of the rebels.

MM. the governors, whom I leave ignorant of nothing, should inform Your Greatness of their plans to check the difficulties on the Ohio River. I have already had the honor to report to Your Greatness the necessity of making some settlements to pre-

De nos Ennemis Sur nos Rivierres Et qu'on y donna Les Marchandises aux prix des anglois Enpeccher Le trouble De passer dans Les nations avec Lesquels Ils ne peuvent Avoir Rélations—que par nos Rivierres

Nous allons Commencer Le fort ordonné En pierre En ayant Beaucoup de tirer; nous avons très peu d'ouvriers pour Accélerer cette ouvrage nous En attendons de La nelle orleans

Nous Esperons toujours que vôtre Grandeur voudra Bien Nous Envoyer des familles pour auguementer La Culture De ce pais Comme de Ses faussoniers pour travailler aux Mines de plomb qui Sont très abondantes qui fournissent une partie des postes du Canadas; Les nations De Cette partie Comme Celle d ysi on En pouroit fournir Même Cette Colonies Si Les ouvriers y Etoient à plus Bas prix Et faire commerce avec Les Espagnols La plus Grande difficulté Est Le transport au fleuve La mine Etant à quatorze Lieux Et des montagnies Car Il ne manque pas du Bois pour Construire des chalans Et Les dessendre a La Nouvelle orleans Le plomb Est vendus ysi Six Sols La Livres.

[*Translation*]

vent the raids of our enemies on our rivers and of giving them goods at the price of the English to save them the trouble of going among tribes with whom they can have communication only by our rivers.

We are going to begin the fort that has been ordered in stone, having much to draw from. We have very few workmen to press on this work, but we are expecting some from New Orleans.

We always hope that Your Greatness will be pleased to send us families to increase the farming of this country as well as salt smugglers to work in the lead mines which are very abundant and supply a part of the posts of Canada and the tribes of that region as well as those here. If workmen were not so expensive, you could even supply this colony and carry on the trade with the Spaniards. The greatest difficulty is transporting it to the river, the mine being fourteen leagues off and those hilly, for there is no want of wood to construct boats to carry it down to New Orleans. Lead sells here at six sous a pound.

Si nous avons un fondeur de plomb En Grains Le Roy  
 Pourroit Se dispenser D'en faire porter dans cette Colonies Comme  
 D'aucunes Sortes Il ne luy Reviendrait pas plus Cher qu'en  
 France Si L'on vouloit défalquer Le fret qui luy En Coute pour  
 Le transport dans cette Colonies Et qui occupe Le port D'autre  
 choses Joint à la facilité d'En fournir Les postes du fleuve En  
 descendant a La Nelle orleans D'ou Les postes du côtés De La  
 mobile Le tireroient Eviteroient Au Roy Le transport de 15.  
 a 20000 à monter ysi ou Dans Les postes. de Laquelle depense  
 un fondeur Seroit Plus que payé Indépendament de La perte

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qu'on fait En Route du plomb En Grains Et Cela procureroit  
 une Branche de Commerce au païs Jesperre Monseigneur, que  
 vous voudrés Bien faire attentions à Cette article qui Est Esantiel  
 pour Ce païs,

J'ay déjà Eu L'honneur de marquer à vôtre Grandeur, Les  
 Avantages qu'on pourroit tirer de Ce païs La nécessité D'y Mein-  
 tenir un nombre de troupes qui meintiennent Les Nations En  
 Respect qui d'allieurs par La dessente Et La Situations au Centre

[*Translation*]

If we had a caster of lead in grain, the king could dispense  
 with sending it to this colony as none of it would be more expen-  
 sive than in France if you wished to allow for the cost of the  
 freight to carry it into these colonies and for its taking the room  
 needed for other things. From the facility with which the posts  
 on the river going down to New Orleans, and from New Orleans  
 in the direction of Mobile could get it, it would save the king the  
 transport of fifteen to twenty thousand pounds to be sent up here  
 or into the posts. This expense would more than pay for a caster  
 independently of the loss en route of lead in grain; and it would  
 procure an article of commerce for the country. I hope, Mon-  
 seigneur, that you will be good enough to give much attention  
 to this point which is essential for this country.

I already had the honor to indicate to Your Greatness the  
 advantages which could be drawn from this country, and the  
 necessity of maintaining here a number of troops to keep the  
 tribes in respect. Moreover, from the advantage of descending

des deux Colonies Sont aportés de Se Rendre En diligence ou  
L'on Juge à propos Si L'on avoit toujours des voitures preste.

Les troupes s'y porte à merveille nayant pas perdus Un  
homme depuis 18 mois avec un peu De Précautions Lon y Est  
point Enbarassé pour Leurs Nouritures

Jusqu'aprésent on ne S'est Servis ysi que des moulins A  
Chevaux qui Rendent La pluspart La farine Noire Le Déffaut  
D'ouvriers Et de forces ont Empêcher qu'on En fit à L'eau;  
on travaillent à En fairre Deux Sur Bateau d'un Inventions  
nouvelles de Roüe A vice sans fin; J'esperre que Le mois pro-  
chain il y En aura un En Estat de moudre farine S'il Est tel  
quon me L'assurent; Ce qui Rendra La farine plus Belles et  
moins de travail

il Est déserté quatre hommes du poste Des missouris qui ont  
Esté tué par Les panis noire Je n'ay pas Crus Devoirs faire Leurs  
proces par Contumace; Je Joint ysi Celuy de deux déserté du  
Cotés des anglois par La Belle Rivierres

Les Laitannes nations nombrueuse Et Errante Entre nous

[*Translation*]

the rivers and from their situation in the center of the two colonies, they are in a position to repair with all speed where they are needed, always, however providing transportation were available. The troops here get on marvelously, not having lost a man for eighteen months. With a little precaution one is never at a loss for feeding them. Up to now the inhabitants have only used horse mills which mostly yield black flour. The lack of skilled mechanics and of workers has prevented building water-mills. They are working at building two on boats of a new invention of a wheel on an endless screw. I hope that next month one of them will be in condition to grind flour. If it is such as I am assured, it will make the flour better with less work.

Four men who deserted from the Missouri post were killed by the Wichita. I have not thought that I should condemn them in default. I join herewith a condemnation of the two who deserted in the direction of the English by the Ohio River.

The Ietan, numerous and wandering tribes between our posts

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Pous Et Les Espagnols, mont fait demender par Stabako  
 Chef des panismahaa dans La partie De Louest Du haut du  
 missouris à venir me voir quils voudroient avoir un perre Je Luy  
 ay fait dire qu'il pouvois M'envoyer quelques Chefs qui je les  
 Recevrois avec plaisir Les Espagnols ont Été En Caravannes.  
 Jusqu'a Les Endroits ou Ils ont Été Il y á quelques années Déffait  
 Sils Je Les tachéray à Les faire fixer dans quelques Endroits Du  
 missouris; par Laquelle Rivière on prétend qu'on pouroit trouver  
 La merd de L'ouest; En Passant La Craïtte De montagnies au  
 dela desquels Lon pouroit trouver une Rivierre qui tomberoit dans  
 Cette partie à La merd; mais Les particuliers ne Sont pas En  
 Estat de faire Ses Sortes de Dépences

Jay L'honneur D'estre avec un tres proffond Respect Mon-  
 seigneur

Votre tres humble Et tres obeissant Serviteur

MACARTY MACTIGUE

[*Translation*]

and the Spaniards, have asked by Stabaco, chief of the Skidi in the western part of the upper Missouri, permission to come and see me; they said they wished to have a father. I have had them told that they can send me some chiefs, whom I will receive with pleasure. The Spaniards have been in convoys as far as the places where they were defeated some years ago. I will try to settle these Indians at some place on the Missouri. It is claimed that by that river you can reach the Sea of the West, passing the crest of the mountains on which you can find a river which falls into that part of the sea. But private persons are not in a condition to undergo expenses of this sort.

I have the honor to be with very profound respect, Mon-  
 seigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

MACARTY MACTIGUE



KERLÉREC TO ROUILLÉ, August 20, 1753

[A N Colonies C13A 37:66]

MONSEIGNEUR

.....  
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Comme depuis long tems, les Arkansas paroissoient dans une indolence a notre egard, qui insensiblement les auroient peut-etre Conduits a nous abandonner, j'ay fait Venir le chef a medaille avec Dix Sept chefs ou Considerés; je les ay eu icy quinze jours, je les ay amusé, fort caressés et bien hebergés; ils S'en Sont retournés enchantés, et après m'avoir fait les plus belles promesses, que je Suis effectivement persuadé qu'ils mettront en execution. J'ay relevé le Sr de La houssay, qui Commandoit Ce Poste, et luy ay donné le Sr de Regio pour Successeur, du quel j'ay lieu de tout esperer pour L'avenir. J'ay recommandé a cet officier d'entretenir cette nation du Soins de Couvrir l'espace de 40. lieues en dessus et en dessous des Deux rives du fleuve, Contre Les Courses et les Coups, que frapent de tems en tems quelques partis des Chikachas, de Cheraki et Chaouánons, Sur nos voitûres, ainsi qu'il est

[Translation]

MONSEIGNEUR:

.....  
 Since for a long time the Quapaw have appeared to be nonchalant regarding us which might have led to their abandoning us, I had the medal chief come here with seventeen chiefs or important men. I had them here two weeks. I kept them amused, much caressed, and much entertained. They returned delighted after having made me the finest promises which I am indeed persuaded they will put in execution. I have relieved the Sieur de la Houssaye, who commanded at that post, and have given him as successor the Sieur de Reggio, from whom I have reason to hope everything for the future. I have recommended to that officer to impress on that tribe the need of covering the territory forty leagues above and below on both banks of the river against the raids and attacks made from time to time by Chickasaw, Cherokee, and Shawnee parties on our transports as happened this last

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arrivé cet hiver dernier, Sur celle du Sr Pouligny entrepreneur habitant des illinois, qui y perit luy huitieme; ils feurent Surpris endormis Sur leurs Nattes Sans Sentinelle, et tués, ayant été choisis par chacun un Sauvage, excepté une fille de Dix ans, que les Cherakis ont conduit a leur Village, et traité a des anglais, qui l'ont menée a la Caroline.

Nous avions encore trois prisonniers chés les Chikachas, le nommé Beauvais et Poirier, et la fille du nommé androny agée de 12. ans, qui avoient été pris, quelque mois avant cette avanture, j'ay racheté les deux hommes pour cent livres pesant de peaux de chevreuil chacun, et je les ay ramenés avec moy. j'ay aussi donné des ordres pour ravoir cette jeune fille, qui est dans le Village, et Sous la garde du grand chef, avec peut-etre plus de decense qu'on n'en observeroit en pareil cas dans notre nation. je Compte la ravoir incessamment.

Il Se passe de tems en tems quelques legers actes d'hostilité a titre de meprise (affectée Cependant) entre les Tchaktas

[*Translation*]

winter with that of the Sieur Pouligny, a merchant living at the Illinois, who with seven others perished. They were surprised asleep on their mats without a sentinel and killed, an Indian being assigned to each, except a girl ten years old whom the Cherokee took to their village and sold to the English, who have taken her to Carolina.

We still had three prisoners among the Chickasaw: the man named Beauvais, and Poirier, and the daughter of the person named Androny, twelve years of age, who were taken prisoners some months before this adventure. I bought back the two men for a hundred pounds of deerskin each and brought them back with me. I have also given orders to get back this young girl, who is in the village and under the protection of the Great Chief with perhaps more decency than would be observed in our nation in a similar case. I hope to have her back immediately.

From time to time slight acts of hostility occur under the pretext of mistake (pretended however) between the Choctaw of

de la partie de L'ouest et Ceux de L'est. je parois m'interessar beaucoup a leur reconciliation, mais Comme ces differens ne Se passent que d'homme Rouge a homme Rouge, je les laisse y porter

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le Correctif qu'ils jugent Convenable, et je ne Suis pas faché dans le fonds, de l'eloignement que paroît avoir l'une de ces parties Contre l'autre; C'est meme par ce moyen que nous Serons plus Surs des Deux.

.....  
Suivant les Comptes que Me rend M. de Macarty Com-  
mandant aux illinois, je vois avec plaisir que tout ce qui l'environne  
annonce de la tranquillité il travaille a ramener ses domiciliés

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Sauvages et a les rapprocher des Renards; il m'ajoute que le  
Marquis Duquesne luy mande qu'il en use de meme de Son cotté  
avec ces derniers, de façon que j'espere apprendre en peu, que la  
paix Sera faite entre les deux Nations, et cela est fort a desirer.

M. Duquesne luy annonce aussi une petite armadille, pour la  
fin du mois prochain d'environ 1500. hommes, qui doivent Se

[Translation]

the party of the West and that of the East. I appear to interest  
myself much in their reconciliation, but if these disputes merely  
happen between a red man and another red man, I leave them to  
apply the remedy which they judge proper, and fundamentally I  
am not displeased at the estrangement of one of these parties from  
the other. By that means we shall be sure of both.

.....  
According to the accounts which M. de Macarty, comman-  
dant at the Illinois, gives me, I see with pleasure that everything  
about him speaks of tranquillity. He is working to bring back the  
domiciled Indians and to reconcile them with the Foxes. He adds  
to me that the Marquis Duquesne indicates to him that he is doing  
the same on his side with the Foxes in such a way that I hope  
soon to learn that peace will be made between the two tribes,  
which is much to be desired.

M. Duquesne also gives him information of a little armada  
at the end of next month of about fifteen hundred men which is

rendre a La Riviere a La Roche, pour S'opposer aux rebelles, qui je pense a cet aspect, Se retireront chacun dans leur nation, peut-etre après avoir fait quelques ecarts, Surtout quand ils Seront instruits, que ce detachement doit y rester trois ans, y former des Postes, et etre relevé au bout de ce meme tems par le meme Nombre. Cette demarche, Monseigneur, etoit essentielle, et dans l'utilité dont elle Sera, ne peche que de n'avoir pas été executée beaucoup plutot.

Comme j'ay été instruit depuis quelque mois de cet Evenement je n'ay pas manqué d'ordonner au Sr. de Macarty de mettre tout en usage pour faire les approvisionemens de farine et de Salaison qui pourroient dependre de luy; il m'a repondû qu'il y travailloit a force, mais que Si Les mauvais tems qu'il a ainsi que nous, depuis prés de trois mois, duroient encore quinze jours, que toute la Recolte etoit perdüe, ce qui fairoit un très grand echec

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pour ce detachement, ainsi que pour la colonnie en general.

Je luy recris aujourduy de m'informer le plus a L'avance qu'il pourra du manquement de Vivres qu'il pourra prévoir, pourque de

[*Translation*]

to go to Great Miami River to oppose the rebels, who I think on hearing of it will retire each to his tribe, perhaps after having made some expeditions, especially when they are informed that this detachment is to remain there three years, establish posts, and be relieved at the end of that same time by the same number. This step, Monseigneur, was essential; useful as it will be, it is to be criticized only for not having been taken much sooner. As I have been informed for some months of this expedition, I have not failed to order the Sieur de Macarty to do everything to collect the supplies of flour and salt meat which may be expected of him. He has answered me that he would do his best, but that if the bad weather which he as well as we have had for three months past lasted two weeks more, the whole crop was lost, which would be a great setback for that detachment as well as for the colony in general.

I wrote him again today to inform me as far in advance as possible of any failure of provisions that he could foresee in order

notre coté nous puissions y pourvoir, autant toute fois qu'il nous en parviendra d'Europe, ce que je ne prevois pas de quelque tems, Suivant les avaries que Les Vaisseaux *La Couronne* et le *Marquis de Conflans* ont Reçu dans la Rade de La Rochelle, et que l'on debité etre freté pour Le Roy, pour icy.

J'ay eu L'honneur, Monseigneur, de Vous prevenir par mes dernieres lettres, que j'avois fixé irrevocablement le depart du Convoy des illinois a l'avenir, du 25. janvier au 5. de fevrier; je vous ay rendu Compte des raisons essentielles qui m'y avoient déterminé. C'est donc en Consequence, que pour me mettre a jour d'une année a L'autre, je Viens de faire partir celuy qui doit pourvoir ce poste, des differentes Munitions qui Sont necessaires pour le mettre a jour de Ses besoins jusqu'au grand Convoy.

Je crois pouvoir Vous observer icy, que le peu d'attention que l'on a eu jusqu'a present dans la façon de munir tous Les Postes, de tout ce qui est necessaire pour leur Subsistance en tout genre, est très prejudiciable a la bonne oeconomie, il n'est qu'une Seule Saison qui donne les eaux hautes, et très Navigables,

[Translation]

that on our side we could meet it at all events when we are supplied from Europe, which I do not foresee for some time considering the damages that the vessels *La Couronne* and *Le Marquis de Conflans* have received in the road of La Rochelle, which vessels were to be loaded for the king to come here.

I had the honor, Monseigneur, to forewarn you by my last letters that I had definitely fixed the departure of the Illinois convoy in the future between the twenty-fifth of January and the fifth of February. I have given you an account of the essential reasons which had determined me to it. Consequently to set up the succession from one year to the next, I have just sent off the convoy to supply this post with the munitions which are necessary to account for its needs until the large convoy.

I think I can observe to you here that the little attention that has been given up to now to the method of supplying all the posts with everything necessary for their support is very prejudicial to good economy. There is but one season only which affords high and very navigable water, but it is very frequently let slip; con-

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mais qu'on laisse passer très frequament, au moyen de quoy, quand il est question d'approvisioner les dits postes, on fait Six fois plus de depense, tant par la multiplication des Voitures, que par les portages par terre Sur des chevaux; et tout cela est la chose du monde la plus aisée a Eviter, quand le Magasin general d'icy aura attention d'envoyer a l'avance a celui de la Mobille tout ce qui est necessaire, Pour Tombekbé, les alibamoux. il en est ainsi des Natchitos. quant a tout ce qui Concerne le fleuve, j'y ay pourvu il est donc utile et necessaire, Monseigneur, que Vous prescrivies a l'ordonnateur, de pourvoir Suffisamment a l'avance le Magasin de La Mobille, pour eviter les echoüages, les avaries Vraies, ou Supposeés qui en resultent; et par eviter enfin toutes les fausses depenses qui montent beaucoup plus haut qu'on ne peut l'imaginer.

Malgré qu'a mon arrivée dans Cette colonnie, j'aye trouvé le projet du fort, qu'on doit faire aux illinois, arengé, arrêté, et approuvé, dont le toisé estimatif monte (et a trop bas prix) a 270000#, Cet objet meritant toute attention, j'ay cru ne pouvoir

[Translation]

sequently when it comes to supplying the said posts, six times as much expense is incurred both by the multiplication of transports and by portages by land on horses. All this is the easiest thing in the world to avoid if the general storehouse here will pay attention to sending in advance to the post of Mobile everything that is necessary for Tombigbee and the Alibamu. It is the same with Natchitoches. As for everything concerning the Mississippi River, I have provided for it. It will then be useful and necessary, Monseigneur, for you to direct the *ordonnateur* to supply the magazine of Mobile sufficiently in advance to avoid mis-carriages and the damages, real or supposed, which may result. Thus will be avoided all the false expenses that sometimes amount to more than would be imagined.

On my arrival in this colony I found the project of the fort which was to be built at Illinois arranged, determined, and approved, the estimated expense of which, at very low prices, amounts to 270,000 livres. Nevertheless, since this matter merited

me dispenser d'en faire une revision, Sur Plan et toisé estimatif, pour trouver les Moyens d'en diminuer la depense, Sans en

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diminuer la force de Sa deffense, ny celle qu'exige l'objet de Son etablissement, qui ne doit etre que la Seureté de Sa garnison. Si ce fort est en bonne position, il doit Suffir, quil couvre l'establissement general du pays des illinois, en faisant la Seureté des habitans etablis, ou a établir, Contre l'insulte des Sauvages les plus aguerris, et non Contre des ennemis Capables de reduire des fortifications en forme, qui meme ne Sçauroient y penetrer avec les Moyens necessaires, pour forcer Seulement un mur de cloture bien deffendû.

C'est Sur ce principe, et celuy d'éviter au Roy des depenses inutiles, dans un tems Surtout ou tout est bien arrieré dans cette colonie, que j'ay appelé le Sr. Duverger Ingenieur en chef, qui n'avoit nulle part a ce premier projet, pour travailler avec luy, Sur Les moyens de demontrer l'un, et de parvenir a l'autre.

Vous Verrés donc, Monseigneur, par le memoire Cy joint,

[*Translation*]

every attention I have considered that I could not dispense with revising the plan and estimates in order to find the means of diminishing the expense without diminishing the strength of its defense nor derogating from the object of its establishment which should be nothing but the safety of its garrison. If this fort is in a good position it should suffice that it cover the general settlement of the Illinois country by insuring the security of the inhabitants settled or to be settled there against the affronts of the most warlike Indians, but not against enemies able to besiege the fortifications in form; these last could not possibly get there with the necessary means to force even a well defended enceinte.

It is on this principle as well as that of avoiding useless expenses to the king at a time when everything is much in arrears in this colony, that I have called on the Sieur de Verges, chief engineer, who had no share in the first plan, and have set to work with him on the means of demonstrating the one principle and attaining to the other.

You will see then, Monseigneur, by the annexed memoir,



redigé avec reflexion et Connoissance, que ce fort Sera tel qu'il faut qu'il Soit, et que par Comparaison du projet, et Du Plan du Sr Saucier au memoire Cy joint, la balance nous donne 299. Toises de Maçonnerie a faire de moins, qui estimées au meme prix, porté Sur le toisé estimatif du Sr. Saucier a 180# la toise, font une epargne decidée au Roy, de La Somme de 52820#

73

C'est en Consequence que M. Dauberville et moy, avons ecrit en Commun a Mr de Macarty commandant, et Saucier ingenieur au dit Poste, pour qu'ils mettent a profit les reflexions que j'ay fait, et qui n'auroient pas dû etre a faire a present; et pour qu'en fin ils Se conforment au Double de ce memoire que je Vous adresse Cy joint.

Je trouve icy, Monseigneur le moment de Vous parler du Sr Duverger ingenieur en chef, dans les termes qu'il merite bien, et je luy dois la justice de Vous dire, que C'est un excellent Sujet, rempli de probité, tres Capable de Son Etat, Zelé pour les interets et le Service du Roy; et je n'ay enverité de reproche a luy faire

[*Translation*]

drawn with reflection and knowledge, that this fort will be such as it should be and that in comparison with the project and plan of the Sieur Saucier in the annexed memoir the comparison gives us 299 toises of masonry less to build, which, estimated at the same price as the estimates of the Sieur Saucier at 180 livres a toise, make a decided saving to the king of the sum of 52,820 livres.

In consequence of this M. d'Auberville and I have written jointly to M. de Macarty, commandant, and Saucier, engineer at that post, to profit by the reflections which I have made, and which it should not have been necessary to make at present, and to conform to the duplicate of the memoir which I address to you annexed.

I find here, Monseigneur, the time to speak to you concerning the Sieur de Verges, chief engineer, in terms which he well merits; and I owe him the justice of telling you that he is an excellent fellow, full of probity, very fit for his position, and zealous for the interests and the service of the king. And I have indeed nothing to blame in him except his too great attention to

que Sur Son trop D'application, d'autant plus, qu'il est Le Seul icy, le Sr amelot etant d'une Santé très delicate. Je Sçay que cet honnête homme n'a pas toujours été annoncé a la Cour, Sous Les memes Couleurs; je ne m'expliqueray pas Sur cet objet; mais je me Crois obligé de vous dire, que Sa grande probité, dans toutes les Circonstances de Son ministere, n'a pas toujours été du gout de tout le monde; et Si pendant quelque tems, il a paru avoir des Ennemis; il en a été bien dedomagé par les Sentimens de M. de Vaudreuil, qui S'est fait une obligation, et un plaisir de luy rendre

73v

auprès de Vous, la justice qu'il merite; je pense de meme de plus en plus, a mesure que je le pratique; et je vous avoüe, Monseigneur, que je Serois bien flatté, Si en Consideration de Ses bons Services, et de me recommandation, il vous plaisoit luy accorder une gratification annuelle 600H. Cette marque de Vos bontés, Sera bien propre à le dedomager des chagrins qu'on luy a donné dans cette colonnie, et qu'en verité il ne merita jamais, que pour avoir trop aimé les interets du Roy croyés, Monseigneur, que

[*Translation*]

business, the more so as he is the only one here, the Sieur Amelot being in very delicate health. I know that this honest man has not always been mentioned at the court in this light. I will not enlarge on this subject, but I think myself obliged to tell you that his great probity in all the circumstances of his office has not always been to everyone's liking; if for some time he has seemed to have enemies, he has been well recompensed by the good opinion of M. de Vaudreuil, who has made it his duty and his pleasure to do him the justice to you which he deserves. More and more I think the same of him as my experience of him increases. And I avow to you, Monseigneur, that I would be much pleased if in consideration of his good services and of my recommendation it might please you to allow him an annual gratification of six hundred livres. This mark of your bounty would be very proper to recompense him for the annoyances which he has been given in this colony and which indeed he never merited save for having been too fond of the interests of the king.

je Vous parle Vray, et que je Suis bien instruit, je Vous demande cette grace avec instance.

.....

DE L'ISLE DIEU TO ROUILLÉ, September 5, 1753

[A N Colonies C11A 99:199]

MONSIEUR

.....

Je ne vous enverray point, Monsieur, les premiers extraits que j'avois projeté de vous Envoyer, les nouvelles lettres que j'ay reçues me mettront a portée de vous faire un plan Topographique plus exact de la Colonie, en la divisant par missions Soit des Jesuites, des Capucins ou des Prêtres seculiers et en vous donnant des Eclaircissemens Sur chaque poste qui vous mettront vous même a portée de questionner M. de Vaudreuil et de

200

Verrifier avec luy (tant pour le bien du service que pour celuy de la religion, la position de Ces postes, la distance ou ils sont les uns des autres, leur Eloignement de la Capitale, les nations qui les habitent, Soient françois ou sauvages, ce qui y Empêche le

[*Translation*]

Believe, Monseigneur, that I tell you the truth, and that I am well informed. I earnestly ask this favor of you.

.....

MONSIEUR:

.....

I will not send you, Monsieur, the extracts I had first planned to send. The new letters I have received will enable me to make you a more exact topographical plan of the colony, divided into missions, Jesuit, Capuchin, or secular, and giving you information on each post which will enable you to question M. de Vaudreuil, and to verify with him (for the good both of the service and of religion) the position of the posts, their distance from each other and from the capital, the people who inhabit them, French or Indian, what impedes the good of the service

bien du Service ou le progrès de la Religion, les différentes et dernières révolutions qui y sont arrivées, Surtout le dernier Echec des metchigamias et des Caokias, au mois de juin 1752. par L'irruption que firent sur eux les Renards, Sakis, Sçieux et folleavoines, et qui jeta une terreur des plus grandes parmi la nation des Caskakias, dont le Pere de Guienne jésuite est missionnaire.

.....

DUQUESNE TO ROUILLÉ, October 26, 1753

[A N Colonies C11A 99:103]

MONSEIGNEUR

Avant de me décider définitivement sur les différens arrangements dont l'exploitation des Postes est Susceptible; J'ai voulu attendre d'avoir vu Les Sauvages qui y sont Etablis, pour Sçavoir s'ils n'avoient point à se plaindre de l'administration des  
103v  
fermiers ou des Officiers qui les commandent.

Comme ils ne m'ont porté aucune plainte, et qu'au contraire ils ont dit qu'ils étoient contents du prix des marchandises; Je

[*Translation*]

and the progress of religion, as well as the various late revolutions that have occurred there, especially the late reverse of the Michigamea and the Cahokia of June, 1752 by the attack made on them by the Foxes, Sauk, Sioux, and Menominee which threw the Kaskaskia, to whom the Jesuit Father de Guyenne is missionary, into the greatest terror.

.....

MONSEIGNEUR:

Before coming to a definite decision on the different arrangements by which the posts may be exploited, I wished to wait and see the Indians who are settled in them to know if they had anything to complain of in the administration of the farmers or the officers who command there.

As they have brought me no complaint and on the contrary have said that they were satisfied with the prices of goods, I have

me Suis déterminé à l'aisser les choses dans l'Etat où Elles sont, Mais je vais signifier que désormais tous les Certificats des Postes Seront de nulle valeur; parceque j'ay reconnu que c'est un abus qui coûte immensément au Roy, Et sur le quel le Particulier

104

compte comme Sur un revenu fixe.

Il n'est pas possible, Monseigneur d'avoir des preuves convaincantes de cette fraude, parceque les Commandants exposent toujours des besoins urgents pour contenir le Sauvage, Soit pour les empêcher d'aller en guerre Sur les nations qui nous Sont affidées, Soit encore pour les fixer à leurs feux: Il est vray qu'ils en font Souvent la menace pour avoir des preséns, parcequ'ils ont

104v

éprouvé que cette ruse leur a réussi, depuis qu'on les a trop menagé et même gâté; Mais lorsque cette dépense roulera Sur le fermier, Je Suis sûr qu'il Luy en coutera fort peu.

Je Suis trop attaché au Service pour ne pas vous faire envisager Monseigneur, qu'il ne Seroit du tout point de l'Interest du Roy et du commerce de laisser le Sauvage Errant ainsi que le

[*Translation*]

decided to leave things as they are, but I am going to announce that henceforth all certificates from the posts shall be void because I have perceived that this is an abuse which costs the king hugely and on which private persons count as on a fixed revenue.

It is not possible, Monseigneur, to have full proofs of this fraud because the commandants always set forth the urgent need of holding the Indians whether to prevent them from going to war with tribes which are allied to us or to keep them in their villages. It is true that they often make threats of this sort in order to get presents because they have discovered that this ruse has succeeded since they have been much wheedled and even spoiled; but when this expense falls on the farmer I am sure that it will amount to but little.

I am too much attached to the service not to make you perceive, Monseigneur, that it would not be at all to the interest of the king and of commerce to leave the Indians at large as His

désireroit Sa Majesté, l'inconvenient qui en résulteroit Seroit trop  
105

dangereux en ce que les Sauvages qui ne seroient pas Sous les yeux d'un Commandant Seroient bientôt séduits par les Anglois qui Leur donnent abondamment; Delà il s'ensuivroit qu'avec l'esprit remuant qui leur est naturel. immanquablement ils Seroient sans cesse excités à nous faire des mauvais coups, ce qui pour Lors constituerait le Roy dans des dépenses considérables.

Je n'ay pas trouvé de plus Sûr moyen pour parvenir à con-  
105v  
cilier ces deux objets importants que d'abolir tous les Certificats de ces Sortes de dépenses en les faisant Supporter aux fermiers des Postes qui ont interest de donner pour fixer le Sauvage.

La liberté du commerce dans tous Les Postes auroit été infiniment de mon gout; Mais ayant balancé qu'il faut nécessairement donner aux Sauvages, Je n'aurois pû supprimer Les Certificats qu'il est très important d'eteindre à jamais et qui depuis la Guerre montent à des Sommes exorbitantes.

106  
Une autre considération qui m'a fait désister de mon

[Translation]

Majesty desired. The inconveniences which would result would be too dangerous inasmuch as the Indians, who would not be under the eyes of the commandant, would soon be seduced by the English who give to them in abundance. From this it would follow that with the restless spirit which is natural to them they will inevitably be stirred up continually to strike us ill blows which would put the king to considerable expense.

I have found no surer means of reconciling these two important objects than abolishing all the certificates for these sorts of expenses, and having them borne by the farmers of the posts whose interest it is to give, in order to keep the Indians there.

Freedom of trade in all the posts would have been infinitely to my taste, but having considered what it is necessary to give the Indians I could not have suppressed the certificates which it is very important to end forever, and which since the war have mounted to outrageous sums.

Another consideration which has made me desist from my

goût favori pour cette liberté de commerce, Cest qu'il est réel que le sauvage est content de la maniere dont il est pourvû de ses besoins et qu'il ne m'a porté aucune plainte Sur la cherté des marchandises.

Les Postes les plus considérables de cette Colonie sont le Détroit, Missilimakinac, La Baye, La Mer d'Ouest et les Jllinois dans Lesquels je projette d'establir un commerce libre parceque Leurs Etenduës peuvent fournir à beaucoup de Voyageurs, Et que

106v  
dans les trois derniers on pourroit plus aisément faire des nouvelles découvertes en donnant la liberté à ces mêmes voyageurs de penetrer jusques où Leur cupidité Les menera. Le premier qui a toujours été Libre ne le fut pas L'année derniere par le manque de Voyageurs, mais il Le Sera celle cy et toujours ainsi que le second. Les Jllinois le seront en 1755. et les deux autres ne peuvent L'etre qu'en 1756. à moins de ne vouloir ruiner ceux à

107  
qui Le commerce exclusif a été donné; parce que le troisieme année sert à retirer les prodigieuses avances et crédits aux Sauvages qu'on est obligé de faire dans les 2. premieres.

[Translation]

desire for this freedom of trade is that it is evident that the Indians are content with the way in which they are provided with their needs and have brought no complaint of high prices for goods.

The most considerable posts of this colony are Detroit, Mackinac, Green Bay, the Sea of the West, and the Illinois in which I plan establishing a free trade because their extent can take many *voyageurs*, and in the last three, one can more easily make new discoveries by giving these same *voyageurs* the freedom of going wherever their cupidity takes them. The first, which has always been free, was not so last year for want of *voyageurs*, but it will be so and always, as well as the second. The Illinois will be free in 1755, and the two others cannot be until 1756 without ruining those to whom the exclusive trade has been given because the third year serves to get back the prodigious advances and credits to the Indians that one is obliged to make in the first two.



Voila, Monseigneur la scituãon où se trouveroit M. de Rigaud et les autres qui Sont dans le même cas. JI reste à désirer que les Sauvages ne guerroyent pas pour tirer avantage de leurs Postes.

107v

Quant aux autres postes qui ne Sont annuellement Susceptibles que de quatre ou cinq Canoteés de marchandises, Je pense qu'il faut les Laisser Subsister tels que je les ay trouvé, d'autant qu'ils ne couteront rien au Roy, et que je me propose même d'en tirer le plus que je pourray, dont je ne puis vous informer que l'année prochaine à cause de quelques petites connoissances qu'il me reste encore à prendre; Mais je vous repete Monseigneur que vous pouvés compter Sur l'extinction des Cer-

108

tificats ainsi que Sur l'epargne la plus recherchée de ma part.

La riviere d'Oyo deviendra dans la Suite un endroit fort commerçant puisqu'on m'a assuré qu'on pourroit en tirer deux mille paquets et je donne cette année des congés gratis pour en faire l'epreuve et exciter Le voyageur à cette nouvelle partie.

J'ay trouvé un si grand désordre dans le commerce des Postes

[*Translation*]

This, Monseigneur, is the situation in which M. de Rigaud finds himself, and the others are the same. It is to be desired if they are to profit from their posts that the Indians should not go to war.

As for the other posts which are only capable of four or five canoe loads of goods a year, I think that they must be left as I found them, the more so as they cost the king nothing, and as I propose to get from them as much as I can, concerning which I cannot inform you until next year on account of some bits of information which I still have to get. But I repeat to you, Monseigneur, that you can count on the extinction of the certificates as well as on the most searching economy on my part.

The Ohio River will in the end become a great trading scene since I am assured that two thousand packets could be drawn from it, and this year I am giving licenses free to test it and to stir up the *voyageurs* to go to this new region.

I have found so great disorder in the trade of the posts that

que pour y mettre la regle, fixer un Chacun dans Ses limites et  
Empêcher qu'ils continuassent à se débaucher Les Sauvages, J'ay

108v

envoyé un reglement circulaire par lequel il est Enjoint à tous  
les Commandants, de Faire confisquer les marchandises que l'on  
viendrait traiter furtivement dans leurs Postes, et de m'envoyer  
les Traiteurs Sous bonne et seure garde

Ce reglement a produit un fort bon effet, Et il s'agit à présent  
de mettre en regle les Officiers Commandants les Postes, parce  
que je viens d'apercevoir qu'on Les a accoutumé a une sorte de  
liberté qui tend beaucoup à l'insubordination Et les mene jusqu'à

109

La vexation du commerce et à aviler leur caractere. Ce n'est  
pas faute de les avoir averty; Mais puis qu'il y en a qui ne  
veulent point m'entendre, Je me vois forcé de les rappeler avant  
L'échéance de leur tems, pour que ceux qui ont des dispositions à  
Se conduire de même Soient contenus par cet Exemple.

Je ne vois, Monseigneur rien de Si dur que le métier que je  
fais depuis que je Suis dans ce Pays, Il faut que j'y aie Sans  
cesse le glaive Levé, pour maintenir La Subordination et le bon

[*Translation*]

to regulate it, to fix each in its limits, and to prevent debauching  
the Indians, I have sent a circular of regulations which enjoins  
all the commandants to confiscate goods which are being traded  
secretly in their posts and to send to me the traders under good  
and sure guard. This regulation has produced a very good effect,  
and it is now a question of reducing to order the officers com-  
manding the posts because I have lately perceived that they have  
been accustomed to a sort of liberty which tends much to insub-  
ordination and leads even to hindering trade and to debasing their  
characters. It is not from want of having warned them, but since  
there are some who will not listen to me I see myself obliged to  
recall them before the end of their term in order that those who  
are disposed to act in the same way may be restrained by this  
example.

I know nothing, Monseigneur, so hard as the profession  
which I have followed since I have been in this country. It is  
necessary that I have my sword always lifted to maintain sub-

ordre dans tous les Etats. Quelqu'opposé que <sup>109v</sup> Soit mon  
caractere à un si penible journalier, Je Suis trop attaché à cette  
partie Si essentielle pour me relâcher Sur rien qui pût y donner  
La moindre atteinte et j'espere qu'avant peu je Seray à mon aise  
de ce côté Là.

Je suis avec un profond respect Monseigneur  
Votre très humble et très Obéissant Serviteur

DUQUESNE

A QUEBEC Le 26. 8bre 1753.

DUQUESNE TO ROUILLÉ, October 27, 1753

[A N Colonies C11A 99:39]

MONSEIGNEUR

De tous les Conseils Sauvages que j'ay tenu avec les nations  
qui Sont descendues des Pays d'enhaut pendant mon Séjour à  
Montréal, Je ne vois que ceux des Saulteux de Chag8amigon et  
des Miamis rebelles qui puissent <sup>39v</sup> mériter de vous être envoyés.

[*Translation*]

ordination and good order among all men. However opposite  
to my character such a painful profession may be, I am too much  
attached to this course which is too essential to allow myself to  
relax on anything which can give it the least hindrance, and I  
hope that soon I may be at my ease on this side.

I am with a profound respect, Monseigneur,  
Your very humble and very obedient servant,

DUQUESNE

QUEBEC, October 26, 1753

MONSEIGNEUR:

Of all the Indian councils which I have held with the tribes  
who have come down from the upcountry during my sojourn at  
Montreal, I perceive none but those of the Chippewa of Chequa-  
migon and of the rebel Miamis which are worthy of being sent  
you.

Vous verrés, Monseigneur dans le premier que la plus grande partie de cette nation s'est opposée qu'on m'amènât le Meurtrier que je leur avois fait demander Et que tous les Chefs qui sont attachés à la nation françoise Sont venus offrir Leurs Corps à sa place, Je leur ay répondu comme vous verrés encore, que je voulois être obéï sans délai le Printems prochain.

J'ay eu lieu d'etre Satisfait des Miamis qui ont choisi pour  
40

Leur harangueur Le sauvage de cette nation qui étoit le plus rebelle et le plus opinatre à frapper Sur Nous; Jls m'ont paru avoir beaucoup de repentir de s'être attiré la disgrace de leur Pere, et ils m'ont promis que par leur Soumission à Sa volonté, ils n'ensanglanteroient jamais La terre que par son ordre, J'ajoute foy Monseigneur à cette promesse autant qu'on peut en ajouter à celle d'un sauvage, puisque je sçais à n'en pouvoir douter qu'ils n'avoient nulle envie de venir à Montréal et que la peur qu'ils

ont eu que le détachement de Mr <sup>40v</sup> Marin ne tombât sur eux pour les détruire, les a porté à cette démarche.

[*Translation*]

You will see, Monseigneur, in the first that the greatest part of that tribe was opposed to bringing me the murderer whom I had demanded of them and that all the chiefs who are attached to the French nation came to offer their bodies in his place. I answered them, as you will see, that I wished to be obeyed without delay next spring.

I also had reason to be satisfied with the Miami who chose as their orator the Indian of the tribe who had been the most rebellious and the most set on attacking us. They appeared to me to repent much of having drawn on themselves the disfavor of their father. They promised me that in submission to his will they would never stain the earth with blood save on his order. I attach as much weight to this promise, Monseigneur, as one can attach to that of an Indian since I know beyond doubt that they had no desire to come to Montreal and that their fear lest the detachment of M. Marin should fall on them to destroy them led them to this step.

Les Saulteux de Missilimakinack n'ont pas été moins Susceptibles à la Terreur que les Miamis, à telle preuve que depuis deux ans qu'ils avoient tué un François, ils avoient opiniâtement refusé d'amener Les Meurtriers et je fus très surpris qu'à mon premier ordre, Je les vis arriver Liés et garrotés pour jettér Leurs Corps à ma disposition, Je puis vous dire avec Verité, Mon-

41

seigneur que je les menay de maniere à leur donner tout l'effroy de les faire Servir d'exemple; et en leur faisant grace, Je leur signifiai que je n'aurois recours à personne pour les détruire en entier, qu'ils ne devoient pas ignorer que je marchois sur les glaces et dans les Bois dans un tems pacifique, Et que ne ferois-je pas s'il S'agissoit d'aller châtier quelques uns des mes Enfants.

J'ay eu bien de la satisfaction, Monseigneur de voir trembler devant moy tous les sauvages qui sont descendus cette année, La

41v

plus grande partie ont rencontré nos Batteaux et Canots qui portoient des Troupes et des vivres, Et ils me disoient connoître

[*Translation*]

The Chippewa of Mackinac have not been less susceptible to alarm than the Miami; the proof is that for two years after they had killed a Frenchman, they had obstinately refused to bring the murderers, and I was much surprised that at my first order I saw them arrive, bound, and with ropes around their necks, to place their bodies at my disposal. I can truly tell you, Monseigneur, that I handled them in such a fashion as to give them all a fright lest I should make an example of them; and in pardoning them I signified to them that I would have recourse to no one else in destroying them utterly; they should not be ignorant that I walked on the ice and in the forests in time of peace, so what would I not do if it were a question of going to chastise some of my children?

I have had much satisfaction, Monseigneur, in seeing tremble before me all the Indians who came down this year. Most of them met our bateaux and canoes which carried troops and provisions, and they told me that they recognized my power since

ma puissance puisque les françois couvroient les Lacs et la riviere de façon qu'ils se tenoient tous par la main depuis la Presqu'isle jusqu'à Montréal, Je leur ay répondu froidement que n'étant occupé qu'à applanir Les Chemins et à procurer La paix et La tranquillité à mes Enfans, Je ne marchois en force que pour Ex-

terminer ceux qui seroient assés hardis pour s'opposer, à <sup>42</sup> ma volonté, Et que je recevrois favorablement ceux qui y Seroient soumis.

A moins de ne l'avoir vû Monseigneur on auroit peine à croire le prodigieux Effet que ce mouvement de troupe a occasionné sur tous Les Sauvages en général, ils sont devenus dit on d'une docilité à les meconnoitre, ce qui me prouve clairement la nécessité qu'il y avoit de Se montrer Sans avoir recours a Eux

Ayant été averty qu'à l'arrivée <sup>42v</sup> d'un nouveau Pere, il étoit d'usage que tous les sauvages venoient le voir, J'écrivis aux Commandants des Postes de ne permettre qu'aux Chefs de chaque nation de descendre Et qu'ils suffisoient pour représenter Les vil-

[*Translation*]

the French covered the lakes and the river in such fashion that they held each other by the hand from Presqu'Isle to Montreal. I replied to them coolly that being occupied only in making plain the paths and in procuring peace and tranquillity to my children I was marching with no more than enough force to exterminate those who might be bold enough to oppose my will and that I should receive favorably those who submit to it.

Without having seen it, Monseigneur, it would be difficult to believe the prodigious effect which this troop movement has had on all the Indians in general. They have become as one might say so docile as to be distrusted, which proves to me clearly the necessity of taking the field without having recourse to them.

Having been forewarned that at the arrival of a new father it was customary for all the Indians to come and see me, I wrote to the commandants of the posts to permit only the chiefs of each tribe to come down and that they would suffice to represent their

lages, mais inutilement ils y ont mis opposition, puisque leurs jeunes gens ont voulu suivre et qu'ils m'ont amené Leurs femmes Et leurs Enfans ; Cet empressement qui n'a d'autre bût que d'avoir les présens et les vivres accoutumés et qu'on ne peut s'empêcher

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de donner, coute immensément au Roy parce que dans cette premiere visite il faut donner extraordint.

Je crois cependant avoir beaucoup épargné par le peu de séjour qu'ils ont Fait à Montréal, comme j'ay déjà eu L'honneur de vous Le mander, et par quelques barils d'Eau de vie qui Les ont tellement eblouïs que je n'ay eu nulle plainte de ce que j'avois retranché Sur Les différens effets qu'on Leur donne.

43v

Feu M. Le Mis de la Jonquiere avoit promis beaucoup de médailles à de nouveaux Chefs de différentes nations, comme je n'en ay pas trouvé Suffisamment pour satisfaire à la promesse de ce Général, Je vous prie, Monseigneur de vouloir bien m'en envoyer vingt quatre des grandes et douze des petites afin de me débarrasser de ces importuns qui ne cessent de me désesperer.

[*Translation*]

villages ; but to no purpose ; they opposed this because their young men wished to follow, and they brought me their wives and their children. This eagerness which has no other end than to get the customary presents and provisions which one cannot avoid giving costs the king tremendously because in this first visit it is necessary to give to an extraordinary degree.

However I think I have saved a good deal from the short sojourn which they made at Montreal as I already had the honor to tell you, as well as by some barrels of brandy which so dazzled them that I had no complaints of what I had retrenched on the various goods that I had given them.

The late M. le Marquis de la Jonquière had promised many medals to new chiefs of the different tribes. Since I have not found enough here to satisfy the promises of that general, I beg you, Monseigneur, to be good enough to send me twenty-four of the large and twelve of the small to free me from these beggars who do not cease to make me despair.



Je ne suis point du tout d'avis qu'on les multiplie jusqu'à un  
certain point parce que cet <sup>44</sup> honorifique ne flatteroit pas tant  
Et j'y apporteray toute mon attention

Je suis avec un profond respect Monseigneur  
Votre tres humble et très obéissant serviteur

DUQUESNE

A QUEBEC Le 27e 8bre 1753.

DUQUESNE TO ROUILLÉ, October 31, 1753

[A N Colonies C11A 99:114]

MONSEIGNEUR

J'ai l'honneur de vous rendre compte de ce qui S'est passé  
d'interessant dans les Postes.

Dans le mois de Décembre dernier le Sr Villiers m'envoya  
deux Chevelures angloises que les Miamis rebelles avoient Levé  
pour donner des preuves de leur parfait retour à la volonté de

leur pere <sup>114v</sup> Onontio; Cette démarche paroissoit annoncer un  
sincere repentir de leur faute passée, Mais pendant l'hyver nombre

[*Translation*]

I am not at all of the opinion that medals should be multiplied  
beyond a certain point because then this badge of honor would not  
flatter them so much; I will give this all my attention.

I am with profound respect, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

DUQUESNE

QUEBEC, October 27, 1753

MONSEIGNEUR:

I have the honor of giving you an account of what of interest  
has happened in the posts.

December last the Sieur Villiers sent me two English scalps  
which the rebel Miamis had taken by way of proof of their com-  
plete return to the will of their Father Onontio. This proceeding  
would have seemed to indicate a sincere repentance of their past  
fault. However, during the winter a number of that tribe have

de cette nation n'ont pas hésité d'aller chez les Anglois qui étoient au bas de la Belle riviere, malgré Les précautions que le Sr de Villiers avoit pris pour les en empêcher, parcequ'ils étoient attirés par une bande de ces Sauvages qui n'avoit pas voulu revenir à leur Village et qui étoit Séduite par Les présens des Anglois.

Jl n'y a eu que le bruit de la marche du détachement qui les  
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a réuni à leur ancien feu et qui les a déterminé à descendre à Montréal pour me demander pardon et dont je vous envoie le Conseil par une autre dépêche.

J'ay appris par le Sr de Macarty qu'un des Batteaux que M. de Lignery avoit envoyé prendre des vivres pour Sa Garnison S'étant Séparé du convoi fut attaqué la nuit à douze lieues des Kaskakias par les Chicachas qui ont tué Sept hommes; Jl n'y en a eu qu'un qui se soit Sauvé; Ces Facheux evenemens n'arrivent

d'ordinaire dans ce Pays que par trop de Sécurité<sup>115v</sup> puisque ceux là étoient endormis et qu'ils n'avoient pas un seul homme en Garde, précaution qui les auroit mis à l'abry de cet assassinât.

[Translation]

not hesitated to go among the English who were on the lower part of the Ohio in spite of the precautions which the Sieur de Villiers had taken to prevent them, inasmuch as they were drawn there by a band of these Indians who had not wished to return to their village and who were seduced by the presents of the English.

It was only the rumor of the march of our detachment which brought them back to their old fire and which has decided them to come down to Montreal to ask my forgiveness; I am sending you the report of the council by another dispatch.

I have learned from the Sieur de Macarty that one of the boats which M. de Ligneris had sent to get provisions for his garrison having separated from the convoy was attacked at night twelve leagues from Kaskaskia by the Chickasaw who killed seven men. Only one escaped. These unfortunate events ordinarily happen in this country only from false security since these people were asleep and had not a single man on guard; had they had a sentinel these murders would have been prevented.

Les Kicapoux et Maskoutins du Poste des Syatanons, de leur propre mouvement ont été venger Ces morts, Et ils ont apporté quatre Chevelures et amené une Femme.

Je ne dois pas vous laisser ignorer Monseigneur que le Sr Macarti Commandant aux Illinois tient à son poste une conduite infame; ayant fixé Son commerce à l'Eau de vie seule qu'il tire

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de la Louïsiane et dont l'abondance infecte non Seulement les Sauvages mais même les françois; Ce commerce est d'autant plus pernicieux qu'on ne peut jamais être assuré de la tranquillité dans ces Cantons de la part des sauvages qui dans l'yvresse tuent impunément parcequ'ils en Sont quittes pour dire qu'ils n'avoient point desprit, d'ailleurs quand cette même yvresse est passée, Jls sçavent fort bien Se plaindre que L'on profite barbarement de leur foible puisquon les met tous nuds ainsi que leurs femmes

116v

et leurs Enfans; Ce qui met le comble à ce désordre c'est que les françois qui habitent ce poste Sont devenus aussi yvrognés que les Sauvages et à tel point qu'ils négligent totalement leurs

[*Translation*]

The Kickapoo and Mascoutens of the post of Ouiatanon of their own accord have been to avenge these deaths and have brought back four scalps and taken a woman prisoner.

I should not, Monseigneur, leave you ignorant of the fact that Sieur Macarty, commandant at the Illinois, pursues at his post an infamous line of conduct. He has limited his trade to brandy which he gets from Louisiana the abundance of which corrupts not only the Indians but even the French. This trade is the more pernicious in that you can never be sure of the tranquillity in those regions of the Indians who when drunk kill with impunity because it is enough for them to say that they had no sense. Moreover when this same drunkenness is past, they know very well how to complain that others profit in barbarous fashion from their weakness since it leaves them as well as their wives and children naked. What puts the capstone on this disorder is the fact that the French who inhabit this post have become as drunken as the Indians and to such a degree that they completely

cultures et qu'il y a lieu de craindre que cet endroit qui étoit jadis d'une très grande Ressource pour le Comestible ne puisse pas désormais Se suffire à luy même, Si vous ne vous pressés pas Monseigneur d'ordonner que Mr de Macarty, que l'on dit être plus yvrogne que les Sauvages soit relevé. Vous croirés Sans

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peine Monseigneur que les Officiers qui dépendent de ce Poste n'ont pas manqué de suivre l'exemple de ce Commandant quel-qu'odieux qu'il soit, puisqu'ils versent eux mêmes une coquille d'Eau de vie non seulement aux Sauvages mais même aux soldats dont il Se font mépriser au point qu'il y en a un qui a couché en jouë le Sr de Macarty.

J'ay en beaucoup de peine à engager des Voyageurs d'aller dans cette partie, parcequ'il y a non seulement à craindre de la part des Sauvages qui Sont toujours yvres, mais ils craignent encore les vexations et les retardemens que les differens Com-

117v

mandants des Illinois Leur font Essuyer, de façon que l'année dernière il y eut vingt Canots chargés de Pelleteries qui ne purent

[Translation]

neglect their farms, and there is reason to fear that that place which formerly was a great resource for foodstuffs may not henceforth be able to supply itself, at least, Monseigneur, if you do not hasten to give orders that M. de Macarty, who is said to be more drunk than the Indians, be relieved. You will easily believe, Monseigneur, that the officers attached to this post have not failed to follow the example of their commandant however disgusting it may be; indeed they themselves serve out drinks of brandy not merely to the Indians but even to the soldiers, who have come to despise them to the point that one of them has actually levelled his piece at the Sieur de Macarty.

I have had much difficulty in inducing *voyageurs* to go to that region because they not only have to fear the Indians who are always drunk but they fear also the vexations and delays that the different commandants in the Illinois make them undergo, so much so that last year there were twenty canoes loaded with

descendre parcequ'on leur avoit fait perdre la Saison des grandes Eaux ce qui a ruiné les Jnteressés et dégouté les Voyageurs d'y retourner.

J'ay tout lieu de croire que le Sr de Macarty et Ses subordonnés ayent dit n'être pas Sous mes ordres, La preuve en est Si claire par la conduite démesurée qu'ils tiennent que je vous

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en porte ma plainte. J'en aurois prevenu par Egard M. de Kerlerrec, Si je ne venois d'être tout recemment informé du désordre affreux qui regne aux Jllinois, Je feray Sçavoir à ce Gouverneur ainsi qu'au Sr de Macarty que je ne vous ay pas laissé ignorer ce qui se passe dans cette partie.

Le Sr de Lignery Commandant aux Syatanons me mande que le Grosbled Chef Peanguichias a envoyé un Collier aux nations de son Poste pour le recevoir et sa Bande dans leur Village et interceder auprès de leur Pere pour obtenir le pardon de leur Faute.

[*Translation*]

peltry that could not come down because they had been made to miss the season of high waters which has ruined those who had invested in them and has taken away from the *voyageurs* the desire of returning there.

I have every reason to believe that the Sieur de Macarty and his subordinates have said that they were not under my orders. The proof of it is so clear from the outrageous conduct which they pursue that I am making formal complaint of it to you. I would have given M. de Kerlérec advance notice if I had not been quite recently informed of the frightful disorder which reigns in the Illinois. I will let that governor as well as the Sieur de Macarty know that I have not left you in ignorance of what has happened in that region.

The Sieur de Ligneris, commandant at Ouiatanon, informs me that Le Gros Bled, the Piankashaw chief, had sent a belt to the tribes of that post to be received with his band into their village and to have intercession made with their father to get pardon for his fault.

118v

Cet Officier leur a répondu qu'il ne pouvoit y consentir Sans mon ordre ; En conséquence je luy ai mandé, de faire en sorte de porter les Chefs à attendre le Sr Péan à son passage au Poste Vincennes parcequ'il étoit chargé de mes ordres qui sont, que si ils viennent à récepissance en luy Offrant les Meurtriers de leur Faire grace, et de me les amener s'il n'y trouve pas de difficultés insurmontables vû que tous ces Sauvages Sont en Chasse et qu'il

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ne seroit pas possible de les atteindre et de les réduire par la force, éparpillés comme ils Sont dans les bois. JI auroit été à désirer, Monseigneur que les armes du Roy eussent Fait effusion de Sang Sur cette nation rebelle, pour servir d'exemple aux autres, Mais je regarde comme si difficile de Surprendre des Sauvages qui ont Lieu de se méfier, que je n'ose me flatter du succès de l'ordre que j'ay donné pour les Péanguichias ; d'ailleurs Le dé-

119v

tachement est Si fort épuisé par les portages, qu'il manqueroit peut être de vigueur pour courir dans les bois après cette nation ;

[*Translation*]

This officer has answered them that he could not assent to it without my order. Consequently I have directed him so to act as to bring the chiefs to await the Sieur Péan on his journey to Post Vincennes because he was the bearer of my orders which are that if they come to acknowledge their fault and offer him the murderers that he is to pardon them and bring them to me unless he finds the difficulties insurmountable ; inasmuch as all these Indians are hunting there, it would not be possible to overtake them and reduce them by force, scattered through the woods as they are. It would have been to be desired, Monseigneur, that the arms of the king should have shed blood from that rebel tribe to serve as an example to the others. But I regard it as so difficult to surprise Indians who have reason to be distrustful that I do not dare flatter myself as to the success of the order that I have given so to deal with the Piankashaw. Furthermore, the detachment is so far exhausted by the portages that the men would not have the strength to chase this tribe in the forests. However in

Je m'en raporte cependant beaucoup aux ressources que je connois au Sr Péan à qui cette partie essentielle est extrêmement recommandée, Soit pour Guerroyer s'il trouve Ses avantages, Soit encore pour un accommodement qui puisse faire respecter les armes de sa Majesté.

J'enjoins à ce Commandant que s'il y avoit quelque coup de main à donner pendant Son hyvernement, il s'y porteroit avec Sa troupe à condition que son retour à Montréal n'en Seroit point

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retardé; car ce seroit constituer le Roy dans des dépenses très considérables, par raport à la Cherté des vivres aux Jllinois, que d'exposer cette troupe à un Second hyvernement.

Je joins icy le journal du Sr de St Pierre qui est arrivé de la Mer du Ouest par lequel vous verrés les difficultés qu'il a rencontré pour L'empêcher de pousser plus loin La découverte dont il étoit chargé.

Le Sr de Celoron me mande du Détroit que les hurons Sont revenus à leur Village et qu'ils vont en guerre sur les Nations des

[*Translation*]

this I rely much on the resources which I know the Sieur Péan has, to whom I have especially recommended that essential course either to make war upon them if he sees an opportunity or to come to an understanding with them which may make His Majesty's arms respected.

I direct that commandant that if any sudden attack is to be made during his wintering, he and his troops are to take part in it on condition that his return to Montreal shall not be delayed. That would be to put the king to very considerable expenses considering the high price of provisions in the Illinois and the danger of subjecting that detachment to spending a second winter in the interior.

I annex here the journal of the Sieur de St. Pierre, who has arrived from the Sea of the West, by which you will see the difficulties he has encountered which prevent him from pushing farther the explorations with which he was charged.

The Sieur de Céloron informs me from Detroit that the Huron have returned to their village and that they are sending



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Chicachas et Tetesplâtes ainsi que les Sauteurs et les Sta8as de ce Poste et il n'en conte au Roy que de la poudre et des Balles pour amuser ces Sauvages.

Tout est tranquile dans les Postes du Nord depuis que les Cristinaux ont Fait la paix avec les Scioux Sur lesquels ils avoient été en guerre Et que le Sr Marin fils Commandant à la Baye à fait rendre aux Jllinois quatre Femmes que les Renards détenoient prisonnieres pour preliminaires de la paix qu'ils ont conclu depuis.

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La Mission de Mr L'Abbé Piquet réussit au mieux, On doit L'Attribuer aux talens de ce Missionre pour humaniser et manier Le Sauvage à sa volonté.

Tous nos domiciliés Sont bien tranquiles et me témoignent beaucoup de soumission, Mais il n'y en a pas eu un seul qui ait resté avec le détachement de Mr Marin, Et ils luy ont donné pour raison qu'ils s'ennuyoient et qu'ils vouloient retourner à leur Village, ce Commandt qui les connoît d'après nature, m'a marqué

[Translation]

war parties against the tribes of the Chickasaw and Flatheads; so also are the Chippewa and the Ottawa in that post, and it will cost the king nothing but the powder and bullets to keep these Indians busy.

Everything is quiet in the northern posts since the Cree have made peace with the Sioux with whom they had been at war, and since the *Sieur Marin, fils*, commandant at Green Bay, has had given back to the Illinois four women whom the Foxes were keeping prisoners as a preliminary to the peace which has since been concluded.

The mission of M. l'Abbé Picquet succeeds admirably. This is to be attributed to the talent of that missionary in civilizing the Indians and molding them to his ends.

All of our domiciled Indians are very quiet and evidence to me a great deal of submissiveness. But not one of them has remained with the detachment of M. Marin. They gave him as a reason that they were weary of the expedition and wished to go back to their village. This commandant, who knows them like

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que c'étoit autant de débarrassé et qu'il n'en avoit pas besoin ;  
Lorsqu'ils Sont venus Pour Se présenter à moy, Je leur ay fait  
dire que s'ils n'avoient pas des Lettres de Mr Marin, je les  
regardois comme déserteurs Et que je ne voulois pas les voir ; Jls  
ont retourné avec leur courte honte dans leur Village, et ils me  
font demander chaque jour un pardon que je ne Leur accorderay  
pas de sitost.

.....

KERLÉREC TO ROUILLÉ, March 28, 1754

[A N Colonies C13A 38:47]

MONSEIGNEUR

.....

47v . . .

Je vous observe icy, monseigneur, au Sujet des ilinois que  
Suivant les dernieres nouvelles que J'ay Eu de M. de makarty qui  
y Commande, En datte Du 10. Xbre dernier, il m'apprend que deux  
Sauvages anniers, luy ont raporté que le Détachement de Canada

[*Translation*]

life, has informed me that it was good riddance and that he had  
no need of them. When they came to present themselves to me  
I had them told that if they had no letters from M. Marin, I  
should regard them as deserters and would not wish to see them.  
They have returned to their village with their tails between their  
legs, and every day they come to ask me for forgiveness which I  
will not give them in a hurry.

.....

MONSEIGNEUR:

.....

I observe to you, Monseigneur, on the subject of the Illinois  
that by the last news which I have received from M. de Macarty,  
who commands there, under date of December 10 last he informs  
me that two Mohawk Indians have reported to him that the de-

Commandé par M. marin avoit Etably deux forts, l'un Sur la presque isle qui donne au lac Queriez, Et lautre a la riviere au beuf, a lembouchure de laquelle il y avoit des anglois qui ont fait tout leur possible pour faire Echoir Cet Etablissement, En Suscitant les nations quilz accabloint de presents pour les Enguager a fraper. il me mande aussy avoir reçu une letre du 16. 8bre des Sr péan commandant la partie de Cette armadille qui devoit hyverner aux ilinois il luy Ecrit de la riviere au beuf Et luy marque quilz Sont totalement arresté par le manque deau Et quil Se trouve forcé de relacher au montreal Jusquau printems, il adjoutte que le portage de 6 lieues Estoit fait, Et quil Esperoit que m. Duquesne profiteroit de cette avance Et feroit de nouveaux

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Efforts au printems Suivant voyla tout Ceque Cet officier me mande d'interessant Et que d'ailleurs les nations domiciliées Sont aces tranquiles

[Translation]

tachment from Canada commanded by M. Marin had established two forts, one at Presqu'Isle on Lake Erie and the other at river aux Boeufs at the mouth of which there were English who did everything in their power to cause that establishment to fail by stirring up the tribes whom they overwhelmed with presents to induce them to attack. He also informs me he had received a letter of October 16 from the Sieur Péan, commanding the part of this armada which was to winter in the Illinois. He wrote him from river aux Boeufs and informed him that they are completely checked by the lack of water and that he is forced to go back to Montreal until spring. He adds that the portage of six leagues was made and that he hoped that M. Duquesne would profit by this advance and would make new efforts next spring. This is all that officer tells me that is of interest; he also reports that the domiciled tribes are reasonably quiet.

ROUILLÉ TO COLOM, April 12, 1754

[A N Colonies B100:48v]

A M. Colom.

J'ai M. examiné vostre membre sur le comce de La Louise. Je ne puis vous procurer ni le privilege exclusif des mines de plomb des Illinois, ni la concession de l'Isle au Vau.<sup>1</sup> Mais d'ailleurs je vous donnerai toutes les facilites et tous les secours praticables pour l'exon du projet que vous aves formé pour ce comce, pourvû que vous le bornies à des objets permis et legitemes.

Je suis, M. tout à vous.

TRADE AGREEMENT, May, 1754

[A N Colonies C13A 38:260]

Le Marquis Duquesne chevalier de lordre Royal et Militaire de St Louis, capitaine des Vaisseaux de Sa Majeste, Gouverneur et Lieutenant general pour le Roy en toute la Nouvelle france, terres et paÿs de La Louisiane

[*Translation*]

To M. Colom

I have, Monsieur, examined your memoir on the commerce of Louisiana. I can procure you neither the exclusive privilege of the Illinois lead mines nor the concession of Ship Island.<sup>1</sup> But otherwise I will give you all the facilities and all the help practicable for the execution of the plan you have formed for this trade provided you limit yourself to legitimate and permissible subjects.

I am, Monsieur, entirely yours.

The Marquis Duquesne, Chevalier of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, captain of the ships of His Majesty, governor and lieutenant general for the king in all of New France and the lands and country of Louisiana.

<sup>1</sup> The present Ship Island on the Gulf coast is doubtless meant.

Il Est Permis au Sr Moniere<sup>1</sup> fermier des Illinois, de faire partir de cette Ville, sous la conduite du Sr La pointe<sup>2</sup> son représentant Un cannot Equipé de sept hommés, dont il nous a donné les noms et demeures pour se Rendre au fort Vincennes, et d Embarquer dans le dit canot les marchandises pour la traite au dit poste, avec les Vivres et provisions necessaires pour la subsistance de ses Engages pendant le voyage. Deffendons au Sr Monniere et a ses Engagés de faire aucune traite ou commerce avec les français Voyageurs, sauvages ny autres ailleurs qu'au dit poste, ses dependances, dont ses Limittes seront du costè des hyatannons a la terre haute; qu aux autres Costes; Celles ordinaires des Illinois.

Permettons cependant au Sr Moniere ou son représentant de

[Translation]

It is hereby permitted to the Sieur Monière,<sup>1</sup> farmer of the Illinois posts, to dispatch from this city under the conduct of the Sieur Lapointe,<sup>2</sup> his representative, a canoe manned by seven men whose names and dwellings he has given us to go to Vincennes and to load in the said canoe the goods for the trade of that post with the victuals and provisions necessary for the subsistence of his *engagés* during the voyage. We forbid the Sieur Monière and his *engagés* to carry on any trade or commerce with the French *voyageurs* or the Indians or others except at the said post and its dependencies whose boundary shall be on the side of Ouiatanon at Terre Haute and on the other side the customary boundary of the Illinois.

However we permit the Sieur Monière or his representative

<sup>1</sup> Probably Alexis Lemoine Monière, who was active in the western trade. From 1749 to 1757 he engaged a number of men to trade at the posts of Mackinac, Detroit, and the Illinois. *L'Archiviste . . . de Québec pour 1930-1931*, 386; *1931-1932*, 250, 251, 252, 253, 255, 256, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 268, 288, 318, 358. April 4, 1747 Lemoine Monière and Jean Lechelle disposed of their grant at Green Bay. Chicago Historical Society, Schmidt Collection, 2:251.

<sup>2</sup> Pierre Lapointe was engaged by Monière to go to Illinois in April 1755. *L'Archiviste . . . de Québec pour 1931-1932*, 301. He may be the Pierre la Pointe born in 1725 [Tanguay, *Dictionnaire*, 5:155; 2:76] and the Pierre Lapointe of Longueuil engaged June 8, 1750 for Detroit. *L'Archiviste . . . de Québec pour 1922-1923*, 248.

traiter au detroit par ou il passera; les Vivres, Canots, pirogues et autres fournitures a luy Necessaires, tant pour se rendre a son poste que pour en revenir; comme aussy sera Loisible au Sr Moniere ou son représentant en passant au detroit pour faciliter les habitans du lieu y commercer et prendre en payement ce quil pensera convenable

Ordonnons aux commandans des postes ou passera le Sr Moniere ou son representant le laisser convertir en autant, et laisser passer la quantité de canots que le dit Moniere ou son representant declarera necessaire pour le transport a son poste, des effets quil aura avec luy comme aussy le laisser passer a partir des differens postes avec ses hommes et Effets, a la premiere demande, tant pour se Rendre a son poste que pour en Revenir

Deffendons a tous commandans de donner aucune permission n'y laisser partir aucuns français, voyageurs, traiteurs ou autres pour le dit poste des illinois et fort Vincennes, que ceux avec lesquels le dit Monniere ou son représentant se sera arrangé pour l'exploitation d'y celuy

[*Translation*]

to trade at Detroit, by which he will pass, for the provisions, canoes, pirogues, and other supplies necessary for him both to go to his post and to return from it. It shall also be permitted to the Sieur Monière or his representative in passing Detroit to trade for the convenience of the inhabitants of that place and to take in payment what he thinks proper.

We order the commandants of the posts where the Sieur Monière or his representative will pass to let him trade thus far and to let pass the number of canoes which the said Monière or his representative shall declare necessary for transporting to his post all the goods which he shall have with him as also to let him leave the different posts with his men and goods at the first request both going to his post and returning from it.

We forbid all commandants to give any licenses or to let any French *voyageurs*, traders, or others depart for the said post of the Illinois or Vincennes except those with whom the said Monière or his representative shall have arranged for the ex-

Sera permis au Sr Moniere ou son representant, du moment de son arrivéé a son poste, de faire les envoys necessaires pour  
 260v  
 la traite par tout et quand bon luy semblera, dans les dependances, limittes du dit Poste

Enjoignons au commandant du dit poste du fort Vincennes et autres de laisser Joüir sans interruption le dit Sr Moniere ou son representant en seul du dit poste et ses dependances declarant par ces presentes, pour Coureurs de bois les contrevenans au present, lesquels sur la declaration du dit Sr Moniere ou son representant seront par le Commandant du poste ou il la fera poursuivy comme tel.

Enjoignons aussy aux engagés du Sr Monniere d'avoir chacuns leur fusils tant en allant qu'en revenant sans qu'ils puissent s'en défaire en les traittans aux sauvages n'y autrement a peine de trois mois de prison.

Sera tenu le dit Sr Monniere de faire Viser ces presentes

[Translation]

exploitation of that post. It shall be permitted to the Sieur Monière or his representative from the moment of his arrival at his post to make the necessary dispatches of goods for the trade everywhere and when it seems good to him in the dependencies and limits of the said post.

We enjoin on the commandant of the said post of Vincennes and others to let the said Sieur Monière or his representative enjoy it and its dependencies solely and without interruption. By these presents we declare those who disregard them to be *coureurs de bois* who on the declaration of the said Sieur Monière or his representative shall be dealt with as such by the commandant of the post where he shall be.

We also enjoin on the *engagés* of the Sieur Monière to have each of them a gun, both in going and returning, without parting with them by trading them to the Indians or otherwise under penalty of three months in prison.

The Sieur Monière shall be bound to have these presents



par Mr L'intendant s'il est en cette ville et de les faire enregistrer au greffe de la Jurisdiction Royale de Montreal avant son depart

Permettons aux dits engagés d'embarquer dans le dit canot la quantité de quatre pots d'eau de vie par homme, laquelle servira pour leur usage seulement, tant en allant qu'en revenant, sans qu'ils en puissent traiter aux sauvages sous quelque pretexte que ce soit, leur ordonnons d'estre de Retour en cette ville dans le tems stipulé par leurs engagements sous quelques pretextes que ce soit ;

Leur ordonnons destre de Retour en cette ville dans le tems stipulé par leurs engagements sous les peines portees par les ordonnances de Sa Majesté contre les Coureurs de bois Sans congé Ny permission, et a cet effet le dit Sr Moniere ou son representant fera sa déclaration aux commandans des postes ou il passera de ceux qui pourroient avoir desertes, fait a MONTREAL le 6. may 1754.

est signé DUQUESNE,

Et plus bas est ecrit la presente permission ou Congé est

[Translation]

viséed by M. the intendant if he is in this city and to have them registered by the registrar of the royal jurisdiction of Montreal before his departure.

We permit the said *engagés* to load in the said canoes the quantity of four pots of brandy per man which shall be for their use only, both in going and returning, without allowing them to trade in brandy with the Indians under any pretext whatsoever.

We order them to return to this city within the time stipulated by their engagements without any excuse whatever under the penalties implied by His Majesty's ordinances against *coureurs de bois* without *congé* or permission; and to this end the said Sieur Moniere or his representative will make his declaration to the commandants of the posts where he passes concerning those who may have deserted.

Done at MONTREAL, May 6, 1754

Signed: DUQUESNE

And farther down is written: the present permission or

enregistré es registres de la jurisdiction Royale de Montreal par le greffier en y celuy, ce jourdhuy 7. May 1754.

signés DEURÉ DE BLANZIY,

Veu Dessordy et ensuite Cabanac, Et plus Bas par Monseigneur

Signé MEREL,

pour Copie conforme a l'original

C.C.

KERLÉREC TO ROUILLÉ, June 21, 1754

[A N Colonies C13A 38:65]

MONSEIGNEUR

Permettés moy de Vous presenter M. de Nayon de Villiers Capitaine dans les troupes au Service de cette colonnie. L'alliance qu'il a aujourduy avec moy, ayant epousé Melle Dubot Soeur de Mde de Kerlerrec, m'impose un Silence qui me Coute Sur tout Le bien que j'ay a Dire de cet officier. Le Consentement que j'ay donné a ce mariage, peut Vous prouver aisément tout le merite

[*Translation*]

license is registered in the registers of the royal jurisdiction of Montreal by the registrar, today, May 7, 1754.

Signed: DANRÉ DE BLANZY

Attested Dessordy and then Cabanac, and lower down by Monseigneur

Signed: MEREL

A true copy conforming to the original

C.C.

MONSEIGNEUR:

Permit me to present to you M. de Neyon de Villiers, captain in the troops in the service of this colony. The relationship which he now has with me, having married Mlle du Bot, sister of Mme de Kerléréc, imposes on me a silence which is costly to all the good things which I have to say of that officer. The consent that I have given to that marriage can easily prove to you all the

65v

personnel que je luy Connois ; et ce ne Sera jamais qu'a ce titre que je vous demanderay Votre protection pour luy. je ne dois Cependant pas vous laisser ignorer, qu'il a beaucoup de talens pour Conduire les Sauvages dont il est fort aimé, et S'il ne m'étoit pas aujourduy allié de Si prés, je ne hesiteray pas a vous dire qu'il Seroit très propre a Commander aux illinois ; nul interest, autre que le bien du Service et ma propre tranquillite, ne me fait vous parler ainsi. et Son age ne doit point arreter Sur cet objet M. Le Duc de Luxembourg<sup>1</sup> Luy accorde Sa protection et Ses bontés ; Je Suis avec un profond respect Monseigneur.

Votre très humble et très obeissant Serviteur

KERLEREC

A LA NELLE ORLEANS le. 21. juin 1754.

[*Translation*]

personal merit that I recognize in him. And it will only be on that head that I shall ask your protection for him. I should not leave you in ignorance that he has much talent for handling the Indians by whom he is much loved, and if he were not today so closely allied to me, I should not hesitate to say to you that he would be very fit to command at the Illinois. No interest other than the good of the service and my own ease would make me speak to you thus. His age should prove no bar on this matter. M. le Duc de Luxembourg<sup>1</sup> accords him his protection and his favors.

I am with a profound respect, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

KERLÉREC

NEW ORLEANS, June 21, 1754

<sup>1</sup> Charles François-Frédéric de Montmorency, Duc de Luxembourg, 1702-1764.

KERLÉREC TO ROUILLÉ, June 21, 1754

[A N Colonies C13A 38:68]

MONSEIGNEUR

J'adresse a M. de Magnemara lieutenant general, et Commandant a Rochefort, un petit paquet, que je le prie de Vous faire passer par la premiere occasion qui Se presentera ;

Vous y trouverés, Monseigneur, du Mineral de Cuivre, d'une mine que le Sr De gruis a decouvert aux illinois, et qu'il exploite, on ne peut pas plus lentement par le peu de force qu'il â, qui consiste je crois dans un Seul negre: Vous y trouverés aussi deux echantillons de cuivre fondû et epuré, qui me paroît beau. Cet

officier m'assure qu'il en tire 12. et  $\frac{1}{2}$  P. %, et <sup>68v</sup> M. de Makarti me le Certifie aussi l'épreuve en ayant été faite en Sa presence. Le P. Deguiene Jesuite, et autres Missionnaires, les Srs de Neyon et Saucier, étoient aussi presens a la ditte epreuve.

Le Sr Degruis demanderoit un privilege exclusif pour l'exploitation de cette Mine; mais il Souhaiteroit en meme tems, que le Roy Luy fit L'avance de quelques Negres, qu'il auroit

[Translation]

MONSEIGNEUR:

I am addressing to M. de Macnamara, lieutenant general and commandant at Rochefort, a little packet which I beg him to have forwarded to you by the first occasion which presents itself.

You will find in it, Monseigneur, copper ore from the mine which the Sieur de Gruis has discovered in the Illinois and which he is exploiting; he could not do it more slowly than he does on account of the shortage of his labor which consists I believe of one negro. You will also find two samples of copper extracted and purified which seem to me to be good. That officer assures me that it assays  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent and M. de Macarty assures me of the same, the assays having been made in his presence. Father de Guyenne, the Jesuit, and the other missionaries, with the Sieurs de Neyon and Saucier were also present at the assay in question.

The Sieur de Gruis is asking an exclusive privilege for the exploitation of this mine; but he hopes at the same time that the king will advance him some negroes for which he will soon pay,

bientôt payé, en Se mettant par luy meme, en etat D'en acheter D'autres.

Vous aurés pour agreable, Monseigneur, de faire Sur cet objet les reflexions que vous jugerés Convenables, et je Seray fort aise d'en faire part a cet officier.

Je Suis avec un profond respect Monseigneur

Votre très humble et très obeissant Serviteur.

KERLÉREC.

A LA NELLE ORLEANS. le 21. juin 1754.

KERLÉREC TO ROUILLÉ, June 23, 1754

[A N Colonies C13A 38:79]

MONSEIGNEUR

par les deux lettres du 10. et du 16. Xbre 1753. que m'ecrit Mr de Maccarty commandant aux Illinois, il me rend compte que conformement aux ordres. qui luy ont été adressés en commun avec le Sr Buchet Commissaire au dit poste par Mrs Duquesne Gouverneur et Bigotte intendant du Canada, de faire un aprovi-

[*Translation*]

putting himself in a situation to buy others.

You will be good enough, Monseigneur, to offer the reflections on this subject that you judge proper, and I shall be very glad to communicate them to that officer.

I am with a profound respect, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

KERLÉREC

NEW ORLEANS, June 21, 1754.

MONSEIGNEUR:

By the two letters of the tenth and sixteenth of December, 1753 which M. de Macarty, commandant of the Illinois, wrote me, he gives me an account of his action conformably to the orders addressed to him in common with the Sieur Buchet, commissary at the said post, by MM. Duquesne, governor, and Bigot, intendant of Canada, to provide a supply of provisions of all sorts

sionnement de vivres de toute espece pour la subsistance du detachement de 3000. hommes, qui devoient partir de canada dans le primptems de 1753. pour venir se fortifier sur la belle riviere, ouabache et a la riviere à la Roche ; aux fins d'appaiser les troubles qui regnent depuis longtems dans ces continents ; ils ont mis en Execution les dits ordres ainsy qu'une autre lettre commune par laquelle il leur est ordonné de faire partir le dit approvisionnement le 1er de 7bre de la meme année et dans aucun delay sous la conduite d'un fort détachement, lequel à été composé de 100 hommes  
79v

de troupes commandé par le sieur Demasiliere capitaine, de Portneuf et la perliere<sup>1</sup> Lieutenans Boulanger,<sup>2</sup> desroches et Verderinne enseignes.

Les instructions du Sr Desmasilieres estoient de marcher Jusques a ce quil trouva l'armée commandée par Mr Marain, auquel il avoit ordre de livrer les Vivres ; ne l ayant point trouvé il s'est comporté comme il suit.

[Translation]

for the subsistence of a detachment of three thousand men which was to leave Canada in the spring of 1753 to come and fortify itself on the Ohio, Wabash, and Great Miami rivers, with a view to appeasing the disorders which have reigned in those regions for a long time. They executed the said orders as well as those of another joint letter by which they were ordered to send off the said supply September 1 of the same year and without any delay under the escort of a strong detachment which was composed of one hundred men of the troops commanded by the Sieur des Mazellieres, captain, De Portneuf and La Perlière,<sup>1</sup> lieutenants, Boulanger,<sup>2</sup> De Roche, and Verderinne, ensigns.

The instructions of the Sieur des Mazellieres were to advance until he came on the army commanded by M. Marin, to whom he had orders to deliver the provisions. Not having found him he acted as follows :

<sup>1</sup> Ensign *en second*, October 1, 1740 ; *en pied*, June 1, 1746 : lieutenant, October 15, 1752. A N Colonies D2C4.

<sup>2</sup> Lieutenant of grenadiers in the Battalion of Péronne. Ensign in Louisiana, October 1, 1750. A N Colonies D2C4.

ayant entré dans le Ouabache et gaigné l'entrée de la belle riviere, il l'a remontée pendant 90. Lieux; mais ne pouvant la monter plus haut faute d'eau et arrêté par une cascade ou chute d'environ quinze pieds, il prit le party d'envoyer par terre le Sr Portneuf et quelques soldats avec ordre de suivre la Riviere pour decouvrir sil étoit possible la ditte armée. Le Sr Portneuf se perdit pendant 3 ou 4 jours dans les proffondeurs par lignorance de son guide, mais ayant rejoint la riviere il fit encore 3. jours de marche qui le conduisirent au village des Chaouanons. ou il vit plusieurs traiteurs anglois, et plusieurs de nos soldats deserteurs dont quelques uns y ont pris femme.

La Veille de son arrivee au dit Village étoient arrivés deux sauvages Loups, ou auniers qui rendirent compte aux chaouannons

80

de la position du detachment de canada, ils leur dirent aussy qu'une partie setoit etablie et retranchée sur la presque île du lac heriesse une autre a la riviere aux boeufs et que le reste commandé par le Sr Peant avoit retourné en canada

[*Translation*]

Having entered the Wabash and gained the entrance to the Ohio River he ascended it for about ninety leagues without being able to ascend it higher for want of water, and being stopped by a cascade or fall of about fifteen feet he took the decision of sending by land the Sieur Portneuf and some soldiers with orders to follow the river to discover the said army if it were possible. The Sieur Portneuf lost himself for three or four days in the depths of the forest through the ignorance of his guide, but having reached the river again he marched three days more, which brought him to the Shawnee village, where he saw several English traders and several of our soldiers who have deserted, some of whom have taken wives.

On the eve of his arrival at the said village two Delaware Indians, or Mohawk, arrived who gave the Shawnee an account of the position of the detachment from Canada. They told them also that a party was established and entrenched at Presqu'Isle on Lake Erie, another at the river aux Boeufs, and that the remainder, commanded by the Sieur Péan, had returned to Canada.



Les chaouannons n'ayant jamais frappé sur le français que lorsque quils se sont trouvés confondus dans des partis de leurs ennemis; le chef et quelques considerés du village firent dire au Sr de Portneuf quils luy conseilloyent de partir tout de suite, luy ajoutant que leurs jeunes gens commençoient a perdre l'esprit et quils avoient envie de le tuer, ce qui obligea le Sr de portneuf de se retirer dans la Nuit meme.

le Sr Desmazillieres auquel on avoit donné que deux mois de vivres suivant les ordres de Mr Duquesne; n'apprennant aucunes Nouvelles du Sr de Portneuf n'y de l'armée; et venant de perdre dix hommes par desertion, menacé d'ailleurs de n'en pas conserver un prit le party de faire un antourage de pieux debout et fit une cache de tous les vivres quil couvrit avec des prelat; apres quoy il reprit la Route des illinois ou il se rendit le 19. de 9bre dernier et le Sr portneuf quelques jours après.

80v

Le Rapport de ces deux sauvages, que lon appelle loup ou anniers dont jay parlé cy dessus fut confirmé par une lettre du

[*Translation*]

The Shawnee not having attacked the French save when they were found in parties of their enemies, the chief and some of the important men of the village told the Sieur de Portneuf that they would advise him to leave immediately, adding to him that their young men began to lose their understanding and wished to kill him, which obliged the Sieur de Portneuf to leave that same night.

The Sieur des Mazellieres, to whom but two months' provisions had been given following the orders of M. Duquesne, not hearing any news of the Sieur de Portneuf nor of the army and having lost ten men by desertion and being threatened with not being able to keep one, took the decision of making an inclosure of upright pickets for a cache of all the provisions which he covered with canvas; after which he returned to the Illinois, where he arrived the nineteenth of November last and the Sieur Portneuf some days afterward.

The report of these two Indians who are called Delaware or Mohawk, of whom I spoke above, was confirmed by a letter of

Sr Peant d'attee du 16. 8bre et reçu le 4. de xbre, par laquelle il marque a Mr de Maccarty quils sont arrestés faute d'eau et quils avoient usés les dessous de leurs pirogues a force de les traîner sur le sable; il luy ajoute aussy quils ont fait un portage de six lieux de tous les ustancils necessaires pour leur expedition.

Je reviens Monseigneur, a cette cache de Vivres que je trouve bien avanturée, et jestime que le Sr De Maccarty devoit donner ordre au sieur de maziliere de rapporter les dits Vivres au cas quil n'eut eu aucunes Nouvelles de l'armadille de Canada; ou quil n'eut pû luy faire passer un courier pour luy designer cette cache; et sy le Sr Demazilliere avoit été plus seur de son monde il n'auroit pas été excusable de ny avoir pas laissé un bon detachment commandé par deux ou trois officiers, après toute fois les avoir instalés, cabannés et fortifiés.

cette depense ne laissera pas que de couter beaucoup et je crains fort quelle ne devienne en pure perte pour le Roy. Soit par les pluyes, ou la decouverte qu'en peuvent faire quelque

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party sauvage ou meme les bestes feroces.

[*Translation*]

the Sieur Péan dated October 16 and received December 4 by which he indicated to M. de Macarty that they were checked for want of water and that they had ruined the bottoms of their pirogues from dragging them over the sand. He added to him also that they made a portage of six leagues of all the necessary equipment for their expedition.

I return, Monseigneur, to this cache of provisions which I find quite a risk, and I judge that the Sieur de Macarty ought to give order to the Sieur des Mazellières to bring back the said provisions in case there were no news from the armada of Canada or in case he cannot send a courier to carry information of this cache. If the Sieur des Mazellières had been surer of his people, he would not have been excusable for not having left a good detachment commanded by two or three officers after having established them with cabins and fortifications.

This outlay will not fail to cost much, and I fear much lest it may be a sheer loss for the king whether by the rain or by some Indian party or even the wild beasts discovering the cache.

Je ne puis en meme tems excuser la negligence du Sr Marain, qui sachant les ordres donnés a l'avance a Mr de Maccarty par Messieurs Duquesne et Bigotte pour faire partir le dit convoi le 1er de 7bre n'a pas donné le moindre avis a ce commandant des illinois de l'impossibilité ou il se trouvoit de proffiter de cet approvisionnement. Rien ne le justifie selon moy de n'avoir pas depesché a vis sur avis pour prevenir de sa position puisque le deffaut d'eau qui la empesché de poursuivre sa Route rendoit les prairies et les chemins praticables pour tous exprés quil auroit dû depescher tous les quinze jours pour instruire de sa marche et de sa situation, et de toute l impossibilité ou il se-trouvoit de recevoir les vivres preparés. Voila des fautes selon moy peu pardonnables tres prejudiciables aux interets du Roy, qui ont epuisés les illinois et facilité la desertion de la part des soldats qui ont eté deposer cette cache, enfin d autres inconveniens que l'on auroit prevus par des avis certains qui auroient mis Mr de Mac-carty dans le cas de diriger ses operations avec sureté

[*Translation*]

I cannot at the same time excuse the negligence of the Sieur Marin, who, knowing the orders given in advance to M. de Macarty by Messieurs Duquesne and Bigot to send off the said convoy the first of September, did not give the least information to that commandant at the Illinois of the impossibility in which he was of profiting by this supply. Nothing justifies him according to me for not having dispatched one message after another to indicate his position since the lack of water which prevented him from continuing his march rendered the prairies and the trails practicable for any express; he might have dispatched one every two weeks to give information of his march and of his situation and of the entire impossibility in which he found himself of receiving the provisions prepared for him. Here according to my mind are faults not to be pardoned and very prejudicial to the interests of the king which have exhausted the Illinois and facilitated desertion on the part of the soldiers who went to make that cache as well as other inconveniences which would have been forestalled by exact information which would have enabled M. de Macarty to direct his operations with assurance.

Je viens cependant d'apprendre par voie indirecte toute fois  
 81v  
 que le Sr portneuf rénvoyé par Mr De Maccarty pour visiter  
 la ditte cache la trouvéé en bon etat, mais cela meritte confirma-  
 tion et quand il en seroit ainsy je ne doute pas qu'on y trouve  
 bien des avaries

Je pense en general que les objets concertés entre le gouverne-  
 ment de Canada et celuy cy seront toujours sujets a toutes sortes  
 d'Echecs par la distance immense qui nous separe et les obstacles  
 imprevus pour les communications; ce qui est d'autant plus aisé  
 a concevoir qu'avec beaucoup de regularité on ne peut guere cor-  
 respondre qu'une fois l'an encore ne faut il avoir n'y objections,  
 n y difficultés invincibles a representer a celuy qui ordonne qui  
 n'ayant pu les prevoir compte que tout s'Execute et s'opere con-  
 sequemment a ses intentions

Voila Monseigneur mes reflexions concernant la correspon-  
 dance du canada avec cette colonnie. il est donc bien essentiel  
 d'avoir aux illinois un sujet bien capable dy commander et de

[*Translation*]

I have just learned by an indirect means however that the  
 Sieur Portneuf, sent back by M. de Macarty to visit the said  
 cache, found it in good condition; but that should be confirmed,  
 and if that is the case I do not doubt that there will still be much  
 damage.

I think in general that the affairs concerted between the  
 government of Canada and this will always be subject to all sorts  
 of hindrances by the immense distance which separates us and  
 by the unforeseen obstacles for communication of which it is the  
 easier to conceive since you can hardly correspond more than once  
 a year with any regularity. Would there be invincible objections  
 or difficulties in representing to the person who gives orders that,  
 not being able to foresee events, he should count on everything he  
 orders being executed according to his intentions?

Here, Monseigneur, are my reflections concerning the corres-  
 pondence of Canada with this colony. It is then very essential  
 to have at the Illinois a person capable of commanding there and

prendre dans toute occasion le party le plus sage et le plus relatif aux interests du Roy.

Je viens d'estre informé que le Sr Rousselet Lieutenant detaché aux illinois allant de ce poste a celui de Vincennes : ayant en connoissance a six lieux avant d'entrer dans le Oüabache d'une petite pirogue qui estoit a la coste et cachée par beaucoup de

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branchages, voulu sçavoir ce que cétoit ; et ayant fait débarquer trois hommes pour en faire la decouverte, il luy rapporterent quil avoient trouvé des pistes d'hommes toutes freiches. le Sr Rousselet oubliant sans doute quil avoit une mission a remplir, jugea cependant a propos de mettre pied a terre et d'entrer dans le bois luy cinquieme malgré quil ignora les forces quil trouveroit, a peine i fut il que le patron de la voiture et ceux qui y estoient restés entendirent une decharge au moins de quinze coups de fusil, ce patron s'elargit tout aussitot en se tenant sur ces avirons le long de la rive, et tout prest a recevoir ceux qui viendroient s'y rémbarquer ; mais ayant attendu longtems et n'entendant plus

[*Translation*]

of taking on every occasion the course that is wisest and most in accord with the king's interests.

I have just been informed that the Sieur Rousselet, lieutenant attached to the Illinois, going from that post to Vincennes, became aware six leagues before entering the Wabash of a little pirogue which was on the bank and hidden by many branches ; he wished to see what it was, and having landed three men to scout it, they reported to him that they had found the tracks of men and very recent ones. The Sieur Rousselet, forgetting without doubt that he had a mission to fulfil, judged it proper nevertheless to land and enter into the woods himself the fifth man in spite of the fact that he did not know the forces which he would find. Hardly had he done this than the master of the transport and those who remained heard a discharge of at least fifteen musket shots. The master of the boat shoved off immediately holding himself on his oars along the bank and ready to receive those who would come to reëmbark, but having waited a long time and not having heard

tirer il mit en derive six jours après ayant perdu sa voiture sur un embaras. il gagna le poste des arks par terre d'où il est parvenu icy : et le compte que je vous rends de cet evennement n'est que le precis de ses depositions. je compte sçavoir incessamment par les alibamous le sort du Sieur Rousselet et des quatre autres hommes quil avoit avec luy.

Je suis avec un proffond Respect Monseigneur

Votre très humble et très obeissant serviteur

KERLEREC

NLLE ORLEANS ce 23. juin 1754

BAUDOUIN<sup>1</sup> TO DE L'ISLE DIEU, June 28, 1754<sup>2</sup>

[A N Colonies C11A 99:476]

MONSIEUR

Persuadé comme je le Suis que personne ne desire plus ardamment que vous le Progré de la religion dans cette Colonie,

[*Translation*]

more shots he went on his way. Six days after, having lost his boat on a snag, he reached the post of the Arkansas by land, whence he has come here, and the account which I give you of this affair is only the summary of his deposition. I count on knowing immediately by the Alibamu the fate of the Sieur Rousselet and of the four men with him.

I am with a profound respect, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

KERLÉREC

NEW ORLEANS, June 23, 1754

MONSIEUR:

Persuaded as I am that no one desires more ardently than you the progress of religion in this colony which is especially

<sup>1</sup> Father Michel Baudouin, Jesuit. Born at Quebec, March 8, 1692. Died at or near New Orleans about 1768. Superior of the Louisiana Mission, 1749-1759. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 71:126, 169.

<sup>2</sup> This was inclosed with a letter of the Abbé de l'Isle Dieu of October 25, 1754.

qui est particulieremt confiee a vos Soins, et que vous Saisissés avec Empressement tous les moyens qu'on peut vous proposer pour l'y maintenir et l'accroitre; agréés que je prenne la liberté de vous en suggerer Un, d'autant plus de votre gout que le bien de la religion et celui du service s'y trouvent parfaitement reünis.

C'est Monsieur, de vouloir bien donner tous vos Soins, et Employer votre credit au pres du ministre pour que M. de Nayon remplace M. de Maccarty commandant des jllinois, qui demande a etre relevé et a venir dans cette capitale y occuper quelqu'employ.

M. De Nayon capitaine d'une des compagnies venües de france, ou il a Servi dans ladre guerre avec distinction a été envoyé il y a trois ans aux jllinois pour y Exercer la fonction d'ayde Major; vrayment Zélé pour le bien de la Colonie, et en particulier pour celui du poste ou il etoit; Jl y a fait Sa principale occupation de la recherche des moyens d'y reüssir, et S'y est comporté de facon a y gagner generallement l'estime et L'approbation du militaire, des habitans et des Sauvages.

[*Translation*]

confided to your care and that you will lay hold with eagerness on all the means that may be proposed to you to maintain and to increase it, suffer me to take the liberty of suggesting a means that will be the more to your taste in that the welfare of religion and that of the service will be completely united.

That is, Monsieur, be good enough to give your pains and to use your influence with the minister that M. de Neyon may replace M. de Macarty as commandant of the Illinois, the latter asking to be relieved and to come to this capital to be employed in some capacity.

M. de Neyon, captain of one of the companies coming from France, where he served in the last war with distinction, was sent three years ago to the Illinois to act as aid major. Genuinely zealous for the welfare of the colony and especially for that of the post where he was, he has made it his principal occupation to seek means to attain these ends and has comported himself in such a fashion as generally to gain the esteem and the approval of the military, of the inhabitants, and of the Indians.



Nos missionnaires; (Surtout les peres de Guyenne et  
476v

Vuatrin,<sup>1</sup> qui l'ont connu plus particulieremt et l'ont vû de plus près, étant au village françois des Kaskakias ou il Residoit) m'en ont fait, dans toutes leurs lettres des Eloges complètes, et le Pere Meurin,<sup>2</sup> qui est descendu des jllinois avec luy; ma confirmé de vive voix, tout ce qui m'avoit été mandé de cet officier tant par rapport a Sa pieté, et a la vie vraiment chrétienne quil y a menée tout le tems quil y est resté, qu'aux grands talens quil y a Fait voir, pour gagner L'amitié et la Confiance des habitans et des Sauvages, et Engagés les premiers a Se comporter avec tout le Zèle quon doit attendre de fideles Serviteurs du Roy, et les Seconds en alliés veritablement attachés aux François; mais dont depuis plusieurs années on ne retire pas grands Secours,

[*Translation*]

Our missionaries (especially Fathers de Guyenne and Watrin,<sup>1</sup> who have known him more especially and who have seen the more of him from being stationed at the French village of Kaskaskia where he resided) have in all their letters made me full eulogies concerning him. Father Meurin,<sup>2</sup> who came down from the Illinois with him, confirms to me personally all that I had been told of that officer both with respect to his piety and to the truly Christian life which he led all the time that he remained there, and to the great talent which he displayed for gaining the friendship and the confidence of the inhabitants and the Indians. He induced the first named to behave themselves with all the zeal to be expected from faithful servants of the king and the second to be allies truly attached to the French, allies who for several years past have been of no great help because people have not

<sup>1</sup> Father Philibert [or Philippe] Watrin, Jesuit. Born at Metz, 1691 or 1697. Came to Louisiana in 1732. He served in the Illinois, 1747-1764.

<sup>2</sup> Father Sébastien Louis Meurin, Jesuit. Born December 26, 1707 in Champagne. Came to the Illinois mission in 1742. When the Jesuits were expelled in 1763 he secured permission to return and under difficulties with Spanish officials ministered to the Catholics on both sides of the Mississippi. Bishop Briand appointed him vicar-general and dispatched the famous Father Pierre Gibault to assist him. He died at Prairie du Rocher, August 13, 1777. C. W. Alvord and C. E. Carter: *Trade and Politics* (I. H. C., 16), 136 n., 296; *The Critical Period* (I. H. C., 10), 103 n., 118; *The New Régime* (I. H. C., 11), 523, 559.

parcequ'on n'a pas Scu gagner Leur Confiance, et les conduire avec ce juste temperament qui Sans rien diminuer de l'autorité qui convient a Une personne en place, ny commettre les armes de sa majesté; auroit Empeché bien de Facheuses catastrophes qui nous sont arrivés aux illinois.

M. De Nayon a tout ce quil faut pour S'acquitter parfaitement de l'employ dont il Sagit; il est estimé et cheri des missionnaires a Cause de Sa pieté, de Sa religion et du bon Exemple quil donne.

Jl est craint, aymé et obei du Soldat parcequ'il ne leur demande rien que de juste, quil compatit a leurs peines, et les Soulage en tout ce quil peut; aussy dans certaines occasions ont jls fait pour luy plus qu'on auroit osé en Exiger; et il a pour luy plusieurs traits qui procerent que dans certains Cas ou L'autorité ne peut avoir Sur l'esprit du Soldat tout L'ascendent qui conviendrait, Jl Scait y Suppleer par Ses bonnes façons, et entirer leur party que<sup>477</sup> tout autre.

[*Translation*]

known how to gain their confidence and to guide them with that just temperament which, without derogating in anything from the authority proper to a person of position, does not commit His Majesty's arms against them and would have prevented many distressing catastrophes which have befallen in the Illinois.

M. de Neyon has all the qualities necessary to discharge himself perfectly of the employment in question. He is esteemed and cherished by the missionaries on account of his piety and his religion and the good example which he gives. He is feared, loved, and obeyed by the soldiers because he demands nothing of them that is not right, pities their sufferings, and relieves them wherever he can. On various occasions, moreover, they have done more for him than one would have dared to require of them. He has several traits of character which insure that in situations when authority cannot have all the ascendancy over the soldiers that it should have, he knows how to supplement it by tact and address and to get better results than anyone else.

Jl na pas moins de credit Sur l'esprit des habitans et des Sauvages que Sur celui du Soldat, Ces premiers quand ils Sont menés redement ne font que ce qu'ils ne peuvent pas absolument Se dispenser de faire et quand ils S'en tiennent La, un commandant Se trouve fort en presse, Surtout quand Ses troupes prennent le party de Se retirer ches L'ennemy, ce qui est arrivé L'année dre Jl n'y a que L'habitant qui de concert avec le Sauvage, peuvent les poursuivre et les Empecher d'Executer Leurs mauvais desseins, et c'est ce qu'ils Se gardent bien de faire, lorsqu'ils ont pour commandant un homme qui les meprise, et dont ils ne reçoivent que de mauvais traitemens, quand il n'a pas besoin d'Eux.

Un esprit doux, traitable et jnsinuant peut beaucoup Sur les Sauvages; Surtout si ils Le voyent Soutenû de de quelques demonstrations d'amitié, données a propos quand ils Ségarent il convient de leur en faire des Reproches vifs et pressants: mais Sans fiel n'y mepris et d'avoir avec eux de la fermeté Sans aigreur: M. de Nayon, en Suivant pour guide Son heureux naturel et Ses

[*Translation*]

He has no less influence on the minds of the inhabitants and the Indians than those of the soldiers. The first named when they are taken on expeditions ordinarily do no more than they can absolutely avoid doing. When they take that attitude, a commandant finds himself hard pressed, especially when his soldiers take to deserting to the enemy as happened last year. Then it is only the inhabitants who in concert with the Indians can pursue the deserters and prevent them from carrying out their ill designs. This the inhabitants avoid doing when they have for a commandant a man who despises them and from whom they receive only ill treatment when he has no need of them.

A person gentle, tractable, and tactful can do much with the Indians, especially if they see him at the proper time give evidences of his friendship. When they depart from their duty it is proper to make them sharp and forceful reproaches, but without bitterness or contempt, treating them with firmness unmingled with harshness. M. de Neyon having as guide his pleasant disposition

lumieres ne pourroit manquer de reüssir en ces points et quelque incident facheux qui put arriver dans son poste, cheri comme il l'est des habitans et des Sauvages, il trouveroit bientot le moyen d'y remedier; rien n'étant impossible a ces gens La quand ils aiment un commandant, et Sans partialité, l'on peut dire que M. de Nayon est de tous les officiers de ce paÿs, celui qui est le plus propre pour commander aux jllinois avec dignité et Succès, L'on

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pourroit même assurer qu'il est le Seul qui y convienne dans les circonstances presentes ou il S'agit de regagner La Confiance de nos Sauvages domiciliés, qui a été fort alterée, pour ne pas dire entierement perdue par le coup que les Renards, Sakis, Kicapoux et mascoutins, ont fait Sur eux; qu'on a voulu leur persuader avoir été fait a notre insu, et qu'ils ont appris de ceux memes qui les ont frapés, avoir été menagés par le Commandant des Jllinois

M. De Nayon remplaçant celui qui leur a causé cette disgrace, Sera tres propre a les Leur faire oublier, ils connoissent et

[*Translation*]

and his intelligence should not fail to succeed in these matters. When an unfortunate incident occurred in his post, cherished as he is by the inhabitants and the Indians, he would soon find the means of remedying it. Nothing is impossible with these people when they love a commandant, and without partiality it can be said that M. de Neyon is of all the officers of the country the one fittest to command the Illinois with dignity and success. One could even be assured that he is the only one proper in present circumstances when it is a question of regaining the confidence of our domiciled Indians which has been much abated, not to say entirely lost, by the attack which the Foxes, Sauk, Kickapoo, and Mascoutens have made upon them. We tried to persuade them that this blow was made without our knowledge, but they learned from the very people who attacked them that it had been brought about by the commandant of the Illinois.

M. de Neyon, replacing the man who caused this disgrace, will be very proper to make them forget it. They know and love

ayment cet officier, qui etant aujourd'hui beau frere de M. le Gouverneur, auroit plus d'aisance que jamais pour cultiver et augmenter La Confiance que les habitans et les Sauvages ont en luy ; Ces derniers Vrayement persuadés qu'il les aime, ne le Soupçonneroient point de les mettre mal dans l'esprit de M. Le Marquis de Kerleréc leur Pere, et se preteroient Volontier a tout ce qu'on pourroit Exiger d'Eux pour le bien du Service.

De plus M. Le Gouverneur, qui connoit a fond le merite personnel de cet officier, et Scait l'ascendant qu'il a Sur le Soldat, les habitans et les sauvages, Seroit tranquille Sur le poste des Illinois, ou il faut un an entier pour y intimer Ses ordres persuadé que quelque chose qui put y arriver M. de Nyon, aimé et cheri de tous ceux qui sont dans ce poste y prendra toujours le party le plus prudent et le plus Sage, et y fera ce que M. Le Gouverneur

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y pourroit faire luy même S'il y étoit en personne.

Il est vray que M. de Nyon est jeune ; mais il a tout le

[*Translation*]

that officer who, being today the brother-in-law of M. the governor, would have more opportunity than ever to cultivate and increase the confidence which the inhabitants and the Indians have in him. These last, truly persuaded that he loves them, would never suspect him of trying to put them in the bad graces of M. le Marquis de Kerlérec, their father, and would lend themselves willingly to everything that might be required of them for the welfare of the service.

Moreover, M. the governor, who is thoroughly acquainted with the personal merit of that officer and knows the ascendancy which he has over the soldiers, inhabitants, and Indians, would be at ease concerning the post of the Illinois, where it takes a whole year for his orders to arrive ; for he would be sure that whatever happened, M. de Neyon, loved and cherished by all those in the post, would always take the most prudent and the wisest course, and would do all M. the governor would do himself if he were there in person.

It is true that M. de Neyon is young, but he has all the merit

merite et les talens necessaires pour ce poste ; ainsy il n'en Servira que Mieux, et plus Longtems, et ce poste, comme jay deja pris la liberte de vous le faire observer, est fort Eloigné, et comme Un Gouverneur ne peut y Envoyer Ses ordres, qu'une fois L'an, quil y arrive une infinité de cas qu'on ne peut prévoir, et auxquels il faut remedier Sur le Champs ; il n'est pas comme vous Voyés, de la nature de ceux ou on peut commander jndifferement et a Tour de Rôle ; jl faut que celuy a qui on le confiera, aye des talens particuliers, Sans quoy Jl n'y reussira jamais, En un mot, a En juger par mon Experience et mes foibles Lumieres, Je pourrais Vous assurer Monsieur, que Si cette place est accordé a M. de Nayon, la Cour n'aura que lieu de S'en feliciter, et je puis vous dire confidemment que Si cet officier n'eut pas Epousé Madle du Bot, Soeur de Made de Kerleréc, Monsieur notre Gouverneur est trop penetrant, trop Equitable, et trop Zelé pour le bien de cette colonie, pour ne l'avoir pas demandé au ministre, par preference a tout autre, pour remplir la place dont il s'agit ; Sur les temoignages avantageux quil en a eû des jllinois, de la

[*Translation*]

and talents necessary for this post ; accordingly he would but serve better and longer ; and this post as I have already taken the liberty to make you observe is very remote ; as the governor can only send his orders there once a year an infinity of cases arises which cannot be foreseen and which have to be dealt with on the spot. As you see, it is not in the nature of the case that the command there should go indifferently to the next one on the roll. It is necessary that the man to whom you confide it shall have special talents without which he will never succeed ; and in a word, to judge by my experience and my meager understanding, I can assure you, Monsieur, that if that place be given to M. de Neyon, the court will only have reason to congratulate itself. I can tell you confidently that if that officer had not married Mlle du Bot, sister of Mme de Kerlérec, Monsieur our governor is too keen, too just, and too zealous for the welfare of the colony not to have asked him of the minister in preference to anyone else to fill the place in question, basing it on the favorable testimony which he has received from the Illinois from the soldiers, mis-

part du militaire, des missionnaires des habitans et des sauvages, et Sur ce quil en a Vû et connu par luy meme; mais c'est son beau frere et il veut oter tout Soupçon de partialité dans L'esprit d'un ministre qui L'honore de sa Confiance et a qui il est Totalemt devoüé.

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Si Je ne craignois Monsieur, d abuser de vôtre patience, je vous Citerois plusieurs traits, de La part des habitans des jllinois, qui prouvent L'attachemt quils ont pour M. De Nayon; entre autres celuy d'être venus 40. Lieues au devant de luy dans le dernier voyage quil y a fait, et cela Uniquement pour l'escorter, et luy temoigner La joye quils avoient de Son retour, Joye qui ne dura pas Longtems, a la verité, L'ayant vu (a Leur grand regret) obligé de redescendre, quelques jours après a la Nouvelle orleans, Jls seroient amplement de dommagés de toutes Les jnqûietudes qu'un depart Si precipité leur a causeés, et leur cause Journellement, Si dans un an d'icy il y remontoit pour leur commandant, ce que j'espère qui arrivera, Le Ministre étant jnstruit par Vous Monsieur, du merite de cet officier, tout a fait propre pour faire

## [Translation]

sionaries, inhabitants, and Indians, and on what he has seen and known himself. But M. de Neyon is his brother-in-law, and he wishes to avoid any suspicion of partiality in the mind of the minister who honors him with his confidence and to whom he is totally devoted.

If I were not afraid, Monsieur, of abusing your patience, I would cite you several incidents from the inhabitants of the Illinois which prove the attachment they have for M. de Neyon; among others their having come forty leagues to meet him on the last voyage which he made, and that solely to escort him and to testify their joy at his return, which in truth did not last long when they saw him (to their regret) obliged to go down some days later to New Orleans. They would be amply recompensed for all the alarm which so precipitate a departure caused and causes them daily, if a year from now he went up as their commandant. This I hope will happen when the minister is informed by you, Monsieur, of the merit of that officer, fit in every way to



fleurir le poste des jllinois, y maintenir la Religion et y Etablir le bon ordre parmis les Troupes, les habitants et les Sauvages; Jay L'honneur d'etre avec Un devoüement plain de Respect Monsieur.

Votre tres humble et Tres obeissant serviteur

M. BAUDOÛINE Jesuite

A LA NOUVELLE ORLEANS Le 28. Juin 1754.

SCIMARS DE BELLILE TO MACHAULT, July 12, 1754

[A N Colonies C13A 38:197]

MONSEIGNEUR

Jay L'honneur d'adresser a votre Grandeur, les copies de cinq procès criminels dont deux instruits aux illinois qui m'ont été envoyés par Mr demacarty commandant a ce dit paÿs, l'un contre un sergent accusé d'avoir mis en joüe un officier dans un voyage avec luy, et l'autre a dix soldats, deserteurs et fugitifs, le premier á eté condamné a avoir le poing coupé et ensuite pendu et etranglé jusqu'a ce que mort s'ensuive, et faute d'executeur a été passé par les armes, en execution de la sentence du conseil de

[*Translation*]

cause the post of the Illinois to flourish, to maintain religion, and to establish good order among the soldiers, the inhabitants, and the Indians. I have the honor to be with a devotion full of respect, Monsieur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

M. BAUDOUIN, Jesuit

NEW ORLEANS, June 28, 1754

MONSEIGNEUR:

I have the honor to address to Your Greatness the copies of five criminal trials, two of which took place in the Illinois and were sent me by M. de Macarty, commandant in that country. One of them is against a sergeant accused of having leveled his piece at an officer in a voyage with him and the other of ten soldiers, deserters, and fugitives. The first one has been condemned to have a hand cut off and then to be hanged until dead and for want of an executioner to be shot, in execution of the

guerre tenu aux Cascakias le 21. 9bre dernier ; les dix soldats ont  
 été condamnés par contumace a etres pendus et Etrangles : par  
 celle du 29 du meme mois ;

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.....

J'ay Lhonneur d'estre avec un très proffond respect Mon-  
 seigneur

Votre très humble et très obeissant serviteur

SCIMARS DE BELLILE

NLLE ORLEANS le 12 Juillet 1754.

KERLÉREC AND D'AUBERVILLE TO MACHAULT, July 14, 1754

[A N Colonies C13A 38:17]

MONSEIGNEUR,

Par vôtre letre du 27. Novembre dernier qui accompagnoit  
 les Etats du Roy pour les Depenses de cette Colonie des annees  
 1752. 53.et 54; vous Nous marqués que deux raisons ont deter-  
 miné à supprimer Totallement les fonds qui avoient été demandés

[*Translation*]

sentence of the council of war held at Kaskaskia, November 21  
 last. The ten soldiers have been condemned in their absence to  
 be hanged, by that of the twenty-ninth of the same month.

.....

I have the honor to be with a very profound respect, Mon-  
 seigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

SCIMARS DE BELLILE

NEW ORLEANS, July 12, 1754

MONSEIGNEUR:

By your letter of the twenty-seventh of November last which  
 accompanied the king's estimates for the expenses of this colony  
 for the years 1752, 1753, and 1754, you informed us that two  
 reasons have determined the total suppression of the funds which  
 have been asked both for the work to be done at the post of

17v

Tant pour les ouvrages à faire au Poste des Kaskakias. que pour un fort à Construire aux Arkanças: l'une que le Roy n'a pas encore donné son aprobation au Projet de ces ouvrages; Et l'autre que Sa Majesté veut prendre un arrangement général sur tout ce qui regarde les differends Postes de la Colonie.

Nous ignorons, Monseigneur, qu elles peuvent être les raisons qui ont empeché que vous n'ayés été informé par Messieurs De Vaudreuil et Michel du Retablissement à Neuf du fort

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ou retranchement du Poste des Arkanças en 1752., Et même de son transport à [*blank in MS.*] lieües plus haut dans la Riviere.

Quoiqu'il en soit, cet Etablissement et Transport n'en a pas moins été fait et les ouvrages par consequend payés dans le tems: Nous vous prions donc d'avoir agréable d'en faire ordonner les fonds.

Les ouvrages du fort projectté d'Etablir au Poste des Kaskakias, et qui depuis par mure delibération été Etabli au fort de Chartres, ont été commencés par les ordres de Messieurs de

[*Translation*]

Kaskaskia and for a fort to be constructed at the Arkansas. The one reason was that the king has not yet given his approbation to the plans for these works; the other that His Majesty wishes to make a general arrangement for everything that concerns the different posts of this colony.

We do not know, Monseigneur, what may have been the reasons which have prevented your being informed by Messieurs de Vaudreuil and Michel concerning the rebuilding of the fort or the abandonment of the post of the Arkansas in 1752 and even of its removal [*blank in MS.*] leagues higher up the river.

However it may be, that establishment and transfer have none the less been made and the works in consequence paid for in due time. We beg you therefore to be good enough to order the necessary funds.

The work on the fort proposed to be established at the post of Kaskaskia and which after careful consideration has since been established at Fort de Chartres was begun by the orders of

Vaudreuil et Michel ainsi que vous avies lieu de le voir par les instructions qu'ils donnerent au Sr Saucier en 1751.<sup>18v</sup> lors-qu'ils le detachèrent pour aller suivre ces ouvrages, et dont nous joignons ici Copie.

Nous ne sommes donc pour rien dans le principe de ces affaires, et nous n'avons fait autre chose que suivre ce que nous avons trouvé de Commancé, après avoir cependant réduit les Depenses que l'on se proposoit de faire pour ce fort à 200. m<sup>ll</sup> de moins; puisque par le premier Toisé Estimatif que le sieur saucier fit en arrivant aux Illinois

La Depense de ce fort Etoit au moins de 450<sup>ll</sup>m.; Et Par<sup>19</sup>

la Reduction que nous fimes, Monsieur De Kerlerec et moy à son arrivée en cette Colonie ce fort avec tous ses batimens ne coutera qu'environ 250. m<sup>ll</sup>. Et Comme Tous les matherieaux sont achetés et payés sur les lieux; Et la plus grande partie de la Main d'oeuvre achevée, Il n'est pas possible d'arreter le Cours de ces ouvrages, d'autant mieux que les ordres que nous don-

[*Translation*]

Messieurs de Vaudreuil and Michel as you had reason to see by the instructions which they gave to the Sieur Saucier in 1751 when they dispatched him to go and supervise these works; we annex a copy.

We have, therefore, had nothing whatsoever to do with the principle involved in these undertakings, and we have done nothing but go on with what we found begun. However, the expenses which it was proposed to incur for the fort have been reduced by 200,000 livres, since by the first estimate which the Sieur Saucier made on arriving at the Illinois the expense of the fort was set at a minimum of 450,000 livres, and by the reduction which Monsieur de Kerlérec and I have made on his arrival in this colony, this fort with all its buildings will only cost about 250,000 livres. Since all the materials are bought and paid for on the spot, and the greater part of the work finished, it is not possible to stop the progress of these works, all the more so since the orders which we should give in consequence could only arrive by the

nerions en Consequence ne pourroient parvenir que par le Convoye qui ne se rendra que dans le Courant de Novembre prochain: C'est Pourquoi nous vous prions de vouloir bien faire Ordonner

19v  
annuellement les fonds qui ont été demandés pour ces Ouvrages.

Nous sommes avec un profond Respect, Monseigneur,  
Vos très humbles et très obeissants serviteurs

KERLERÈC      D'AUBERVILLE

A LA NELLE ORLÉANS le 14. Juillet 1754.

KERLÉREC AND D'AUBERVILLE TO MACHAULT, July 20, 1754

[A N Colonies C13A 38:26]

MONSEIGNEUR,

Au moment que le dernier canot part pour joindre la fluste le Rhinoceros à la Balize, Le Convoy des Illinois arrive.

Nous aprenons que les ouvrages du fort Sont avancés à un point qu'il n'est plus tems de les arreter.

26v

Tout paroît tranquille dans ce Continent Il y a même aparance

[*Translation*]

convoy which will only get there in the course of November next. This is why we beg you to be good enough to order for us annually the funds asked for these works.

We are with a profound respect, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servants,

KERLÉREC      D'AUBERVILLE

NEW ORLEANS, July 14, 1754

MONSEIGNEUR:

At the moment that the last canoe is leaving for the supply ship *Le Rhinoceros* at the Balise, the convoy from the Illinois arrives. We learn that the works on the fort have advanced to a point at which it is no longer possible to stop them. All appears quiet in that region; there is even the appearance of a very good

d'une tres belle Recolte. Nous vous rendrons un Compte plus détaillé par le Navire le Montrozier de la Rochelle, qui Compte partir Sous deux mois ou Environ.

Nous Sommes avec un profond Respect, Monseigneur,

Vos très humbles et très obeissants Serviteurs

KERLÉREC, D'AUBERVILLE

A LA NLLE ORLEANS le 20. Juillet 1754.

[*Translation*]

harvest. We will give you a more detailed account by the ship *Le Montrozier* of La Rochelle which is expected to leave within two months or thereabouts.

We are with a profound respect, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servants,

KERLÉREC D'AUBERVILLE

NEW ORLEANS, July 20, 1754

## CHAPTER XI

### THE IMMINENCE OF WAR

KERLÉREC TO MACHAULT, September 15, 1754

[A N Colonies C13A 38:95]

MONSEIGNEUR

Je vous ay rapelé par ma lettre No 57. partie par le Rhinoceros. Les representations que Mrs de Vaudreuil et Le Normand firent a la Cour en 1745. (Si je ne me trompe,) Sur la necissité de Construire un fort Sur la Riviere Ouabache, au moyen du quel on puisse, non Seulement assurer dans tous les têmes la Communication de la Louïsiane avec le Canada, Mais encore prevenir les Etablissemens que les Anglais pourroient entreprendre dans cette partie, et enfin mettre par ce moyen la Colonnie a L'abry des incursions que les Chikachas et les Cherakis font très frequa-

95v

ment Sur le fleuve, et Surtout dans ces Parages. cela est au point qu'une Seule Voiture ne trouve aujourduy aucune Sureté

[*Translation*]

MONSEIGNEUR :

I recalled to you by my letter No. 57 which was sent by *Le Rhinoceros* the representations which MM. de Vaudreuil and Le Normant made to the court in 1745, if I am not mistaken, on the necessity of constructing a fort on the Wabash River by which one could not only assure for all time the communication of Louisiana with Canada but also forestall the settlements which the English may undertake to make in that region and finally by this means protect the colony from the incursions which the Chickasaw and the Cherokee make very frequently on the river and especially in its latitudes. Things have reached the point at which a single transport today has no security in going up as far as the Arkan-



a monter jusqu'aux Arkansas, elle Court, meme des risques jusqu'aux Natches.

Les Chikachas Se Vengent dans tous ces Parages malheureusement avec Succes des Coups que leur portent les Tchaktas dans cette partie, ce qui les enhardit de plus en plus.

Je Vous ay rendu Compte, Monseigneur, par ma lettre No 52. de la defaite presque certaine du Sr Rousselet Lieutenant, a 5 a 6. Lieues audessus du Ouabache, et alant au fort Vincennes. J'ay ecrit il y a long tems aux Alibamoux, et Ordonné de faire a ce Sujet toutes les recherches possibles dont je ne manqueray pas de vous informer.

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J'ay Saisi l'occasion de ce Detachement pour reprimer un abûs qui par Succession de tems devient un objet, et je n'en Connois point de petit en fait D'oeconomie; il Sagit donc que chaque Soldat etoit armé de Sa Bayonette dans tous les detachemens qui Se Sont faits jusqu'a present: arme très inutile dans les bois au Vis avis du Sauvage, qui n'approche jamais assés prés pour que

[Translation]

sas; it even runs risks as far as the Natchez.

The Chickasaw in all these latitudes unhappily are successful in taking their revenge for the blows which the Choctaw deal them in that region, which makes them more and more bold.

I gave you an account, Monseigneur, by my letter No. 52 of the almost certain loss of the Sieur Rousselet, a lieutenant, at five or six leagues above the Wabash, going to Fort Vincennes. I wrote a long time ago to the Alibamu and ordered all possible inquiries made on this subject of which I will not fail to inform you.

I have taken the occasion of this detachment to correct an abuse which in the course of time becomes a considerable object; for in devising economies I know nothing small. It is then a question of each soldier's being armed with his bayonet in all the detachments which have been made up to now, that being a very useless arm in the woods in the face of the Indians, who never

l'on puisse S'en Servir. J'ay deja Vu par experience qu'il S'en pert une quantité Considerable, et qu'il faut remplacer a leur retour, Sur Ces Certificats quelque fois très faciles, qu'en donnent les officiers; J'ay donc estimé que le Cassetête, qui est une petite hache a la main Seroit de toute façon plus Convenable, en ce que C'est une arme de bonne defense, et qu'elle est très utile au Soldat, Soit pour Couper les Piquets de Son Cabanage, Son bois a feu, Sert pour Se frayer un chemin dans bien de Circonstances ou

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pour faire une Voiture dans d'autres Cas pressés, Soit enfin pour Saper les pieux d'un retranchement qu'ils voudroient forcer.

Toutes Ces Considerations reconnûes pour utiles, jointes a ce que la bayonette coute au Roy Cinquante Sols, et le Cassetete Vingt cinq, j'ay proposé ce changement pour les detachemens Seulement, qui n'ayant pas parû du gout de M. L'ordonnateur, m'a forcé de me Servir pour la premiere fois du terme D'ordonner. il me paroît dailleurs bien nouveau qu'un gouverneur ne Soit

[*Translation*]

approach close enough for it to be used. I have already seen by experience that a considerable quantity of bayonets are lost and that it is necessary to replace them on the return of the detachments on certificates given by the officers, often with great facility. I have then considered that the tomahawk, which is a little hand hatchet, would be in every way more proper inasmuch as it is a good defensive arm, and it is very useful to a soldier for cutting firewood or the pickets for his cabin; it serves to cut him a trail in many circumstances or to make him a boat in other emergencies or finally to chop down the pickets of an intrenchment which they want to capture.

On the apparent utility of all these considerations as well as in view of the fact that the bayonet costs the king fifty sous and the tomahawk twenty-five, I have proposed this change for the detachments only; as it appears not to be to the taste of M. the *ordonnateur*, I have been forced to make use for the first time of the word "order." It appears to me otherwise very novel that a governor should not be the master in arming his soldiers ac-

pas le maitre D'armer Le Soldat Suivant les cas et les Circon-  
stances, et ainsi quil le juge a propos.

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Le Convoy des illinois est parti le 17. du mois dernier, Sous  
le Commandement du Sr favrot<sup>1</sup> Capitaine, que j'ay detaché avec  
Sa Compagnie pour y aller etablir garnison, et relever celle du  
Sr de Neyon

Je Suis trop informé de tous les abus qui S'etoient passés  
dans Les precedents, pour ne pas prendre les plus justes mesures  
afin de les reprimer dans celuy Cy. premierement Six, Sept, et  
quelque fois huit batteaux du Roy n'ont pas Suffi; et cette année

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quatre Voitures emportent L'aprovisionnement general du  
Poste des illinois. Ce n'est pas que j'aye été informé de tout ce  
qui devoit y etre embarqué pour le Roy, avant le chargement des  
Voitures, ainsi que cela auroit dû etre: mais je m'y Suis trans-  
porté moy meme au moins deux fois par jour, et j'ay lieu de  
croire que ma presence, et celle des personnes que j'avois chargé

[Translation]

according to cases and circumstances and according as he judges  
proper.

The Illinois convoy left the seventeenth of last month under  
the command of the Sieur Favrot,<sup>1</sup> captain, whom I detached with  
his company to go there to set up garrison and to relieve the  
company of the Sieur de Neyon.

I am too well informed of all the abuses which were suffered  
in the preceding convoys not to take the most proper measures to  
repress them now. In the first place six, seven, and sometimes  
eight of the king's bateaux have not sufficed in the past; and this  
year four transports are carrying the general supplies for the  
Illinois post. It is not that I have been informed of everything  
that should be embarked for the king before the boats were loaded,  
as should have been done; but I have myself gone at least twice  
a day, and I have reason to believe that my presence and that of

<sup>1</sup> Ensign, 1732; lieutenant, October 15, 1736; captain, June 11, 1750.  
A N Colonies D2C4.

d'y Veiller, Nous a procuré du bon marché: J'essairay meme a L'avenir de faire encore quelque reduction.

il est bien Surprenant qu'on gouverneur ne Soit Sensé participer a des operations Si particulierement relatives a Son Etat, que pour donner le nombre de Soldats de nage dont on a besoin, C'est ce qui vient de m'arriver encore. Jay Cependant entrevû que le bien du Service exigeoit par necessité indispensable, que je me suis roidy Contre une telle indeçense. Je l'ay fait avec tous les menagemens possibles, en nottifiant cependant que je voulois etre instruit des moindres parties qui formeroient le chargement des batteaux du Roy; et qu'en Consequence je me Soumettrois plustôt a les Voir embarquer; je n'en ay pas été plus ecouté, mais

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qu importe? je me flatte que le Roy a été Servi par ma presence comme il doit l'etre toujours, et j'en juge ainsi puisqu'il n'y a eu que quatre batteaux D'employés, et par Comparaison du Passé.

Je crois Cependant, Monseigneur, pouvoir Vous représenter

[*Translation*]

the people whom I have charged to watch proceedings have procured us a good bargain. I will even try in the future to make some further reduction.

It is very surprising that it should not have been thought proper for a governor to participate in operations so particularly in his province as supplying the number of soldiers needed at the oars; but this is what has happened to me. I have however perceived that the good of the service, exacted by indispensable necessity, that I should oppose such an impropriety. I have done it with all possible tact indicating however that I wished to be informed of the smallest items of what formed the load of the king's bateaux, and that in consequence I should watch their loading. I have not been the more listened to, but what does it matter? I flatter myself the king has been served by my presence as he always ought to be, and I judge of it thus that there are but four bateaux manned by our people in comparison with the past.

I believe however, Monseigneur, that I can still represent to

encore, qu'il faut une provision peu Commune, de moderation et de patience, que je Sçay etre absolument necessaire, pour menager et Conserver la bonne intelligence entre des chefs dont la Desunion ne peut qu'etre très prejudiciable au bien general du Service, et L'accroissement de la colonie; mais il est des bornes a tout; et je ne puis les trouver que dans les Nouveaux arrangemens que je vous ay demandé il y a bien longtems, que vous me prometés, et que je ne reçois pas.

Comme quelques officiers ont eu Cy devant beaucoup de part aux abûs qui Se Sont Commis dans les precedents Convois, j'ay jugé devoir les arreter tout Court: et pour cet effet j'ay pris note de ce que je permettois a un chacun D'embarquer; j'en ay

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remis un Double au Sr de favrot Commandant du Convoy et adressé un autre a M. de Makarty, avec ordre a tous deux d'y tenir la main, Sous peine de repondre en leur privé nom des Conventions au dit ordre.

Comme il S'est aussi passé dans Ces memes Convois, des manoeuvres très indecentes Concernant les avaries des effets Du

[*Translation*]

you that it requires a most uncommon degree of moderation and patience which I know to be absolutely necessary to maintain and to preserve a good understanding between chiefs whose discord can only be very prejudicial to the good of the service and the growth of the colony; but there are limits to everything; and I can only find them in the new arrangements that I asked of you some time ago, and which you promised me, but which I have not yet received.

As some officers have formerly had a great part in the abuses committed in preceding convoys, I judged that I should stop them short; and to that end I have taken note of what I have permitted each one to put on board, giving a duplicate to the Sieur de Favrot, commandant of the convoy, and addressing another to M. de Macarty with orders to both to look to it under pain of answering on their private account any violations of the said order.

As in these same convoys very improper conduct has ap-

Roy, et de Ses Vivres, j'ay jugé nécessaire de Donner au Sr de favrot des instructions fort etendües, dans les quelles Ces Deux objets Sont traités, Comme ils l'auroient toujours Dû etre.

Je Vous Envoy Cy joint, Monseigneur, copie des dittes instructions que je pense que vous trouverés en regle; j'y joins aussi un double de l'ordre Separé que j'ay remis a ce Commandant. qui obvie a L'insubordination qui y a regné Cy Devant, et qui ne pouvoit que Commettre une Voiture dans le Cas de Surprise de L'ennemy, et dans celuy de retarder le Convoy general, de façon a L'obliger D'hwyerner dans la route: C'est ce qui est

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arrivé notamment dans le Convoy Commandé il y a trois ans par le Sr Benoit, et dont l'armement couta prés de trente mille livres au Roy, pour Son hyvernage.

Je Suis avec un profond respect. Monseigneur

Votre très humble et très obeissant Serviteur.

KERLÉREC

NELLE ORLEANS le 15. 7bre 1754

[*Translation*]

peared in the waste of the king's effects and his provisions, I judged it necessary to give the Sieur de Favrot very extended instructions in which these two objects are treated as they always should have been.

I send you annexed, Monseigneur, copies of the said instructions which I think you will find correct. I annex also a duplicate of the separate order which I transmitted to that commandant which obviates the insubordination which has reigned hitherto and which can only expose a transport to danger in case of surprise by the enemy or retard the whole convoy in such a fashion as to oblige it to winter en route. This has all happened notably in the convoy commanded three years ago by the Sieur Benoist the equipment of which for its wintering cost the king almost thirty thousand livres.

I am with a profound respect, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

KERLÉREC

NEW ORLEANS, September 15, 1754

D'AUBERVILLE TO MACHAULT, September 17, 1754

[A N Colonies C13A 38:170]

MONSEIGNEUR

J'ay eû lhonneur de vous informer le 20 juillet par une Lettre commune, de l'arrivée du Convoy des illinois ; le S. Buchet

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m'a Envoyé par ce convoy le Compte des des Depenses de l'année derniere, et j'y ay trouvé celui de celles faittes a l'occasion de l'armée du Canada qui est dans ce continent tant pour faire la guerre aux Rebelles que pour Etablir les postes ordonnés sur la belle Rivierre par M. le General du Canada. Je joins icy une copie de ce compte qui monte a la somme de 44712<sup>11</sup>/<sub>13</sub>S, comme ce fond n'est point compris dans l'Etat que sa Majesté a arrêté pour les depenses de la Louïsianne, pour en procurer le remboursement a la caisse de la Colonie j'ay fait Expedier des Lettres de Change pour cette somme payables a huit mois de datte et vous trouverés cy joint, Monseigneur, le Bordereau de ces Lettres de change ; quant a l'ordre a observer dans les comptes en  
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forme de la Colonie je me      regleray sur les ordres quil vous

[Translation]

MONSEIGNEUR:

I had the honor to inform you the twentieth of July by a joint letter of the arrival of the convoy from the Illinois. The Sieur Buchet has sent me by this convoy the account of the expenses of last year, and I have found there the expenses incurred on the occasion of the army from Canada which is in that region both to make war on the rebels and to establish the posts ordered on the Ohio River by M. the general of Canada. I annex here a copy of this account which amounts to the sum of 44,712 livres and 13 sous. As this amount is not included in the budget which His Majesty has approved for the expenses at Louisiana, in order to procure the reimbursement of the colonial treasury, I have dispatched letters of exchange for that sum payable eight months from date and you will find annexed, Monseigneur, the list of these letters of exchange. As to the procedure to be followed in the formal accounts of the colony, I will regulate myself accord-



plaira de donner par raport a l'imputation de ce fond; je prend la Liberté de vous prier de ne pas differer de me les donner parce que je Compte que dans le courant de l'année prochaine je pourrés Expedier le compte de 1753.

Le Sr Buchet me marque quil ne pourvoit point cette année de farines les postes des Arkanças, Natchez n'y la Pointe Coupée parceque M. de Macarty n'a pas voulu en laisser sortir en vertu des ordres que lui a donnee M. le General de Canada; ce General n'est pas instruit que les garnisons de ces postes tirent toujours leur subsistance des Ilinois afin d'Evitter au Roy la depense du Transport de la Nouvelle orleans qui est considerable; cétoit a

171v

M. de Macarty a ne pas suivre si scrupuleusement ces ordres et ne pas Exposer des postes a la famine, et le Roy a des frais de voyage qui sont toujours Insenses, tels qu'ils seront cette année par la quantité de voitures qu'il a fallû expedier pour pourvoir ces postes; M. de Macarty devoit d'autant plus se prêter aux

[*Translation*]

ing to the orders that you may be pleased to give me with respect to the ascription of this fund. I take the liberty to beg you not to defer giving me such orders because I expect in the course of next year to be able to send off the account for 1753.

The Sieur Buchet indicates to me that he did not this year provide flour for the posts of the Arkansas, Natchez, or Pointe Coupée because M. de Macarty did not wish it to be sent as a result of the orders which M. the general of Canada had given him. This general was not informed that the garrisons of these posts always obtain their provisions from the Illinois in order to avoid the expense to the king of transportation from New Orleans, which is considerable.

M. de Macarty should not have followed his orders so scrupulously and should not have exposed the posts to the danger of famine and the king to the expenses of transportation which are always out of reason such as they will be this year on account of the number of transports which it has been necessary to send to supply these posts. M. de Macarty ought to have paid more heed

representations du Sr Buchet quil y avoit dans les magasins près de cent milliers de farine dont peut être la plus grande partie tombera en pure perte pour Sa Majesté par les avaries.

Il me rend aussy compte des travaux du Nouveau fort et les choses sont trop avancés ainsy que nous avons eû l'honneur de vous le marquer M. de Kerlerrec et moy pour devoir arrester les

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travaux ordonné par Mrs de Vaudreüil et Michel; il me marque aussy qu'il y a aparence d'une fort belle recolte et il Espere qu'il pourra faire revenir les farines a quinze livres le Cent comme elles étoient cy devant et qui par les mauvaises années Etoient venües a trente livres.

Le Sr Chevalier qui a serve plusieurs anneés en qualité de garde magasin aux Natches et que je-fis passer aux ilinois en 1748 pour y servir en la même qualité a la recommandation de M. Les Normant a son depart de cette Colonie, y remplit son Etat avec toutte l'Exactitude possible et y tient d'ailleurs une si bonne conduite que je vous prie Monseigneur de luy accorder un brevet

[*Translation*]

to the representations of the Sieur Buchet that there was in the storehouses almost a hundred thousand of flour the greater part of which will be a sheer loss to the king on account of damages.

He also gives me an account of the work on the new fort, and as M. de Kerlérec and I had the honor to tell you, things there are too far advanced to stop the works ordered by MM. de Vaudreuil and Michel. He also tells me there is the appearance of a very good harvest, and he hopes that he will be able to bring flour back to fifteen livres a hundred as it formerly was; as a result of bad harvests it had risen to thirty livres.

The Sieur Chevalier, who served several years in the quality of *garde magasin* of the Natchez and whom I had sent to the Illinois in 1748 to serve there in the same capacity at the recommendation of M. le Normant at his departure from this colony, has performed his duty there with all possible exactitude and otherwise has maintained so good a conduct that I beg you, Monseigneur, to allow him a brevet as *garde magasin* for the

de garde magasin pour les Illinois, cest une distinction dont tous  
 ces prédecesseurs on jouïts, et je dois vous <sup>172v</sup> assurer qu'il la  
 meritte, ses talens et sa sagesse lon fait charger en outre de la  
 charge de substitut du procureur general et il s'en acquitte fort  
 bien.

Je suis avec un très profond respect Monseigneur  
 Votre très humble et très Obeïssant Serviteur

D'AUBERVILLE

A LA NOUVELLE ORLEANS Ce 17. 7bre 1754.

LA GAUTRAIS TO KERLÉREC AND D'AUBERVILLE<sup>1</sup>

[A N Colonies C13A 38:39]

A M. De Kerlerec Chr de St Louis & Gouverneur de La Louisi-  
 anne & M. D'Auberville Cre de La marine & Ordeur En la dite  
 Province

MRS. Depuis tres Longtems le solide Etablissement de Cette Colonie  
 paroît un objet assez interessant Pour attirer les Vuës de la Cour,

[Translation]

Illinois. That is a distinction which all his predecessors have  
 enjoyed, and I must assure you that he merits it. His talents  
 and his sagacity have also caused him to be assigned to take on the  
 duties of substitute to the procurer-general, and he has discharged  
 them very well.

I am with very profound respect, Monseigneur,  
 Your very humble and very obedient servant,

D'AUBERVILLE

NEW ORLEANS, September 17, 1754

To M. de Kerlérec, Chevalier of St. Louis and governor of  
 Louisiana, and M. d'Auberville, commissioner of the marine and  
*ordonnateur* in the said province

MESSIEURS:

For a very long time the permanent establishment of this  
 colony appeared a sufficiently interesting object to draw the atten-

<sup>1</sup> This was inclosed in the letter of Kerlérec and D'Auberville of Sep-  
 tember 21, 1754.

sur les differents articles qui peuvent la faire valoir, j'osé Mrs hazarder a entrer avec vôtre agrement dans un détail sur les Connoissances qu'un Certain nombre d'anneés, m'ont fait acquerir. ceux auxquels Je me suis apliqué en particulier ont été les differents Minéraux que j'ay Vuê dans les frequents voyages que J'ay faits dans le haut de Cette Colonie le Mineral de Plomb étant le plus aportés et près des postes francois des Illinois: a plus occupé mes Recherches et ma mis dans le Cas en suivant ce travail d'en pouvoir tirer une quantité suffisante Pour faire les En-

39v

treprises de fournir les Magasins Du Roy de tout ce qu'il peut avoir Besoin de balles pour toute la Colonie, Cette Raison m'enhardit à vous suplier, Mrs de vous Employer pour me faire venir un ouvrier, ou deux Capables de Mouller le Plomb en grain, et Laminée avec tout ce qu'il leur faut apporter de france Pour Cet ouvrage, ce sera un avantage non seulement pour le Roy, qui epargnera Chaque année ce qui luy en coute pour le transport de ces Plombs, les Commissions, frais de Vaisseaux et autres

[*Translation*]

tion of the court to the different articles which might contribute to that end. I venture, Messieurs, to risk entering with your consent into the details of the information which a number of years have allowed me to acquire. The facts to which I have applied myself in particular have concerned the various minerals that I have seen in the frequent voyages that I have made to the upper part of this colony. Lead being the most frequent of these and closest to the French posts of the Illinois has most occupied my attention; and I am accordingly in a position to extract a sufficient quantity of it to undertake furnishing the king's magazines with everything that he may require in bullets for all the colony. This reason makes me bold to beg you, Messieurs, to take steps to get me a workman or two capable of casting the lead in grain and laminated, with everything that it is necessary for them to bring from France for this work. This will be an advantage not only for the king, who each year will save what it cost him for the transportation of this lead, for commissions, the cost of vessels,

Dépenses, et accident qui peuvent arriver avant qu'ils soient Rendus dans Les Magasins du Roy, mais Cesera aussi L'avantage du Public, puisqu'ayant des ouvriers à la mine cela me mettra en Etat de fournir des Plombs aux Illinois et aux poste Voisin du Canada, qui ne peuvent le transporter avec leur Canots decorses que très difficilement et par ces Difficultés le font Valoir bien cher au Commerce.

J'ose me flâter qui si vous d'aignez m'honorer Mrs de Vôte Protection dans cette affaire J'obtiendray par le premier Vaisseau les Ouvriers que Je vous demande, M'offrant à payer tous les frais qui L'on aura fait Pour Les faire parvenir Jusqu'au Illinois. Leur donner tel Gages que l'on aura fait Marchés avec eux, mais

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Messieurs, Je vous prie qu'ils soient Engagés au moins pour trois ans; et plus s'il ce peut, sans pouvoir travailler Pour d'autres que pour moy, du jour de leur arrivés Jusqu'à leur tems fini, il me seroit aussi Messieurs de la derniere Utilité d'avoir un bon ouvrier fondeur, Capable de Connoitre les differents Minéraux

[*Translation*]

and other expenses as well as for accidents that may happen before it reaches the king's magazines. There will also be an advantage to the public since having workmen at the mine will put me in a situation to furnish lead to the Illinois and to the neighboring post of Canada, to which it cannot be carried with bark canoes save with great difficulty; as a result of these difficulties it becomes quite dear in trade.

I dare to flatter myself that if you deign to honor me, Messieurs, with your protection in this affair, I shall obtain by the first vessel the workmen which I ask of you. I offer to pay all the expenses which will be incurred in having them come up to the Illinois. I will give them such wages as shall have been agreed on with them. But, Messieurs, I beg you that they be engaged for three years at the least and longer if it may be without their being able to work for others besides myself from the day of their arrival until their term is ended. It will also be of the utmost use to me, Messieurs, to have a good workman who is a smelter capable of recognizing the different minerals which

qui se trouvent aux environs des Illinois, et surtout a la minne de La motte, et Celle de Maralvec,<sup>1</sup> si j'avois L'avantage d'avoir un ouvrier capable de ces Exploitations: Rien Narreteroît mon Zèle pour entreprendre toutes les découvertes quil y à a faire dans un endroit aussi Riche que les dépendances des Illinois; et vous en donner toutes les Connoissances que Je pourroit y decouvrir, seconder s'il vous Plait Messieurs, mes Intentions et j'ôse me flatter que dans peu vous Retireres des illinois des Chôses qui feront fleurir non seulement Cet endroit mais toute la Colonie, qui na Besoin que d'avoir des protecteurs pareils a vous, faites moi donc la grace de me Protéger dans ces nouvelles entreprises, en me faisant venir des ouvriers experts pour la fabrique et la connoissance des minnes de Plomb, qui ont ordinairement avec elles d'autres métaux. Je ne seray pas Longtems sans vous donner des Marques de mon Zèle Pour tous ces travaux; J'ôse esperer de vous Messieurs, les Graces que Je vous demande et Je ne Ces-

[*Translation*]

are to be found in the neighborhood of the Illinois and especially in the mine of La Motte and that of Maramec.<sup>1</sup> If I had the advantage of having a workman capable of such exploitations nothing would check my zeal for undertaking all the discoveries which there are to be made in a place so rich as the dependencies of the Illinois and for giving you all the information that I could discover. Second, if it please you, Messieurs, my intentions, and I dare to flatter myself that in a short time you will draw from the Illinois commodities which will make not only that spot flourish but all the colony, which needs only protectors like you. Do me the favor of protecting me in these new enterprises by having sent workmen skilled in the manufacture and in the understanding of lead mines which ordinarily have with them those of other metals. It will not be long before I give you marks of my zeal in all these undertakings. I dare to hope from you, Messieurs, the favors which I ask of you, and I will not cease to

<sup>1</sup> The Maramec mine, which is meant, was on the upper waters of Maramec River in Missouri. Probably near Fourche à Renault in the north central part of Washington County, Missouri.

seray de faire des Voeux pour vôtre Conservation qui fait Chaque  
 Jour le Bonheur de nôtre Colonie, et surtout <sup>40v</sup> Celui de Ceux  
 qui Travaillent a L'augmenter et en moy particulier de Celui &a  
 Signé HARPAN DE LAGAUTRAI

## D'AUBERVILLE AND KERLÉREC TO MACHAULT

[A N Colonies C13A 38:41]

Nous Joignons icy une Requête qui nous á été Présenté par le Sr de La Gautrays officier dans Cette Colonie actuellement en Garnison aux Illinois ou de soçiete avec le Sr De Gruis autre officier. ils ont travaillé à la Recherche des Mines dont ce pays abonde. Ils en ont en effet decouvert de Cuivre et de Plomb, mais le deffaut d'ouvriers propre a les Exploiter ne leur a pas permis d'en Entreprendre L'exploitation Ils se sont attachés seulement a Une de Plomb qui quoyque travaillé par des gens que n'en tires pas tout le party possible leur rend Jusques à Soixante et soixante dix pour cent Pour la Richesse du Métail.

Ces officiers nous demandent Mgñeur de vous Prier de leur

[Translation]

make my vows for your preservation, assuring as you do each day the welfare of our colony and especially of those who work for its increase like myself in particular.

Signed: HARPAIN DE LA GAUTRAIS

We inclose herewith a request which has been presented to us by the Sieur de la Gautrais, an officer in this colony now in garrison at the Illinois and in partnership with the Sieur de Gruis, another officer. They have worked at the discovery of the mines in which this country abounds. In effect they have discovered a mine of copper and one of lead, but the lack of workmen fit to exploit them has not permitted them to undertake exploitation. They have confined themselves solely to a lead mine which, though worked by people who have not got out of it all that was possible, yields them up to 60 and 70 per cent of metal.

These officers ask us, Monseigneur, to beg you to procure



procurer deux ouvriers Capables de Mouller le plomb en grain, et Lamineé avec les outils et les matieres qui leur sont nécessaires Pour ces opérations.

Comme nous Voyons Clairement Un avantage pour la Colonie dans ses demandes nous vous prions d'ordonner quil soit

Engagé deux bons ouvriers pour le Compte <sup>41v</sup> De Ses officiers, et que par leur engagement Ils ne puissent travailler n'y pour leur Compte ny pour Celuy d'aucun particulier, qu'après Les trois années de leur sejour aux Illinois Ecoulés au service de ses officiers; Ils proposent de tenir Compte des avances que l'on pourra faire à ses ouvriers en france, mais nous Esperons Mgñeur que vous voudres bien ordonner quils ne soient sur leur Compte que du Jour de Leur arrivée dans la Colonie

Au moiën de ces ouvriers L'on ne sera plus dans La nécessité de tirer de france le Plomb a Giboyer pour la Consommation de la Colonie qui va annuellement à plus de Cinquante Milliers et vous serés toujours assurés, Mgñeur qu'elle ne manquera Jamais de Cet article qui est très Essentiel puisquil fait vivre non seule-

[Translation]

them two workmen capable of casting lead in grain and laminated, with the tools and other things necessary for these operations.

As we clearly see an advantage for the colony in these demands we beg you to order that two good workmen be engaged on the account of these officers, and that by the terms of their engagement they be allowed to work neither for their own account nor for that of any other private person except after the three years of their sojourn at the Illinois in the service of these officers have ended. They propose to account for the advances which may be made to these workmen in France, but we hope, Monseigneur, that you will be good enough to order that the workmen be at their charge only from the day of their arrival in the colony.

By means of these workmen we will no longer be under the necessity of drawing from France the lead in shot for the consumption of this colony which mounts annually to more than fifty thousand, and you will always be assured, Monseigneur, that there will never be a lack of that article, which is very essential since it

ment les habitants mais encore toutes les troupes Etablis dans les Postes ; ainsy que La plupart des Personnes en Ville, Ils sont aujourd'huy par eux même en état de fournir toutes les balles nécessaires Pour le service du Roy, et a un prix, au dessous de ce qu'elles Reviennent à sa Majesté rendus dans les Differents postes, et C'est en conséquence que M. D'auberville leur a accordée la fourniture de Celles nécessaires pour les Postes d'en

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haut pour L'année prochaine Et il Comprenda Cette quantité de moins dans L'Etat des demandes quil fera pour les années suivantes

Nous vous Reiterons Mgñeur la demande que nous venons de vous faire de deux ouvriers avec leurs outils et tout ce qui peut leur être nécessaire pour Exécuter les Vues de deux officiers Zelés à la découverte de ce qui peut être utile a la Colonie nous tiendrons d'ailleurs la main a ce que ces ouvriers soient traittés Conformement a L'Engagement que Vous aura Contracté avec eux

Signé D'AUBERVILLE

KERLEREC

[Translation]

assures the living not only of the habitants but also of all the troops established in the posts as well as most of the people in the city. The officers in question are today by themselves in a condition to furnish all the bullets necessary for the service of the king and at a price below what they cost His Majesty when sent to the different posts. It is in consequence of this that M. d'Auberville has accorded them the supply of these necessities for the posts of the upcountry for next year, and he will include so much less in the list of demands which he will make for the following years.

We repeat to you, Monseigneur, the demand which we have just made you for two workmen with their tools and everything that can be necessary to them in carrying out the intentions of the two officers, zealous for the discovery of what may be useful to the colony. We on the other hand will take care that these workmen be treated conformably to the engagements that you have made with them.

Signed: D'AUBERVILLE

KERLÉREC

DUQUESNE TO MACHAULT, September 29, 1754

[A N Colonies C11A 99:244]

MONSEIGNEUR

J'ai L'honneur de vous envoyer les Signalemens des quatre Soldats déserteurs des Jllinois qui Se Sont trouvés dans la Belle riviere lorsque le Sr de Contrecoeur<sup>1</sup> y est entré et qui malgré les Sollicitations des Anglois et des Sauvages à Se joindre à eux pour

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s'opposer ouvertens à notre Entreprise, Se sont evadés pour venir au devant de notre détachement et demander pardon à genoux de Leur désertion à ce Commandant, Luy assurant qu'ils aimoient mieux perdre La vie que de prendre Les armes contre le Roy leur Maitre.

Malgré le peu de disposition que j'ay à demander grace pour des déserteurs, JI me revient de ceux cy tant de témoignage de leur bonne conduite et de leur repentir que je ne puis me refuser d' Interceder auprès de Vous Monseigneur pour que le Roy Leur

[Translation]

MONSEIGNEUR:

I have the honor to send you the descriptions of the four soldiers, deserted from the Illinois, who were on the Ohio River when the .Sieur de Contrecoeur<sup>1</sup> came there, and who, despite the solicitation of the English and the Indians to join them and oppose our enterprise openly, escaped to come to our detachment and ask pardon on their knees of its commander, assuring him that they would rather lose their lives than take arms against the king their master.

Despite the small inclination I have to ask mercy for deserters, I have such strong testimony with respect to these as to their good conduct and their penitence, that I cannot refuse interceding with you, Monseigneur, that the king pardon them. Meanwhile

<sup>1</sup> Claude-Pierre Pécaudy de Contrecoeur, born at Contrecoeur, January 26, 1706. Ensign *en second*, April 20, 1729; ensign *en pied*, April 13, 1734; captain, 1748. Sent in 1753 to command on the Ohio in the place of Marin. Returned to Montreal on account of ill health, November 26, 1755. Received the Cross of St. Louis, March 31, 1756. Retired on half-pay, January 1, 1759. Died at Montreal, December 13, 1775. *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, 33:309; *Canadian Archives*, 1905, volume 1, part 6, pp. 106, 223, 511; A N Colonies C11A 100:250.

accorde pardon, En attendant je les <sup>245</sup> Laisse en Garnison au  
 fort Duquesne où on m'assure qu'ils Servent fort utilement et  
 avec Zele par ce qu'ils Connoissent bien le pays.

Je Suis avec un profond Respect Monseigneur

Votre tres humble et Très obéissant Serviteur

DUQUESNE

A QUEBEC Le 29e 7bre 1754.

DUQUESNE TO MACHAULT, October 7, 1754

[A N Colonies C11A 99:257]

MONSEIGNEUR

Votre recommandation pour le Sr de Raymond Capitaine de  
 cette Colonie seroit un ordre pour moy, S'il y avoit occasion  
 d'avancement ou quelque poste vacant qui pût Luy convenir, et il  
 me Fache bien de n'etre pas dans Le cas de Luy procurer ce der-  
<sup>257v</sup>

nier avantage parcequ'il ne seroit pas juste de déplacer avant  
 le tems un Officier qui se conduit bien

[*Translation*]

I am leaving them in garrison at Fort Duquesne, where I am  
 assured they do useful and zealous service, since they know the  
 country well.

I am with profound respect, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

DUQUESNE

QUEBEC, September 29, 1754

MONSEIGNEUR:

Your recommendation for the Sieur de Raymond, captain in  
 this colony, would be a command for me if there were any oppor-  
 tunity for his advancement or some post vacant that might suit  
 him, and I am much distressed at not being in a position to pro-  
 cure him this last advantage because it would not be just to dis-  
 place ahead of time an officer who is doing well.

Je n'ai point connu Mr de Raymond qui a toujours resté à l'Isle royale depuis mon arrivée en Canada, Cet Officier m'a montré L'Etat de Ses services qu'il a eusté et fort brodé. J'ay trouvé Son mémoire très déraisonnable et dont les prétentions Sont aussi folles que hors de toute regle, puisqu'il veut établir une haute, moyenne et basse justice chez Les sauvages du Nord. Je veux bien croire que s'il avoit été moins désintéressé il auroit

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gagné au delà de dix Mille Ecus que luy a valu le poste des Miamis, Mais ce qui me rassure Sur son compte par l'intérêt que vous prenés Monseigneur à ce qui Le regarde, c'est qu'il vit dans L'Aisance et qu'il conserve bien soigneusement son argent en attendant qu'on ait occasion de le placer convenablement pour augmenter Sa fortune de quoy il m'a paru fort occupé.

Je Suis avec un profond respect Monseigneur

Votre tres humble et tres Obéissant Serviteur

DUQUESNE

A QUEBEC Le 7e 8bre 1754.

[*Translation*]

I have had no acquaintance with M. de Raymond, who has always remained at Cape Breton Island since my arrival in Canada. This officer has shown me the statement of his services which he has much embroidered. I thought his memoir quite unreasonable, and his claims as foolish as they are extravagant, inasmuch as he wishes to establish high, middle, and low justice among the Indians of the north. I would like to believe that if he had been less disinterested he would have gained more than the ten thousand crowns which the post of the Miamis was worth to him. But what reassures me on his account because of the interest which you take, Monseigneur, in what concerns him is that he lives in comfort and that he keeps his money very carefully while awaiting an occasion to lay it out in such a way as to increase his fortune, with which he seems to me much occupied.

I am with profound respect, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

DUQUESNE

QUEBEC, October 7, 1754

DUQUESNE TO MACHAULT, October 10, 1754

[A N Colonies C11A 99:273]

MONSEIGNEUR

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J'ai Lieu d'esperer Monseigneur que vous ne vous refuserés pas à procurer La même décoration au Sr de Villiers après L'action Brillante qu'il vient de faire dans La Riviere d'Oyo que tout militaire aura peine à croire dans un Pays où L'on ne connoit que les guerres de Surprise, Vous aurés vû dans son journal

279v

La sagesse et La prudence avec laquelle ce Brave Officier S'est conduit malgré Son ressentiment de l'assassinât de Son frere, car s'il n'avoit Sçu contenir Les Sauvages et Les Canadiens, Jl n'auroit pas échapé un Anglois à La fureur de leurs coupes.

A mon arrivée dans cette Colonie j'eus L'honneur de vous rendre compte des Services que venoit de rendre le Sr de Langlade qui à la tête des Saulteux et 8ta8ais de Missilimakinac et par L'ordre de feu Mr Le Mis de la Jonquiere, avoit marché pour

[Translation]

MONSEIGNEUR:

I have reason to hope, Monseigneur, that you will not refuse to procure the same decoration for the Sieur de Villiers after the brilliant action which he has just performed on the Ohio, such as any soldier will scarcely believe possible in a country where only wars of ambush are known. In his journal you will have perceived the wisdom and prudence with which this brave officer conducted himself despite his anger at his brother's assassination. For if he had not been able to restrain the Indians and the Canadians, not an Englishman would have escaped their fury.

On my arrival in this colony I had the honor to give you an account of the services lately rendered by the Sieur de Langlade, who at the head of the Chippewa and Ottawa of Mackinac by the late M. le Marquis de la Jonquière's order had marched to

280v  
 aller Chatier Les Miamis Leurs freres, s'etoit acquis une Si  
 haute réputation de la réussite de ce coup que je vous demandois  
 pour Luy une pension de 150<sup>li</sup> mais comme j'ay jugé par votre  
 Silence que vous n'avés point envie de luy accorder cette grace Et  
 que c'est un Sujet à menager par le pouvoir qu'il a Sur l'Esprit de  
 ces Sauvages, Agréés Je vous Supplie que je vous demande une  
 Commission d'Enseigne en Second reformé pour luy ce à quoy il  
 Se Borne pour exciter son Zele Lorsqu'on aura besoin de Luy.

.....  
 DUQUESNE TO MACHAULT, October 12, 1754

[A N Colonies C11A 99:284]

MONSEIGNEUR

Quoique j'aye eu l'honneur de vous envoyer toutes Les pieces  
 relatives aux Operations de la Riviere d'Oyo qui justifient La  
 Sage et prudente conduite du Sr de Contrecoeur chargé de mes  
 ordres, et que j'aye Jnfiniment pris Sur moy de ne pas mettre  
 tout à Feu Et à Sang après L'acte d'hostilité indigne commis Sur

284v  
 le détachement du Sr de Jumonville, Je Suis bien aise de vous  
 [Translation]

go and chastise their brothers the Miami. He had gained so high  
 a reputation from the success of his attack that I asked you for a  
 pension of 150 livres for him. Since by your silence I have in-  
 ferred that you do not wish to accord him this favor, and since  
 he is a person to humor from the power he has on the minds of  
 the Indians, let me, I beg of you, ask for him a commission as  
 ensign *en second*, half-pay; this will suffice to arouse his zeal when  
 he is needed.

.....  
 MONSEIGNEUR:

Although I had the honor to send you all the documents con-  
 cerning the operations on the Ohio River, which justify the wise  
 and prudent conduct of the Sieur de Contrecoeur under my orders,  
 and although I had taken very much on myself not to make use of  
 fire and sword after the unworthy act of hostility against the  
 detachment of the Sieur de Jumonville, I am very glad to impart



faire part de mes reflexions sur Le seul reproche que les Anglois croient pouvoir me faire de ce qu'on les a chassés de la Belle riviere où ils avoient un fort avant Nous disent ils.

Vous Sçavés, Monseigneur, que mes ordres étoient précis pour Les en chasser mais en cas que les Circonstances vous engageassent à menagement avec cette nation, vous aurés à luy dire Si vous voulés répondre à leur objection que dès Le mois de Novembre 1753. Le sr de la Chauvignerie a été detaché avec

285

Trente hommes du Fort de la Riviere au Boeuf pour aller s'établir a Chinengué, village des Cha8anons, Qu'il y a construit un Fort et où il a demeuré jusques à L'arrivée du Sr de Contrecoeur au lieu que celui des Anglois commandé par Le Capitaine Trente n'a été Bati qu'en Mars de la présente année.

J'ay crû Monseigneur devoir vous faire cette observation pour en Faire usage S'il en est cas.

Je Suis avec un profond respect Monseigneur

Votre tres humble et très Obéissant Serviteur

A QUEBEC Le 12e 8bre 1754.

DUQUESNE

[Translation]

to you my reflections on the sole reproach which the English think they can make me, namely that they have been driven from the Ohio River, where they, as they say, had a fort before we did.

You know, Monseigneur, that my orders were specific to drive them away, but in case circumstances require you to humor that nation, you may tell them, if you wish to answer their objection, that since November, 1753, the Sieur de Chauvignerie was detached with thirty men from the fort of river aux Boeufs to go and settle at Venango, a Shawnee village. There he built a fort and remained until the arrival of the Sieur de Contrecoeur, whereas the English fort commanded by Captain Trent was not built until March of this year.

I thought, Monseigneur, that I should make this observation to you that you might make use of it in case it is apropos.

I am with profound respect, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

QUEBEC, October 12, 1754

DUQUESNE

DE L'ISLE DIEU TO MACHAULT, October 12, 1754

[A N Colonies C11A 99:470]

MONSEIGNEUR

471v . . .

Les dernieres nouvelles que jay recües des pays d'enhaut de cette colonie, du coté des nations jllinoises nos alliées et plus haut encore vers le detroit, la Belle riviere, et celle de L'oyo, ne Sont pas favorables.

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Les Nations jllinoises Sont toujours jnquiétéés et harceleés, Surtout les akansas par les Tchikachas et leurs alliés qui font de frequents coups Sur Eux dans L'espace de pres de 100. Lieües de pays inculte et jnhabité que lesd. Tchikachas frequentent et parcourent Souvent pour faire coup Sur les nations Sauvages nos allies, et Enlever les convois qui decendent des illinois, ou qui y remontent.

Jl y a Longtems que M. de Macarty, qui commande aux jllinois, a proposé d'Etablir un fort a 50. Lieües de distance des akansas, vers Les Tchikachas, que ce fort contiendrait et Em-

[Translation]

MONSEIGNEUR:

The latest news which I have received from the upcountry of this colony in the direction of our allies, the Illinois tribes, and higher up toward Detroit, the Beautiful River, and the Ohio is not favorable.

The Illinois tribes are continuously disturbed and molested, especially the Quapaw, by the Chickasaw and their allies who make frequent attacks on them in an extent of about one hundred leagues of country, uncultivated and uninhabited, which the Chickasaw frequent and often pass through to attack the Indian tribes, our allies, and to carry away the convoys which descend from the Illinois or ascend thither.

Long ago M. de Macarty, who commands at the Illinois, proposed to establish a fort fifty leagues away from the Arkansas in the direction of the Chickasaw, which would confine and pre-

pecheroit de remonter plus haut, du coté des autres nations illinoises nos alliees, aussy bien que de faire coup Sur elles, et d'enlever leurs convois.

D'ailleurs (et c'est l'observation de M de Macarty) Si Le fort dont il Sagit estoit Etably, que nous y eussions une bonne garnison, et un magazin fourny des choses necessaires aux Tchikachas, nous pourrions en traiter avec eux, les gagner, nous en faire des alliés, et les detacher des anglois, a qui ce Systeme a reüssy, non, Seulement vis a vis des Tchikachas, mais avés les autres nations quil nous ont Enlevés, . . . et La Religion et la Colonie ne S'établiront jamais Solidement, qu'en nous attachant et en nous conservant les sauvages, Surtout ceux du bas du fleuve, vers Son embouchure et Sur cela l'exemple des Tchaktas, en est une preuve, Sans replique, par les Services quil nous ont rendus, depuis la Guerre des Natchés.

472v

Les mouvemens qui Se Sont Excités depuis peu du coté du detroit et de la Belle Riviere a L'occasion des nouvelles fortifica-

[*Translation*]

vent them from ascending higher up in the direction of the other Illinois tribes, our allies, as well as from attacking them and carrying off their convoys.

Moreover (and this is M. de Macarty's observation) if the fort in question were established and we had a good garrison there and a storehouse with things necessary for the Chickasaw, we could trade with them, win them over, make them allies, and detach them from the English, with whom this policy has succeeded not merely with the Chickasaw but with the other tribes whom they have carried away with them. . . . and religion and the colony will never be firmly established save by attaching to us and retaining the Indians, especially those on the lower river toward its mouth. As to this the example of the Choctaw is an unanswerable proof in view of services they have done us since the war with the Natchez.

The unrest which has recently appeared both on the side of Detroit and that of the Ohio River on the occasion of the new

tions que nous y venons de faire, font encore plus craindre les Tentatives des anglois, avec leurs propres forces et celles des nations Sauvages, leurs alliés, qui paroissent jnquietes et mecontentes de ce que nous leur oposons des forts, au lieu de traités de paix et d'alliance, et voicy Monseigneur, ce qu'on m'en mande, par Une lettre du 28. Juillet der dattée Québec, ou l'on est plus aportée d'etre jnstruit des mouvemens du detroit et de la Belle riviere, jusqu'au voisinage des jllinois, que dans le bas de la Colonie, a la Nouvelle orleans, et Surtout le cours, et les fronts du fleuve.

Nous sommes Etabli dans la belle riviere, jl y a un fort asses considerable, que les anglois prendront a la premiere Guerre, a moins d'une protection bien forte des Sauvages de ces quartiers, L'année passé on ne put y entrer. Cette année Les anglois nous ont Sommés, pour nous declarer la gûerre, qu'jls S'opposeroient a nôtre Etablissement, au petit primptems, nous avons penetré, et chassé, 50. anglois, qui etoient dans un petit fort commencé, nous en avons bati un fort, et sur la nouvelle quil y avoit des anglois

[*Translation*]

fortifications which we have just made should make us fear even more the attempts of the English with their own forces and those of the Indian tribes their allies who appear alarmed and discontented that we oppose them with forts instead of with treaties of peace and of alliance. Here, Monseigneur, is what I am told by a letter of July 28 last from Quebec which is better informed as to the movements of Detroit and the Ohio River as far as the neighborhood of the Illinois than is the lower colony at New Orleans and especially on the courses and banks of the river.

"We are established on the Ohio River. There is a quite respectable fort here which the English will take at the outbreak of war, at least without strong protection from the Indians of these quarters. Last year it could not be entered. This year the English have summoned us, have declared war on us, and have told us that they would oppose our settlement. Early in the spring we penetrated here and drove out fifty English who were in a little fort that they had begun. We have built a fort, and on the news

en marche, on a Envoyé un officier avec 34 hommes pour leur

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Parler et les sommer; mais ils ont tue cet Officier et Sept autres personnes, le reste fait prisonnier, quoyque l'officier porta pavillon, voulut Lire Ses ordres, et declara qui venoit parler ce coup nous a irrité, et pour le venger, on a Envoyé dans la belle riviere un detachemt de 700 hommes. on a trouvé 500 anglois fortifiés a La façon du pays. on en a tué 50. et Blessé a mort 100. et ensuite on a Capitulé c'est le 3 Juillet que la Capitulation a eté Signée; nous n'avons perdu que 3. hommes et 16. de Blessés.

On voit par cette lettre, Monseigneur, que le haut de cette colonie, depuis le detroit jusqu'aux jllinois, n'est pas tranquile, et les autres lettres qui jay reçues ne L'annoncent pas moins.

Jl Seroit a Souhaïter que je pusse Sçavoir le tems ou vous ferés expedier les lers vaisseaux pour cette colonie, eû Egard aux Ursulines, et aux deux Jesuites que je desirerois y faire passer, par le besoin qu'on y en a.

[Translation]

that the English were on the march an officer was sent with thirty-four men to parley with them and to summon them, but they killed that officer and seven other persons and made the rest prisoners although the officer carried a flag of truce, tried to read his orders, and declared that he came to parley. This blow has irritated us, and in order to avenge him we have sent to the Ohio River a detachment of seven hundred men. We found five hundred English fortified in the fashion of the country. We killed fifty and mortally wounded one hundred, and then they capitulated. The capitulation was signed July 3. We have lost but three men and had but sixteen wounded." It is to be seen by this letter, Monseigneur, that the upper part of this colony from Detroit to the Illinois is not tranquil, and the other letters which I have received tell no less.

It would be desirable for me to know the time when you will send off the first vessels for this colony in consideration of the Ursulines and the two Jesuits whom I wish to send in view of the need that there is for them.

Je crains beaucoup, Monseigneur, que vous ne trouviés ma lettre un peu Longue; mais il est difficile de Se reduire, quand on a beaucoup de choses a dire et Surtout quand elles sont aussy importantes á L'Etat et á la Religion, qui ont Egalement besoin d'une attention favorable, de vôtre part, et d'une protection Suivie et soutenüe, Sans quoy le mal ira croissant, et le remede n'en Sera que plus difficile

473v

Je Suis avec respect

.....

[*Translation*]

I fear much, Monseigneur, that you may find my letter a little long, but it is difficult to compress it when one has many things to say, and especially when they are so important to the state and to religion which have equal need of favorable attention from you and of continued and sustained protection without which the evil will increase and the remedies will be only the more difficult to find.

I am with respect—

.....

JOURNAL OF COUNCIL OF SOUTH CAROLINA, October, 1754<sup>1</sup>

[P R O CO5, 471:57]

In the Council Chamber

Dies Martis the Twenty Second day of October A. D. 1754.

Present

His Excellency the Governor<sup>2</sup>

The Honble	{	Hecr. Ber de Beaufaine	Peter Leigh	} Esqrs
		William Bull Jun.	John Drayton	

His Excellency the Governor acquainted the Board That as at this Juncture no opportunity ought to be omitted in pro-

<sup>1</sup> This document very interestingly illustrates the fate of the men surprised with Rousselet, referred to *ante*, 868. It serves as a reminder of how close together the Illinois country and South Carolina were brought by the warlike activities of the Cherokee and Chickasaw.

<sup>2</sup> James Glen, governor of South Carolina, 1739-1755.

curing all possible Information of the State of Indian Affairs, and of the Attempts of the French to Alienate those people from the British Interest; He had Ordered the Council to be Summoned to have two French Men (taken prisoners by the Cherokees and brought to Charles town by Mr Elliott Indian Trader) examined before the Governor & Council. That he had Order'd the two French Men to Attend. They were accordingly called in and Gave the following Information.

Mercier a French Man.

That he is a Native of Quebec, As he was going in a Boat from the Illinois, in order to Go to a post on the Oubache, he went ashore with a Lieutent of the King's Troops And two other White Men, about five Leagues above the Junction of the Oubache with the Mississippi they were Attacked by a party of Cherokees, who killed the Officer and one Man, and took the Examinant and one more prisoners. That the Cherokees Carried him ten Leagues by Water, and travell'd the Remainder of the way by Land, being thirty three days brisk Marching from the time of his being taken to his Arrival in the Cherokee Nation.

That it is about thirty five Leagues from the place where he was taken to the Illinois. That the Boats are near three Months in going up the Mississippi River from North Orleans to the Illinois. That in the Illinois there are Six Companys of the King's Troops at Fifty Men in a Company.

That there are four Rivers, the Cherokee, the Savanah, the Ohio and the Oubachee which all unite their Streams into one River before they fall into the Mississippi River. That the French have two Forts One at the Oubache and one near the Head of it which Commands the passage from the Lake And the other about 30 Leagues below it.

That One French Man who was taken with him named St Jean is now in Chottee. And that another French Man who

had been taken prisoner also by the Cherokees being out a hunting with a party of Cherokees, who was killed by a party of Outawaws who attacked them. That there is one Regnur Da



Coigne<sup>1</sup> a Native of Quebec who has been a prisoner Several Years among the Cherokees. that he is a man of pretty good Family his Father in Law being a Captain in the Troops of the King of France and his Brothers pretty considerable Merchants.

The Information of Louis Gracia a French Man That he was taken five Leagues from the Illinois by the Cherokees. That it is about 40 Leagues from the Illinois to the Oubache, where it empties itself into the Mississippi, that he was 55 days from the time of his being taken to his Arrival in the Cherokee Nation, five days of which time the Cherokees travell'd in their Canoe by Water. That the Cherokee River where it falls into the Ohio River is pretty rapid and deep, and is about 20 ffathoms over ; That there are two French men and a French Woman now in the Cherokee Nation. One of whom is named Du Coigne who is a Man of good Understanding And lives in a House he has built at Chottee and Suffers no Indian Man or Woman to live in it with him—That he has many papers which he keeps Wrapt up in a Bear Skin. That he has sent many Letters by Indians to his Father and Mother as this Examinant has heard.—That Du Coigne is under no Restraint from the Indians, but that he might go from the Cherokees whenever he pleases. That Du Coigne speaks the Cherokee and Iroquoise languages very well, And that when any-Northward French Indians have come to the Cherokee Nation Du Coigne seems personally acquainted with many of them, And also with their Language—

His Excellency by the Advice of the Council Order'd That the said Mercier and Louis Gracia should be taken care of And some Cloaths given them—

<sup>1</sup> It is impossible to identify this person except that he might have been a member of the family of De Couagne.

DE L'ISLE DIEU TO MACHAULT, October 29, 1754

[A N Colonies C11A 99:481]

MONSEIGNEUR

Depuis l'Envoy qui jay pris la liberté de vous faire dans ma derniere lettre, de Celle du Superieur de la mission des jllinois, M. De Nayon, dont il me parle avec tant d'Eloge, mést venû voir, et ma apporté quelques lettres particulieres, dont il avoit bien voulû Se Charger.

C'est luy même Monseigneur, qui vous presente ma Lettre, Jl est beau frere de M. de Kerleréc Gouverneur de La Louïsiannie, c'est un homme froid, mais a ce quil me paroît, doux et ferme. jay beaucoup causé avec luy Sur les differens postes qu'occupent et desservent nos missionnres et Jl ma parû avoir Etudié a fond le ganie de ces differentes nations, et en avoir gagné la Confiance, . . . il ma même promis que nous nous verrions Souvent,

481v

pendt Le peu<sup>481v</sup> de Sejour quil feroit en france, et qu'il me communiqueroit Volontier Ses observations qui dans le peu qu'il m'en a dit, et dans Une Seule entrevüe, m'ont parû tres judicieuses

[Translation]

MONSEIGNEUR:

Since I took the liberty of sending you in my last letter that from the superior of the Illinois mission, M. de Neyon, of whom he spoke to me with such eulogies, has come to see me and has brought me several private letters of which he was good enough to take charge.

He himself, Monsieur, presents to you my letter. He is a brother-in-law of M. de Kerlérec, governor of Louisiana. He is a cold man but, so he appears to me, gentle and firm. I have talked with him much on the different posts which our missionaries occupy and serve, and he appears to me to have studied deeply the nature of the different tribes and to have gained their confidence. . . . He has even promised me that we would see each other often during the short stay that he is making in France and that he would willingly communicate to me his observations which in the little he has said to me in a single conversation only have appeared to me very judicious and very well conformed to

et Très conformes au bien du Service et au progrès de la Religion.

Au Surplus, Monseigneur, je vous Supplie de ne regarder cette Lettre, n'y comme Un Suffrage, n'y comme une recommandation et de me pardonner même la liberté que je prens de vous Ecrire par M. de Nayon mais JI me lá demandé avec tant d'jnstance que je n'ay pas cru devoir le luy refuser.

Je Suis avec Respect Monseigneur

Votre tres humble et Tres obeissant serviteur.

L'ABBÉ DE L'ISLE DIEU Vre gal

des Colonies de La Nlle france En Canada.

A. PARIS ce 29. 8bre 1754.

DUQUESNE TO MACHAULT, November 3, 1754

[A N Colonies C11A 99:399]

MONSEIGNEUR

J'ay l'honneur de vous informer que le Sr de Contrecoeur m'a rendu compte que le Commandant du Camp Anglois qui est actuellement à trente lieuës audelà du fort où il a été Battu, Luy avoit envoyé un Officier pour proposer d'échanger le Sr Drouillon

[*Translation*]

the good of the service and the progress of religion.

Moreover, Monsieur, I beg you to consider this letter neither as a vote in his favor nor as a recommendation and even to pardon the liberty which I take of writing to you by M. de Neyon; but he asked me so eagerly that I could not refuse him.

I am with respect, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

L'ABBÉ DE L'ISLE DIEU, Vicar-General of

the Colonies of New France in Canada

PARIS, October 29, 1754

MONSEIGNEUR:

I have the honor to inform you that the Sieur de Contrecoeur has reported to me that the commandant of the English camp, which actually is thirty leagues from the fort where he was defeated, sent him an officer to propose exchanging the Sieur

Enseigne et les deux Cadets seulement pour Les deux Capitaines  
399v

qu'il avoit en otage.

Le Sr de Contrecoeur a tellement rejeté cette proposition qui déroge en entier à L'art. 7. de la Capitulation, qu'il a Ecrite à ce Commandant Anglois qu'il voyoit que cette députation n'étoit que pour Venir Espionner ; Et que comme Le tems fixé de l'échange étoit passé, JI prenoit le party de m'envoyer Les deux Otages pour ne pas être exposé à de nouveaux Pourparler aussi Suspects qu'Indécents, qu'il n'auroit qu'à envoyer nos prisonniers par la voye d'Orange afin que L'Echange se fit à Montreal

Le Sr de Contrecoeur m'observe que si L'Ambassadeur qu'on  
400

Luy a envoyé et qui est officier d'Artillerie, Etoit venu pour prendre des Connoissances sur la position du fort Duquesne, JI a perdu Son tems car il L'a enfermé à Son arrivée dans une Chambre d'où il n'est Sorti le lendemain qu'à deux heures après minuit pour retourner à Son camp et qu'ainsi il n'a pu rien voir

[*Translation*]

Druillon, ensign, and the two cadets only for the two captains we held as hostages.

The Sieur de Contrecoeur rejected this proposal which derogates completely from Article 7 of the capitulation, writing to the English commandant that he perceived that this overture was solely for espionage, and that, as the period set for the exchange had expired, he would send me the two hostages so as to be no longer exposed to fresh advances which were both suspicious and improper ; all that was necessary was to send our men who were prisoners to Albany, so that the exchange might take place at Montreal.

The Sieur de Contrecoeur observes to me that if the envoy sent him, who is an artillery officer, came to get intelligence on the situation of Fort Duquesne, he has wasted his time ; for on his arrival he was shut up in a room which he left only at two the next morning to return to his camp ; thus he could see nothing,

pas même les deux Otages avec qui cet Officier avoit grande envie de Conferer.

Les deux Capitaines Otages sont arrivés icy il y a cinq jours, ils m'ont dit être Infiniment touchés du procedé de leur Gouverneur qui Les a abandonné, C'est tout ce que j'en ay  
<sup>400v</sup>  
 pû tirer, La Bonne conduite qu'ils ont tenu au fort Duquesne Leur attire de ma part des Politesses et la Liberté de se promener sur leur parole dans La ville.

Le Sr de Contrecoeur me mande du 23e 7bre que depuis que la moitié de nos troupes sont de retour à Montreal Les Anglois S'assemblent aux premiers habitations distantes environ de 120. Lieuës du fort Duquesne et qu'ils répandent qu'ils auront bientôt Trois mille hommes pour le venir enlever d'assaut. Ce Capitaine désireroit avec raison qu'ils en fissent La sottise parce qu'il est Si  
<sup>401</sup>  
 bien prêt à les recevoir qu'immanquablement ils s'en retourneroient avec Leur Courte honte et ce n'est que par pure précaution

[*Translation*]

not even the two hostages with whom he was very anxious to speak.

The two captains who are hostages reached here five days ago. They told me they were cut to the quick by the proceeding of their governor, who has abandoned them. That is all I can get out of them. Their good conduct at Fort Duquesne secured them at my hands various polite attentions and the liberty of walking around the town on their parole.

The Sieur de Contrecoeur informs me by his of September 23, that since half our troops have returned to Montreal, the English are gathering at their nearest settlements, 120 leagues from Fort Duquesne, and give out that they will soon have three thousand men to come and take the fort by storm. This captain with reason wishes they would be so foolish because he is so well prepared to receive them that inevitably they would go back with their tails between their legs. It is only by excess of caution that

qu'il a arrêté pour quelque tems le Sr de Repentigny Capitaine que j'avois Chargé de me ramener L'arriere garde composée de deux cens hommes, jusques a ce qu'il juge que les Anglois ne peuvent plus rien Entreprendre pour Cet hyver, Jl envoie Sans cesse a La decouverte pour être instruit de Leurs mouvemens et il doit avoir actuellement Cinquante Sauvages de nos domiciliés que j'ay envoyé pour hyverner ce qui le mettra fort à Son aise à

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tous égards. Je luy ay cependant ordonné que Si Les Anglois venoient faire quelque Etablissement qui pût le Jalouser, Jl y mit opposition autant que Ses forces le permettoient ou par Ses sauvages.

Vous remarquerez Monseigneur que la conduite que tient le Gouverneur de la Virginie tend à S'opiniatrer aux vuës qu'il avoit de s'Emparer de La riviere d'Oyo, mais Instruit comme je le Suis du Local et des difficultés qu'on a à avoir du monde; JL ya à Esperer qu'il Se dégoûtera de faire des tentatives Je regarde comme Certain qu'il n'y parviendra jamais tant que nous serons Sur nos Gardes.

[*Translation*]

he has halted for the present the Sieur de Repentigny, captain, whom I ordered to bring me back the rear guard of two hundred men, until he judges that the English can undertake nothing more this winter. He continually sends out scouting parties to learn the enemy's movements; and he should have fifty of our domiciled Indians whom I sent to winter with him, which will in all respects put him at his ease. I have however ordered him that if the English come to make any settlement which can annoy him, he is to oppose it as far as his forces will permit or with his Indians.

You will notice, Monseigneur, that the conduct of the governor of Virginia indicates that he is obstinate in his former intention of getting possession of the Ohio River. However, informed as I am of the terrain and of his difficulty in getting men, it is to be hoped that he will get tired of making attempts. I regard it as certain that he will never succeed while we are on our guard.

Par cette meme Lettre du 23. Le Sr de Contrecoeur m'informe que la bande de Tanahisson qui est avec les Anglois se disperse et qu'il est venu plusieurs de ces Sauvages au fort Duquesne pour demander pardon et qu'après avoir gardé Les apparences qu'ils ne pouvoient obtenir grace qu'avec beaucoup de peine, JI S'est enfin déterminé à La leur accorder à la sollicitation de tous Les Chefs du Lieu qui nous sont affidés, et sur leur parole qu'ils n'avoient point trempé au coup du sr de Jumonville, ce qui a produit un très bon Effet puisque ces mêmes sauvages sont  
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 partis sur Le Champ pour en ramener le plus grand nombre qu'ils pourront dans leur village.

Je reçois dans le moment des Lettres du Sr de Repentigny qui attend à tout instant Les ordres de Mr de Contrecoeur pour revenir avec Son arriere garde

Voila Monseigneur notre position actuelle dans la riviere

[*Translation*]

By this same letter of the twenty-third, the Sieur de Contrecoeur informs me that the band of Tanahisson, who is with the English, is dispersing, and that several of these Indians have come to Fort Duquesne to ask forgiveness. After having kept up the appearance that they could be forgiven only with much difficulty, he finally decided to accord them pardon at the solicitation of all the chiefs of the region who are allied with us, and on the word of these Indians that they had had nothing to do with the attack on the Sieur de Jumonville. This has produced a very good effect as these same Indians set out immediately to bring back to their village as many as they could.

This instant I receive letters from the Sieur de Repentigny, who expects at any moment M. de Contrecoeur's orders to come back with the rear guard.

This, Monseigneur, is our actual position on the Ohio River.



d'Oyo qui exige Comme j'ay eu L'honneur de vous mander un  
troisieme mouvement qui sera proportionnel aux Circonstances

Je Suis avec un profond respect Monseigneur

Votre tres humble et tres Obeissant Serviteur

DUQUESNE

A QUEBEC le 3e 9bre 1754.

KERLÉREC TO MACHAULT, December 17, 1754

[A N Colonies C13A 38:118]

MONSEIGNEUR

Le Sr de macarty commandant aux ilinois me rend Compte  
le 28. aoust dernier par la voye de deux Sauvages arkansas qui  
s'en retournoint au poste de Ce noms, que les habitant Des ilinois  
Et de l'establissement du fort vinçenne (ou St ange) tres mécon-  
tents Des privileges de traite Exclusive que donne M. Duquesne  
tant pour le misouris que pour le fort saint ange sont dans le  
dessein D'abandonner l'un Et l'autre de ces deux postes.

Il en Estoit Desja question lors de mon arrivéé dans cette  
Colonie, Et En ayant conferé avec mr De Vaudreuil, il m'asseura

[*Translation*]

It requires as I had the honor of informing you, a third move-  
ment proportioned to circumstances.

I am with profound respect, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

DUQUESNE

QUEBEC, November 3, 1754

MONSEIGNEUR:

The Sieur de Macarty, commandant of the Illinois, informs  
me by his of August 28 last, sent by two Quapaw Indians who  
were returning to the Arkansas post, that the inhabitants of the  
Illinois and of the settlement at Vincennes or St. Ange, very much  
discontented with the exclusive privileges of trade which M.  
Duquesne is giving, both for the Missouri and for Vincennes, are  
planning to abandon both of these two posts.

There was already a problem involved there on my arrival in  
this colony; and when I conferred with M. de Vaudreuil he

que, Cette demarche de la part du gouverneur de Canada Etoit absolument contraire au bien General du service, Et de Cette province En particulier, Et ne pouroit produire q'une Evacuation certaine Des habitans de ces postes.

Il madjouta aussy quil En avoit Esté question plus d'une fois, mais qu'a mesme tems quil En rendroit Compte a la cour, il ordonoit aux Comandts Des ilinois de se conformer aux usages qui s'etoient toujours pratiqué Jusqu'alors, En attendant quil ne plut au roy luy adresser des ordres décisifs sur cet object, Et n'en

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recevant point, il a jugé par toutes les conoissances quil avoit des maux qui infailliblemt En resulteroint, quil Etoit plus a propos de laisser subsister les choses telles quelles ont toujours Esté pratiquées pour le bien Et ladvancement de cette Colonie.

M. de macarty m'ayant aussy fait les mesmes representations: Jay Jugé Devoir me comporter comme M De Vaudreuil, d'autant plus que mêtant informé Des raisons qui occasionoint de semblables tentatives, il má Esté repondu, qu'a toutes les mutations de

[Translation]

assured me that this step on the part of the governor of Canada was absolutely contrary to the general good of the service and of this province in particular and could only result in a certain withdrawal by the inhabitants of these posts.

He also added to me that it at several times had been in question, but that at the same time that he gave the court an account of it he would order the commandants of the Illinois to conform to the usages which were always practiced up to that time in expectation of the king's being pleased to give him definitive orders on that subject. In receiving none he judged by all the acquaintance which he had with the evils which would infallibly result that it was more proper to let things stay as they always have been for the good and the advancement of this colony.

M. de Macarty having also made me the same representations, I have judged that I should act like M. de Vaudreuil, the more so that being informed of the reasons which cause similar attempts, I have been told that at all changes in the governor generalship in

Gouverneur General; plusieurs particuliers du canada plus animé de leur interet personel, que du Bien General: profitent du peu De conoissance que peut avoir un nouveau Gouverneur sur le local d'une colonie pour obtenir ces sortes de privileges: J'en ay Jugé de mesme, Et Je suis persuadé que M. duquesne aura aujourd'hui reconnu qu'on luy en a imposé

au reste monseigneur J'attendray vos ordres n'en ayant reçu aucuns de luy, pas mesme de reponse a mes lettres sur cet objects, Et plusieurs autres. celui qui fait particulièrement l'object de Cette Dépeche merite d'autant plus votre attention, que ces postes a peine dans un Commencement d'établissement, Estant de consequence, les colons qui les habitent doivent Estre libres du commerce de leurs Denrées Et du fruit de leurs travaux pour les y maintenir.

Ils sont desja mécontent Et Je suis informé qu'ils sont dans  
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 le dessein d'abandonner leurs Etablissements si Ces Sortes de privileges subsistent toutes ces parties ne sont pas desja a ces

[Translation]

Canada several private persons in Canada, more animated by their personal interests than by the general good, profit by the small acquaintance which a new governor can have as to local conditions in the colony to obtain privileges of this sort. I have judged the same, and I am persuaded that M. Duquesne will today perceive that he has been imposed on.

For the rest, Monseigneur, I will await your orders, having received none from him, not even in answer to my letters on these subjects and several others. The matter which especially makes the object of this dispatch merits your attention the more inasmuch as these posts are hardly on the threshold of being established and as it is of consequence that the colonists who inhabit them should be free to trade in their products and the fruit of their labors to maintain themselves.

They are already discontented, and I am informed that they are planning to abandon their settlements if these sorts of privileges continue. All these regions are not yet sufficiently

tranquiles pour leur porter des coups aussy sensibles, Et je vous previens mesme monseigneur, quil Est tems d'y metre ordre.

Je ne dois pas non plus vous laisser ignorer que les sauvages non domiciliés dans ces parties, sont peu Contents. Et que l'habitant dans le mesme cas, ne pouvoit que fomentier une aliénation qui de moment a autre peut devenir d'une tres Grande Consequençe

Je vous adresse Cy Joint les copies du privilege Exclusif de traite. Et des representations des habitants au poste vinçenne, pour que vous Soyé plus En Etat de deçider sur l'un Et lautre De ces objects Et de m'adresser des ordres, dont le retardement soit prejudiciable.

Il ne seroit pas moins Essentiel que vous Eussiez, pour agreable de m'envoyer les ordonances qui prononçent contre les coureurs de bois, vagabonds, Et gens sans adveu, qui sous pretexte de chasse sont convaincu D'avoir, traite chej les sauvages, sans la permission Expresse Et par Ecrit Des Gouverneurs. Il Est plus que tems d'arrester Ce Genre D'abbus,

[Translation]

tranquil to bear such serious blows, and I even warn you, Monseigneur, that it is time to put things in order in this particular.

No more should I leave you ignorant of the fact that the non-domiciled Indians in these parts are discontented, and the inhabitants being in the same disposition can only foment an alienation which from one moment to the other may become of great consequence.

I address you herewith the copies of the exclusive privilege of trade and the representations of the inhabitants of Vincennes in order that you may be both in a condition to decide on both of these subjects and to address me orders the delay of which would be very prejudicial.

It is not less essential that you should be good enough to send me the ordinances which rule against the *coureurs de bois*, vagabonds, and vagrants who under pretense of hunting stand convicted of having traded with the Indians without the express permission in writing of the governor. It is more than time to put a

qui Est poussé a un point tres prejudiciable au Bien du Service  
Et au maintien de la tranquillité neçessaire de la part des hommes  
rouges pour l'acroiissement de la colonie on a souvent reconnu que  
les discussions que nous avons Eu avec les Sauvages :l'ont Eu  
d'autres principes, ou motifs, que les malversations En tout  
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Genre, Et les mauvais Discours de çes vagabonds.

J'ay bien des nottes non autoriseés de quelques ordonances  
rendues pour le canada En datte Des 5. Juin 1673 ; du mois de may  
1681. Et au 16 avril 1676. qui prononçent Contre Eux de peine  
de mort Et autres afflictives, mais Comme il peut y En avoir de  
plus nouvelles qui fassent Deroger ces Ençiennes. Je vous suplie  
de me le faire passer

Je suis avec un profond respect Monseigneur

Votre tres humble Et tres obeissant Serviteur

KERLERÉC

NOUVELLE ORLEANS Le 17. Xbre 1754.

[*Translation*]

stop to this sort of abuse which has been pushed to a point very  
prejudicial to the service and to the maintenance of the tran-  
quillity on the part of the red men necessary for the growth of the  
colony. It has often been recognized that the disputes which we  
have had with the Indians have not been on other principles or  
motives than the malversations of all sorts and the evil speech of  
these vagabonds.

I have many unofficial notes of some ordinances given for  
Canada under date of June 5, 1673, May, 1681, and April 16,  
1676, which pronounce against them the pain of death and other  
punishments, but as there may be new ones which supersede these  
old ones, I beg you to send them to me.

I am with a profound respect, Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

KERLÉREC

NEW ORLEANS, December 17, 1754

MACHAULT TO KERLÉREC, February 17, 1755

[A N Colonies B101:244]

A M. De Kerlerec.

A VERSAILLES le 17. fevrier 1755.

Les nouvelles publiques vous auront instruit, M, des mouvements qu'il y a depuis quelque temps sur nos frontieres de Canada, et particulierement du côté de la riviere d'Ohio. La cour d'Angleterre ayant destiné deux Bataillons de troupes réglées pour La Virginie et fait d'autres dispositions dans cette Colonie et dans celles qui en sont voisines, le Roy a pris le party d'envoyer un renfort de six Bataillons de troupes de terre au Canada, et Sa Majesté se propose de les faire partir au mois d'Avril prochain sous l'escorté d'une Escadre de ses Vaisseaux.

Le Roy d'Angleterre a fait donner les assurances les plus positives que les troupes envoyées à la Virginie et les autres dispositions qui se font dans ce pays là, n'ont d'autre objet que de deffendre ses colonies contre les invasions dont elles se pretendent menacées de la part du Canada.

[*Translation*]

To M. de Kerléréc

VERSAILLES, February 17, 1755

The public news will have informed you, Monsieur, of the movements that there have been for some time on our frontiers of Canada, especially on the side of the Ohio River. The Court of England having designated two battalions of regular troops for Virginia and having made other arrangements in that colony and in those near it, the king has decided to send a reinforcement of six battalions of the regular army to Canada; and His Majesty proposes to send them off in the month of April next under the escort of a squadron of his ships.

The King of England has had the most positive assurances given that the troops sent to Virginia and the other arrangements in that country have no other object than defending his colony against the invasions with which it is claimed they are threatened from the side of Canada.

Sa Majesté est de son coté bien éloigné de souffrir qu'on entreprenne aucune invasion sur ses voisins. Elle donnera ses ordres pour qu'on se tienne en Canada sur la plus exacte deffensive. Mais quoiqu' Elle soit effectivement resoluë de se borner ainsy à deffendre ses droits et Ses possessions, Elle ne peut pas se flater, surtout après ce qui S'est passé l'année dernière du côté de la riviere d'Ohio, qu'on ne sera pas obligé de faire usage des forces qu'Elle envoie en Canada.

Les dispositions que Sa Majesté Britannique ne cesse de faire paroître pour la conservation de la paix doivent cependant faire esperer que toutes les discussions concernant les limites des colonies respectives dans l'Amerique Septentrionnale pourront s'arranger sans qu'on en vienne à une rupture ouverte. Il est même question actuellement entre les deux cours de nouvelles propositions à cet egard.

Mais dans l'incertitude des evenements Sa Majesté m'a ordonné de vous marquer de sa part que son intention est que vous vous preparez à tous ceux qui pourront arriver ; que vous

[*Translation*]

His Majesty is on his side very far from allowing that any invasion be undertaken against his neighbors. He will give his orders to keep strictly on the defensive in Canada. But although he has in effect decided thus to limit himself to defending his right in his possessions, he cannot flatter himself especially after what happened last year in the direction of the Ohio River, that it may not be necessary to use the forces which are being sent to Canada.

The disposition which His Britannic Majesty does not cease to manifest for the preservation of the peace should however enable us to hope that all the disputes respecting the boundaries of our respective colonies of North America may be arranged without coming to an open rupture. New proposals to that end are actually under consideration between the two courts.

But in his uncertainty as to the outcome, His Majesty has ordered me to indicate to you on his part that his intention is that you be prepared for anything that may happen ; that you



redoublies de soins et d'attentions pour pourvoir, autant qu'il sera possible à tous les objets relatifs à la défense <sup>244v</sup> de votre Gouvernement; que vous preniez des precautions pour être informé de ce qui se passera dans les Colonies angloises de votre voisinage; que vous vous teniez en garde Contre toute surprise; mais que vous observiez en même temps dans toutes les dispositions que vous ferez de ne point laisser soupçonner que vous aves receu des ordres à cette occasion.

Vous aurez agreable de me rendre compte de ce que vous ferez sur cela; Et j'aurai soin de vous faire scavoir les circonstances dont il conviendra que vous soyiez instruit, avec les nouveaux ordres qu'elles pourront exiger.

Mais comme dans tous les cas il est necessaire que le Roy soit en etat de prendre un party sur ce qui peut interesser la surete de votre Gouvernement, Sa Majesté desire que vous m'envoyiez par la premiere occasion et avec les precautions convenables, un tableau qui presente la situation où il est relativement à cet objet,

[*Translation*]

redouble your cares and attentions to attain so far as possible to all the necessary ends respecting the defense of your government; that you take precautions to be informed of what shall happen in the English colonies near you; that you be on your guard against any surprise; but that at the same time that you take care in all the arrangements that you make not to let it be suspected that you have received orders on this occasion.

You will be good enough to give me an account of what you do in this respect, and I shall take care to let you know the circumstances of which it is proper that you be informed together with the new orders which they may require.

But since in any case it is necessary that the king be in a condition to take action regarding what may concern the safety of your government, His Majesty desires you to send by the first occasion with the proper precaution a picture of the situation as it stands with respect to that object, the plan of the dispositions

le plan des dispositions que vous vous proposez de faire en cas de guerre, et l'état des secours dont vous pourrez avoir besoin.

Je suis, M, très parfaitement à vous.

A M. D'AUBERVILLE

A VERSAILLES le 17. fevier 1755.

Les circonstances M. dans lesquelles vous vous trouvez relativement aux Anglois, exigent qu'on prenne à la Louïsiannie toutes les mesures praticables pour mettre cette Colonie en Etat de deffenses. j'explique les intentions du Roy sur cela à M. de Kerlerrec le Roy veut que vous vous y concourriés en ce qui vous concerne.

[*Translation*]

that you propose to take in case of war, and the account of the help which you may need.

I am, Monsieur, completely yours.

To M. D'AUBERVILLE

VERSAILLES, February 17, 1755

The circumstances, Monsieur, in which you find yourself with respect to the English make it necessary that all practicable measures be taken in Louisiana to put that colony in a condition of defense. I explain the intentions of the king on that to M. de Kerlérec; the king wishes that you should assist in what concerns you.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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A E Corr. Pol., Angl.	=Affaires Étrangères, Correspondance Politique, Angleterre
A N Colonies	=Archives Nationales, Ministère des Colonies
C. H. S.	=Chicago Historical Society
C O	=Colonial Office
H M LO	=Huntington Library Manuscripts, Loudoun Collection
I. H. C.	=Illinois Historical Collections
M. P. H. C.	=Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections
N. Y. C. D.	=Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York
P R O	=Public Record Office
W. H. C.	=Wisconsin Historical Collections



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